A critical analysis of mainstreaming youth volunteering in environmental governance of Pakistan: a multi-level approach

by

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Dedicated to my little angel Mo who left us very soon

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ABSTRACT

The overall aim of the study was to critically analyse how volunteerism as a mode of youth engagement in environmental governance in Pakistan was shaped by geographical contexts, policy and governance frameworks, and volunteer engagement practices at multiple governance levels (international, national, provincial, and local levels). There were many ways this analysis could have been approached. I chose to use the concept of multiple environmentalities inspired by Michel Foucault's writings on techniques and rationalities involved in both governing the self and governing others. I used the critical lens of identifying both complementing and conflicting environmentalities (sovereign, disciplinary, neo-liberal, according to truth and communal) coming together to form un-interrogated assumptions, taken-for-granted truths, rationales, and technologies that, in diffuse and complex ways, control mainstreaming of youth volunteerism in environmental governance structures across multiple geographical levels.

The research design was inductive in nature and a grounded theory approach was used to critically analyse multi-level environmental governance and the role of young environmental volunteers in it across different geographical levels. A theoretical sampling method was used to select case study organisations and policy participants at each geographical level. An ethnographic strategy was employed in using a variety of qualitative data collection tools including participant observation, semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions, along with document analysis and photo elicitation.

In this thesis, I have highlighted the complex and constructed nature of environmental volunteering perceived and experienced by young people across different geographical levels. I have argued that youth volunteering in Pakistan is not a fixed, unproblematic object but a phenomenon whose boundaries have been continuously managed and utilised by various actors (state and non-state).

I constructed a brief genealogy of youth and environmental volunteering in Pakistan and their relationship to broader socio-economic discourses to better understand how these phenomena came to be produced in the contemporary period. Across the historical account, a multitude of complementing and contesting reasons and methods were identified which were employed by the state, non-state actors and young people themselves to take up volunteering or action for the environment.

I argued that the relationship between youth and volunteering cannot be considered positive and unequivocal by default as multiple factors, historical and current, come into play when forming this habitus. Several study respondents highlighted that both, state and non-state actors, struggled to define and bring together concepts of youth volunteering and environment, which led to their limited interest in developing formal environmental volunteering channels for young people across the national and sub-national levels. In addition to environmental value orientations and concerns, young people identified altruistic, egoistic, and hedonic values they associate with volunteering and how they come together to form environmental volunteering rationalities for them.

I also discussed the technologies of power, resistance and self-transformation employed to undertake youth environmental volunteering across different geographical levels. While some generalisations can be drawn, it is essential to appreciate the non-fixity of these power relations, available technologies, and their experience by one or many actors involved. The social class difference appeared to manifest in young people's experiences of volunteering across all geographical levels.

Through capturing the lived experiences of young environmental volunteers, I showed that they were constantly forming their own environmental identities by engaging with state and non-state technologies and through their own technologies of self-transformation. The research also showcased that gaining access to environmental volunteering spaces and activities was a highly gendered experience, often exacerbating existing gender inequalities at different geographical levels. Besides the challenges, it also showed that young female volunteers were claiming more spaces of environmental action and destabilising gender norms through their voice and action.

I acknowledged that there was a lack of understanding about how young people experience volunteering through the combination of the identified rationales and technologies of power, resistance, and self-transformation, all simultaneously diffused and emanating from multiple sites or in a field of ordering forces. Finally, I presented a framework model outlining barriers and facilitators for using youth volunteering as a mode of environmental governance at multiple geographical levels.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CSO	Civil Society Organisation
ENGO	Environmental Non-governmental Organisation
FBO	Faith Based Organisation
IGO	Intergovernmental Organisation
IP-I	International Policy-Interview
LCS	Local Case Study
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NCS	National Case Study
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NP-I	National Policy-Interview
PCS	Provincial Case Study
PP-I	Provincial Policy-Interview
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNV	United Nations Volunteers Programme
VIO	Volunteer Involving Organisation
VSO	Voluntary Service Overseas
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

Introduction to the Problem

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The wicked environmental problems of the 21st century require multi-sectoral and multi-stakeholder responses that recognise the diversity of contexts and ways through which solutions could be provided. Volunteerism stands as a constant dynamic resource that can support multidimensional responses to the challenge of ensuring environmental sustainability across different geographical levels. Ryan et al. (2001, p. 629) notes that "the environmental movement would not exist without the help of thousands of dedicated volunteers. Both public and private organisations rely on volunteers to further the cause of protecting and helping the imperilled natural environment." With over 1.2 billion young people forming the largest population group across the globe (UN DESA, 2019), young volunteers are seen as social and human capital which can lead current and future environmental action through their participation and agency (McDougle et al., 2011). Although some research has surfaced in the last two decades on understanding environmental volunteering behaviours and structures, there are not many which have focused on youth and environmental volunteering. The existing research shows promising linkages between youth volunteering and the development of pro-environmental behaviour and active citizenship amongst young people. UN Volunteers (2016, p. 1) highlights that "volunteerism, as a form of civic participation, can be a powerful mechanism for giving youth a voice in decision making and promoting social inclusion in [multiple] environmental governance processes".

I observed that most of the research around the above-mentioned themes is framed by experiences in the global North. As a young Pakistani with research interests in both understanding youth engagement and environmental action in developing countries context, I considered this PhD research on assessing the current scope and potential of environmental volunteering as a mode of enhancing youth engagement in multi-level environmental governance in Pakistan. With Pakistan ranked as the sixth most populous country in the world and having 60% of its population under the age of 30, it provides an interesting backdrop to further understand the scope and current landscape of youth environmental volunteering, exploring perceptions, reasons and experiences of different stakeholders involved in 'doing' environmental volunteering. Smith et al. (2010, p. 258) considers "voluntary action as a set of situated, emotional and embodied practices through which enlivened geographies of volunteering are constituted". My research responds to the call for "more lively and creative accounts" of the involvement of young people in varied dimensions of environmental governance through volunteering (Conradson, 2003, p. 1989). There are several studies that acknowledge the socio-spatial and emplaced nature of volunteering which push to understand the role of spaces of participation in facilitating social inclusion of volunteering groups like youth (Cameron et al., 2004).

The UN *State of World's Volunteering Report: Transforming Governance* (2015) also recognises that volunteering is highly context specific. It is often not on a level playing field and is gendered. It acknowledges

the key role volunteering played in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) era and how it can help maximise citizen engagement for achieving Agenda 2030. It explores the shifting nature of volunteer action under three domains: pillars of good governance *(voice and participation, accountability, responsiveness)*, levels of action *(global, national, local)*, and spaces of volunteering *(closed, invited, claimed)* (UNV, 2015). The report further stresses the need to explore these spaces and levels to enable volunteerism to reach its full potential for civic engagement around governance.

Pick et al. (2011) apply the concept of governmentality (Foucault, 1979) to volunteer work. They have shown how different theoretical understandings of volunteering are adopted by policy makers, volunteer organisations and volunteers themselves. This approach positions volunteering as a key policy area and allows examination of its rationalities, highlighting the ways in which various policy perspectives create realities on the ground as volunteers go about 'doing' everyday activities in a range of volunteer organisations. Volunteering is typically viewed in the neo-liberal world as central to developing empowerment and active citizenship, and to delivering welfare provision (Milligan & Fyfe, 2005). Rochester (2005) observes that shifts in the voluntary sector emerged in parallel to the global shift towards advanced/ neo-liberalism. This led to development of new forms and cultures of volunteerism termed as 'new volunteerism'. The new landscapes of volunteering become even more relevant in the context of developing countries such as Pakistan which are beginning to explore facets of the neo-liberal agenda (Khoja-Moolji, 2014). UNV has published reports calling for action to understand and create enabling environments for volunteering, including government support (UNV, 2000) and volunteer infrastructure (UNV, 2014), and the role of volunteerism in implementing the Sustainable Development Goals (UNV, 2016).

Rochester (2015) argues that the field of voluntary sector studies requires a more critical approach to discussing the role and significance of different key stakeholders including policy makers, volunteer organisations, private sector, volunteers, etc. The political bargain between states and citizens, the constitution in place, the legal framework, the social fabric in different countries, the interaction between local, national, and global governance, the diversity of governance actors working at any given level – all are elements that affect who can and who cannot enter the different spaces, whose voices are heard and who influences decision-making (UNV, 2015). Volunteers have been often engaging with governments at different geographical levels to find ways to seize and/or create opportunities, moments, and channels where citizens can act to potentially affect services, policies, discourses, decisions, and relationships that affect their lives and interests (UNV, 2018). The power of volunteerism lies in its ability to be a channel that enables people to exercise their agency through civic engagement. By mobilising a wide cross-section of voices, volunteerism can also elicit greater accountability and responsiveness from governments. It achieves these ends primarily by influencing legislation, institutions, and the rules of engagement among different actors (UNV, 2015; IVCO, 2017).

At the global level, technology and globalisation have opened new gateways of citizen engagement (UNV, 2011). These include online/ virtual volunteering and international volunteering, respectively. Online volunteering has eliminated the need for volunteerism to be tied to specific times and locations. Thus, it greatly increases the freedom and flexibility of volunteer engagement and complements the outreach and impact of volunteers serving in situ. Most online volunteers engage in operational and managerial activities such as fundraising, technological support, communications, marketing, and consulting. Increasingly, they also engage in activities such as research and writing and leading e-mail discussion groups (UNV, 2011; UNV, 2015). The Internet has also facilitated volunteerism by matching the interests of volunteers with the needs of host organisations. Volunteer-matching sites enhance opportunities for volunteers to find placements while also providing volunteer involving organisations with easy access to potential volunteers. Recruitment time and costs are reduced. On many levels, new information and communication technologies have introduced a network-style, horizontal and participatory flow of information among users, thus opening innovative opportunities for volunteer participation. Technology-based volunteerism may be particularly suited to young people who tend to embrace and employ technology (Dheber & Stokes, 2008). The *State of the World's Volunteerism Report* (2011) notes that there is a need for researchers to seek a better understanding of the relative benefits and challenges of online versus face-to-face volunteerism. International / cross-national volunteering is organised engagement in development by volunteers working abroad. It includes both short and long-term assignments through either governmental or non-governmental agencies. The last decade has seen the numbers of volunteers abroad increasing and forms of engagement evolving. Forms of international volunteerism are becoming ever more diverse. The trend is towards shorter-term placements, with an average duration of less than six months, and placements that are individually tailored to the volunteer (Hustinx et al., 2010).

Research needs to open to consideration of the range of levels and spaces (including gender) of doing environmental volunteering to understand the ways in which 'doing' volunteering is about 'more than volunteering' and is embodied in the socio-spatial context. This can help provide situated evidence for policy actors and environmental volunteering organisations to rethink current governance and programme structures for youth volunteers in the global North and South contexts, respectively. To fully understand general effects on volunteerism as a tool of environmental governance regimes, Gabriel (2018) emphasises the need to broaden understanding of who governs effectively; limiting our view of 'who governs' only to the state and related institutions is to risk viewing more mundane practices of governance as mere products of a dominant regime. Expanding our notion of governance to include a more extensive range of governmental strategies and apparatuses wherever they operate brings to the fore sites of diverse and overlapping governmental rationalities.

Building on Foucault's concept of governmentality or the art of doing government, Fletcher (2017) formulates a four-part typology to emphasise the need to look at environmental governance issues in a particular space and context through a multiple governmentalities' perspective rather than one or the other.

These multiple governmentalities include disciplinary, neo-liberal, sovereign powers and government according to truth (Fletcher, 2010).

While several researchers have attempted to apply environmentality as an analytical framework, no one definitive approach prevails, and different perspectives give rise to sets of questions or considerations. Singh (2013) suggests that use of such a critical lens to understand environmental volunteering or citizenship at multiple levels can help focus on un-interrogated assumptions, taken-for-granted truths, rationales, and technologies that, in diffuse and complex ways, have hindered mainstreaming of youth volunteerism in environmental governance structures.

1.2 Aim, objectives, and research questions

The overall aim of the study is to critically analyse how volunteerism as a mode of youth engagement in environmental governance in Pakistan is shaped by geographical contexts, policy and governance frameworks, and volunteer engagement practices at multiple governance levels (international, national, provincial, and local levels).

Fletcher (2017) emphasises the need to look at environmental governance issues in a particular space and context through multiple governmentalities perspective rather than one or the other. In this research, the concept of multiple environmentalities will facilitate the critical analysis of the complex intersection among overlapping approaches to environmental governance at multiple geographical levels and formation of youth environmental subjectivities through volunteerism.

These findings will be used to inform multi-level policy and programmatic recommendations for mainstreaming youth volunteering in multi-level environmental governance in Pakistan.

Objective 1: To map the current landscape of youth volunteering in multi-level environmental governance in Pakistan

1.1. What are the existing avenues of voluntary participation in environmental governance for young people aged between 16 and 29?
1.2. What is the current state of policy and governance frameworks available for formal youth environmental volunteering?

Objective 2: To explore Pakistan-based youth volunteers' perceptions of effective environmental governance and how they engage with it through volunteering practices at multiple governance levels (international/ regional, national, provincial, and local levels)

2.1. What are the kinds of formal environmental volunteering activities undertaken by young people?

2.2. How and why are the male and female experiences of formal environmental volunteering framed through particular spaces and processes of environmental governance?
2.3. How and why are formal environmental volunteering spaces for youth gendered in terms of scope and activities?

Objective 3: To explore the perceptions of state and non-state actors on youth volunteering in environmental governance in Pakistan at multiple governance levels (international/ regional, national, provincial and local levels)

3.1. How do multi-level state actors perceive current and future contributions of young volunteers in environmental governance processes?
3.2. What are the key challenges and opportunities encountered by state actors in mainstreaming youth volunteering in environmental governance?
3.3. How do multi-level non-state actors (intergovernmental organisations, civil society organisations and corporate/ private firms) perceive current and future contributions of young people in environmental governance processes?
3.4. What are the key challenges and opportunities encountered by non-state actors (intergovernmental organisations, civil society organisations and corporate/ private firms) in mainstreaming youth volunteering in environmental governance?

1.3 Thesis structure

Chapter 2 examines the geographical and other academic literature on themes of multi-level environmental governance, volunteering as a mode of environmental participation and youth engagement, including gendered dimensions of youth volunteering for the environment.

Chapter 3 presents the conceptual framework used for the study. A multiple environmentalities framework is applied to understand the complex inter-play of Foucauldian power sources at multiple levels and spaces. It focuses on 'environment' as a visible problem being tackled by the government (rationalities), the techniques and procedures in place to mainstream youth volunteering in environmental governance (technics of state and non-state actors), and formation of individual and collective subjectivity of youth environmental volunteers in Pakistan (subject formation).

Chapter 4 discusses the research methodology. This covers the initial process of selecting and working with case study organisations at global, national, provincial, and local levels. The core of this chapter addresses the ethnographic approach that was taken with the organisations and the particular methods deployed. It also explains the analytical strategy and explores issues around ethics, positionality, performance, and consent. The chapter finishes by considering the positionality and personal ethics involved in this research practice.

Chapter 5 explores the genealogical roots of the voluntary sector in Pakistan, including environmental and youth engagement in pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial eras. This provides historical context for better understanding the complex inter-play of Foucauldian power sources at multiple levels and spaces.

Chapter 6 discusses the ‘reasons’ or ‘rationalities’ of both state and non-state actors in youth environmental volunteering governance, including the governed themselves (young volunteers). The chapter is arranged according to four broad rationalities: according to truth, of the sovereign state, of the economic agents, and of the governed themselves. This approach helps to identify the interplay of multiple and complex sources of knowledge and expertise, and the perception of risks and benefits for mainstreaming young volunteers in environmental governance process in Pakistan at the national, provincial, and local levels, and configuring the role of young environmental volunteers at the global level.

Chapter 7 discusses the technics or technologies of the state, non-state, and self (youth) in undertaking youth environmental volunteering in Pakistan. The chapter delineates the state policy delivery mechanisms, formal organisation and network structures, environmental volunteering avenues and modes for young people, and provides a critique of the implementation capacities of the formal structures to mainstream young people in multi-level environmental governance regimes.

Chapter 8 discusses the male and female lived experiences of formal environmental volunteering and critically assesses how they are framed through spaces and processes of environmental governance at multiple geographical levels. It also identifies the key perceptions, challenges, and opportunities for young people to engage with environmental governance through volunteering practices at multiple governance levels.

The thesis ends, in Chapter 9, where reflects on the key issues that emerge from the findings and highlights the contribution that the thesis has made to the current research and approaches of youth environmental volunteering. I also discuss the wider implications of the thesis on understanding of multi-level youth volunteering configurations and the research’s contribution to the multi-level policy processes. I discuss some of the methodological issues identified during research implementation, and the scope for further research based on the findings.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Conceptualisations of environmental governance

Environmental governance is an approach in political ecology and environmental policy that posits sustainability as the primary and central principle of managing all forms of human activities in political, social, and economic spheres of life (Hausknost & Hammond, 2020). Thew (2018) describes how reaching consensus and initiating state-led action has proven difficult, and there is a growing recognition of supplementing governmental resources through multi-actor solutions. The number and diversity of non-state actors in environmental governance processes is increasing rapidly at multiple scales and geographical levels (Bulkeley & Newell, 2015).

Despite significant research on the topic, the definition of governance remains quite broad. Karen Bakker explains governance through various tools including models, frameworks, principles, and information used to determine who gets to decide and what decisions are made. She differentiates between governance and management, defining the latter in terms of operational actions (Reed & Bruyneel, 2010). Due to the broad scope of its definition, there are multiple perspectives and conceptualisations of governance. However, they all boil down to "a focus on "systems of governing", means for "authoritatively allocating resources and exercising control and coordination" (Rhodes 1996, p. 653), in which state actors are not necessarily the only or most significant participants. Rather than seeing 'government' and 'governance' as necessarily opposite, this interpretation suggests a "continuum of systems of governing, in which state and non-state actors play a variety of roles" (Bulkeley, 2005, p. 5). The term governance is therefore not restricted to government only but is also inclusive of a range of other non-state stakeholders, needed to make effective decisions in collaboration with each other, at a local, national, and global level.

To further distinguish 'government' from 'governance' Chris Harrington et al. (2008) define government as "the formal, centralised and vertical exercise of power and authority, such as through regulation or market-based instruments", contrasting it to governance where "power and authority are horizontally decentralised and devolved to broader members of society" (Reed & Bruyneel, 2010, p. 647). It is important to conceptualise and understand the trajectory of governance from state to non-state actors. State has been re-engineered, giving rise to 'new geographies of governance' (Harding, 2007), where state functions have been redistributed upwards to international and transnational organisations, downwards to provincial, regional, and local level institutions and outwards to non-state agents. Thus, such a reconfiguration of the state is necessary to understand and effectively execute multi-level governance.

The shift implies a provision of frameworks to engage individuals and organisations outside the government, through infrastructure which supports effective collaboration across the public, private and community sectors as they engage in decision making (Aulich, 2009). Thus, decision making also lies in the ambit of private organisations and corporate firms, who have an equal responsibility to engage in civic participation and governance. Putnam (2000) describes this as 'social connectedness', that plays a critical role in the

development of social capital. The conventional notions of citizen participation and the new emerging ideas of relationship building across different actors are rooted in the fundamental conception of citizen participation which is a "basic building block for contemporary democratic society and sustainable communities" (Cuthill & Fien, 2005, p. 64). Active citizenship entails social participation in all spheres of life, from the engagement of civic, public, and private institutions to increased social collaboration and cohesion (Kenny & Taylor, 2016). Thus, governance needs to transcend nested hierarchies of state actors, with decision making to be undertaken on separate levels, encouraging fluid relations across non-state private actors. Collective action can augment the contributions made by individuals. Collective action leads to collective interaction that can transform the pursuit of self-interest (guiding principle of private and corporate sector) into something greater than the sum of individual level of self-interest, thereby propagating social capital, mutualism, and reciprocity (Bovaird et al., 2016).

2.2 Environmental governance: definition and scope

With the arenas of political and social sciences following a similar development trend, governance has become one of the pivotal influencing factors in global environmental politics (Newell, 2008). In today's world environmental geographers are concerned with multi-level governance structures which are inclusive of a wide range of sectors and institutions at global, national, and local levels. Therefore, multi-level systems of environmental governance can be understood as acknowledgment of multi stakeholder aspects of environmental decision-making in which multiple actors exercise authority, command, and action to ascertain 'who gets what' and 'who gets to decide' (Armitage et al., 2012). Various scholars posit that environmental governance includes a diverse range of formal and informal institutions, social groups, procedures, information, interactions, and tradition, all of which determines how power is exercised, how public decisions are made, how to engage citizens and who gains validity and authority (Armeni, 2016). Another way to understand environmental governance is as "the resolution of environmental conflicts through the establishment, reaffirmation and change of institutional arrangements" (Paavola, 2008, p. 5). This definition encompasses both state and non-state centred solutions.

There is a need to understand the rationale behind the emergence of multi-level environmental governance solutions. Studies show that "collective action, government cost minimisation, path dependency[1] and economics of scope, and multi-functionality" are key economic explanations of why multi-level environmental governance has become an integral part of the political reality (Paavola, 2008, p. 16). However, multi-leveled is not the only characteristic that contributes to the complexity of environmental governance. Horizontal complexity, such as the extent of polycentricity is another important dimension to consider when putting forth complex governance solutions for complex environmental concerns (Weale et

[1] Path dependency refers to the impact that resource constraints have on the availability of information and on the processing of information by decisionmakers in the regulatory process. The imperfect nature of information in the regulatory marketplace, combined with the limited ability of regulators to acquire and process new information in a timely fashion, leads to the implementation of what should be radically new approaches to regulation in ways that build upon existing approaches (Kirk et al., 2007)

al., 2002). Thus, it is important to consider the vertical and horizontal spatialities of environmental governance and transcend above from the "traditional bounded geographies of the nation-state, inter-national relations, and non-state actors" (Bulkeley, 2005, p.39), because borders between nations, sub-national jurisdictions, stakeholder groups and wider society can hinder meaningful realisation of environmental governance (McCarthy, 2005).

2.3 Enablers/ actors

Multi-stakeholder aspects of environmental decision making have necessitated the need for multi-level systems of environmental governance in which multiple agents exercise different levels of control, command, and authority to determine 'who gets what' and 'who gets to decide'. As a result, new geographies of governance have emerged, with state functions redistributed upwards, downwards, and outwards (Reed & Bruyneel, 2010). These new geographies of governance are manifested in different forms of enablers, who engage in multi-level environmental governance processes (Raven et al., 2012). Such processes are required to seek multi-level governance solutions.

2.3.1 International, national, and local governments

Governments need to be involved at multiple hierarchical levels to bring forth effective collective action. Multi-level environmental governance solutions can be adopted as an instrument which facilitates collective action, by overcoming its challenges in large groups, and mobilising collective action at a smaller scale through local and regional level actors (Paavola, 2016). The introduction of representation at a local level, breaks down a large-scale concern to small-scale concerns that can be targeted and addressed more effectively. Thus, publicly desirable outcomes are likely to rely quite heavily on government intervention at multiple (international, national, and local) levels where end users or actors are centrally important (Bovaird et al., 2016). Moreover, governance functions have different optimal scales of implementation and therefore intervention is required at multiple levels to maximise impact and minimise governance costs (Williamson, 1999). For instance, the governance of global environmental issues requires intervention of international regimes, thereby making the management of global environmental problems necessary at an international institutional level (DeSombre, 2010). Thus, governance solutions that function at different spatial levels, not only maximise impact, but also minimise cost, because the levels of governance are likely to be functionally complementary and differentiated (Lipschutz, 1997).

Furthermore, the need for intervention at multiple levels is also explained by path dependency, increasing returns and economies of scope. "Path dependence is typically attributed to increasing returns processes, which may increase the relative benefits of an initial choice or action over time because of large set-up or fixed costs, learning effects, coordination effects or adaptive expectations" (Paavola, 2008, p. 12). Economies of scope also play an instrumental role especially when it comes to explaining the dominant role of the state in political matters. Adoption of new functions can potentially lower the costs of executing the existing functions (Du Plessis, 2015). In addition, owing to the multifunctionality of some environmental resources, multiplicity of government arrangements, enable the governments to take advantage of varied

optimal scales of provision, thereby making government intervention at multiple levels a more efficient way to cater to multi-level problems (Krahmann, 2003). Thus, multi-level governance has become a part of the political reality (Bradford, 2004). Governments need to be involved as enablers at local, national, and international level to effectively bring forth efficient multi-level solutions.

2.3.2 Inter-governmental organisations

The term inter-governmental organisation (IGO) refers to a body institutionalised by an agreement between two or more nations to work together on issues of common interest (Karns et al., 2004). Therefore, intergovernmental organisations also play an instrumental role as enablers of environmental governance at a global scale. The spatialities of environmental governance transcend the traditional geographical bounds of the nation-state, inter-national relations, and non-state actors, thereby making room for effective intervention by intergovernmental organisations (Biswas, 2002). The authority, scope and territoriality of the state is being refigured and rescaled, because of which new networks are emerging (MacKinnon, 2000), that can execute effective governance and help in mitigating universal environmental concerns. Such networked arenas are manifested in the form of intergovernmental organisations. Sassen (2003, p. 14) argues, "critical reconceptualisation of the local which such networks provoke, entails an at least partial rejection of the notion that local scales are inevitably part of nested hierarchies of scale running, from the local to the regional, the national, the international. Localities or local practices can constitute multiscale systems – operating across scales." Hence, the emergence of intergovernmental organisations as important actors in environmental governance, is a consequential understanding of such critical reconceptualisation of these scales.

Changing politics of scale and reconfiguration of environmental governance go hand in hand, making the latter more "sensitive to processes of scaling and rescaling the objects and agents of governance, and the political, social and environmental implications, whilst at the same time engaging with the politics of networks" (Bulkeley, 2005, p. 39). Thus, by engaging in politics of networks and keeping in mind the socio-political, economic, and environmental implications, intergovernmental organisations can highlight issues of common interest and work towards implementing governance processes at a global, national or local level. The main purpose of intergovernmental organisations is to work together on common areas of problem and to deal with economic and social implications. In the current era of increasing globalisation and interdependence of nations, IGOs have come to play an instrumental role in the international political systems and global governance. Similar trends of growth and development shifts in the arenas of political and social sciences has resulted in governance becoming one of the key themes in global environmental politics (Adger et al., 2001; Bernstein, 2004). The emergence of the need for global environmental governance entails the creation of international or global institutions to manage global commons or common problematic areas (Vogler, 2003). Since the environmental concerns know no boundaries, such concerns need to be catered to at a global level, thereby necessitating the need to rescale governance at a global level through intergovernmental organisations.

2.3.3 Civil society organisations

Governance implies that the capability to get things done, does not only rely on the power of the government to exercise its authority and command; rather there is a growing shift towards new forms of distributed local governance that relies on the "skills and resources of public, private and civil society sectors" (Reddel & Woolock, 2003, p. 81). Civil society-based institutions have had a notable historical impact on the formation of contemporary notions of nation and the creation of national identity on one hand, and on the definition of citizenship rights and democratic culture on the other hand (Kaldor, 2003). The probability of civil society becoming a "locus for democratic learning, political reflexivity and governance depends, firstly, on its specific institutional mechanisms and, secondly, on the broader institutional configuration, which civil society forms part of" (Boje, 2015, p. 243).

The definition of civil society in this context is very broad and comprehensive meanings are in place to understand the role and functions of civil society organisations. In 1994, Veneklasen defined civil society as a "sphere of social interaction between the household (family) and the state which is manifested in the norms of community cooperative, structures of voluntary association and networks of public communication … norms are values of trust, reciprocity, tolerance and inclusion, which are critical to cooperation and community problem solving, structure of association refers to the full range of informal and formal organisation through which citizens pursue common interests" (Ghaus-Pasha, 2005, p. 3). The concept of civil societies can also be understood in two distinctive ways, its role as a domain for activities of the citizens in the public sphere and as a framework for associations of different kinds. These two features explain the resurgence of civil society activism and represent an argument for a more extensive definition of civic participation (Edwards, 2009).

The salient features of successful civil society organisations (CSOs), which can be derived from the multiple definitions and interpretations in place include the following: separation from the market and the state; formed by people with common views, values, and interests; and development through a fundamentally endogenous and independent process which has no outside influence (Wapner, 1997). Organised civil societies include "public interest organisations, social movement organisations, churches, NGOs and promotional associations" (Boje, 2015, p. 243). However, a civil society is not synonymous to non-government organisations (NGOs). NGOs are a part of civil society; however, the latter is a broader concept, including all forms of organisations and associations that exist outside the state and the market (Carothers & Barndt, 1999). Civil society is widely recognised and acknowledged as an important third sector which can have a constructive influence on the state and the market. CSOs can therefore play an instrumental role as an enabler or an agent for promoting good governance like transparency, responsiveness, and accountability. CSOs can exercise and propagate good governance, "first, by policy analysis and advocacy; second, by regulation and monitoring of state performance and the action and behaviour of public officials; third, by building social capital and enabling citizens to identify and articulate their values, beliefs, civic norms and democratic practices; fourth, by mobilising particular constituencies,

particularly the vulnerable and marginalised sections of masses, to participate more fully in politics and public affairs; and fifth, by development work to improve the wellbeing of their own and other communities" (Ghausa-Pasha, 2005, p. 3). CSOs are also important in creating social capital which refers to a network of associations guided by multiple norms that enable people to unite and work towards common good. Social capital, like economic and human capital, is a vital pillar for effective governance. The framework and values that make up social capital, become the foundational basis for healthy societies, good governance, and economic prosperity (Vaneklasen, 1994).

Other benefits of CSOs that make them effective enablers of governance are as follows: firstly, CSOs are perceived as more flexible, responsive, representative and participatory - all important characteristics for sustained development; secondly, CSOs can foster grass root level mobilisation, enabling them to provide critical information on potential crises, and thus contribute to early warning systems; thirdly, CSOs require less financial investment as opposed to government agencies and are therefore more cost effective, an attribute that is particularly beneficial for the developing countries in the global South; fourthly, CSOs can be more innovative, efficient and have a wider perspective, as they involve local communities in identifying and resolving development problems in a sustainable way that is aligned with community norms; and lastly, CSOs play an instrumental role in advocating for and promoting effective governance (Gemmil & Bamidele-Izu, 2002).

The role of civil society should not be limited to only local and national initiatives. It can also play an effective role in global governance. Global civil society organisation can be understood as one of the approaches that moves away from "state centred analyses to consider the multiplicity of actors and institutions that influence the ways in which global environmental issues are addressed across different scales" (Bulkeley, 2005, p. 11). Therefore, governance can take place through 'spheres of authority' that may be territorial or non-territorial. Non-territorial networks can cooperate through the exercise of formal or informal authority to bring forth effective global governance (Weiss, 2016). Furthermore, political authority is not necessarily confined to territorial entities, such as global regimes and nation-states, but also accrues in non-state spaces such as civil society organisations (Betsil & Bulkeley, 2004). In fact, on a global scale, as Offe (1990) highlighted, crisis of politics has translated into crisis of policy in which political actors do not always have the sufficient and legitimate authority to enforce policies. Rather sustainable policies require active public support and for such support the political actors clearly need to rely on organised civil society organisations (Jenkins, 2001). Thus, the civil society sector can play a significant role in environmental governance by bringing forth local development, advocating policy change and contributing to spreading benefits of globalisation more equitably within and across different regions and nations.

2.3.4 Corporate/ private firms

Participation in governance or participatory governance involves different modes for engagement. These involve forming transformative partnerships, establishing a wide network of information exchanges, decentralising decision making and conducting cross-institutional dialogue and embracing associations

based on reciprocity and trust (Reddel & Woolcock, 2003). Focusing on the private sector, governance can be understood as an internal network of policies and frameworks to manage the social spill overs and externalities of the businesses, and measure performance against predetermined targets. Private governance is not just mere cooperation between private actors (Glasbergen, 2011). Cooperation entails modification of individual behaviour to achieve common and mutually beneficial goals. It has an ad hoc nature and is a short-term endeavour. In contrast, governance involves institutionalised interaction that is of a more permanent nature (Pattberg, 2006). “In a system of governance, individual actors do not constantly decide to be bound by the institutional norms based on a calculation of their interest but adjust their behaviour out of recognition of the legitimacy of the governance system” (Falkner, 2003, p. 73).

Focusing on private environmental governance, it occurs when private organisations including corporate firms act as enablers, performing governance functions that are conventionally assigned to state actors, such as management of resources and reduction of negative externalities (Light & Vandenbergh, 2016). Private initiatives set standards bilaterally through contracts and collectively through associations in the industry or multi-stakeholder processes, as well as through unilateral actions in response to influence of non-governmental third parties. Private governance instruments are often parallel to instruments used by state actors to achieve environmental objectives (Light and Orts, 2015). Private environmental governance can be conceived as a broad term that encompasses actions taken by private institutions such as corporate firms, non-governmental organisations, and other private actors to reduce negative environmental externalities by engaging in efficient and environmental-friendly resource allocation (Josselin & Wallace, 2001). Private environmental governance is inclusive of private environmental standards that firms, NGOs and other private agents make themselves and each other bound to, through formal contracts and through informal socio-economic pressure (Arts, 2006).

Private environmental governance occurs at both domestic and global levels. For instance, Walmart is a multinational firm that employs environmental standards in supply chain management that require its suppliers to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and optimise packaging (Light and Vandenbergh, 2016). Therefore, private governance systems can transcend national boundaries and international processes, thereby it creates opportunities when government is in gridlock (Coen & Pegram, 2018). There is a strong correlation between private governance and economic globalisation followed by corresponding reconfiguration of state functions. The rise of private environmental governance constitutes a transformational trend in global governance (Falkner, 2003). Increased globalisation has led to a decline in the conventional perception of nation-states, and in this aspect private governance points towards a shift away from the state-centric modes of governance to new forms of authority present in the global economy, with private agents emerging as new sovereign institutes (Graz & Nolke, 2007). Moreover, private governance can also be linked with transnationalism, and can be seen as a direct result of pressure exerted by activist groups like civil societies on private corporations. Corporate firms have become an important

instrument in the toolbox for civil societies when they are advocating environmental sustainability (Hansen, 2010).

An alternative conceptualisation of governance by private firms can be found in critical political economy where capitalist forces engage in "alliance building processes with a variety of state and civil society actors in an effort to realign the ideological and material bases of the dominant hegemonic order" (Falkner, 2003, p. 75). Global firms come together to establish environmental standards, as an effort to redirect the ideological focus in global environmental politics in the direction of market-oriented, deregulatory systems of governance (Djelic, 2006). Thus, the emergence of corporate-backed environmental institutions, highlights the ideological move towards bringing together international narratives about environmental crises, thereby helping to solidify the grip of the dominant class over anti-systemic forces (Dale et al., 2016).

2.4 Volunteering as a mode of environmental participation

By looking at the various definitions of volunteering around the world, a few main principles of volunteering can be highlighted; it is done by choice and without any obligation, without remuneration, for the benefit of others and in an organised context (Hankinson & Rochester, 2005). The boundaries of each of these principles are blurred giving rise to many forms of volunteering activities. All forms of volunteerism empower people to tackle complex developmental problems, transforming the nature and pace of development. It benefits both the society at large as well as volunteers on an individual level by strengthening trust, mutualism, and reciprocity amongst citizens and by creating opportunities for participation (Hockenos, 2011). Etzioni (2001) points out that when individuals socialise in a communitarian society, they have a moral obligation to that society, and thus, are likely to be more reasonably productive as opposed to isolated individuals. Within this structure, voluntary organisations have a very significant role, because not only do they fill the gap between the state and the market, but due to their close association with the citizens and communities, they become potential sites for the growth of active citizenship (Milligan and Conradson, 2006). Thus, environmental volunteerism can pave the path for active citizenship and environmental participation.

2.4.1 Environmental citizenship and participation

Citizen participation can be understood as the "basic building block for contemporary democratic society and sustainable communities" (Cuthill & Fien, 2005, p. 64). Researchers of today have proactively embraced the concept of citizenship, linking citizenship rights to civic participation, and voluntary and civil society-based endeavours (Marinetto, 2003). Citizens are central to governance as they are not only recipients of regulatory regimes but also shape these social environments (Kessy, 2013). Relationships between states and citizens are being radically re-configured as the boundaries of citizenship and who counts as a citizen are consolidated and contested. Governance is becoming more polycentric, with implications for how governments, businesses, voluntary organisations, community groups and individual citizens organise, make decisions, and take actions (Jordan et al., 2015).

The contemporary emerging understanding of citizenship interprets it “not as a passive conferring of social rights and responsibilities but as the active appropriation by the groups previously excluded from them” (Boje, 2015, p. 246). In this light, Boje points out that citizenship rights and obligations are associated with people’s willingness and ability to proactively participate in the society. Active participation may be in the form of gainful employment, engagement in unpaid work, or in caring activities and is translated into active citizenship when citizens see it as their responsibility in relation to their private and public obligations. Thus, active citizenship is closely related to social participation and volunteering in all spheres of life, from the shaping of civic, public, and private institutions to increased participation in social networks and voluntary activities and to the realisation of democratic rights in contemporary societies (Boje, 2009). Delanty (1997) talks about citizenship as a multi-layered concept that encompasses rights, responsibilities, participation, and identity (Martinho et al., 2015). In this context, civic participation is not perceived only in terms of citizens’ raising their voices but encompasses proactive involvement and active participation in provision of welfare services (Barber, 2007). Furthermore, active participation leads to social cohesion, thereby building the necessary social capital in the communities. Social capital is nurtured through social networks that are formed through various forms of participation. One way of social networking can be through participation in civil societies, while another way to build social networks can be participation in non-profit organisations which aids in enforcement of social norms (Woolley, 2016).

Focusing on the environment, effective environmental citizenship can lead to sustainable societies, where the attitudes, abilities and participation levels of the citizens will determine the evolution of societies (Dobson, 2007). The concept of environmental citizenship can be understood in different ways. Firstly, it can refer to education of values and practices necessary to achieve sustainability, where the principal idea is that “progress toward sustainability is achievable through incremental shifts in everyday personal behaviours” (Martinho et al., 2015, p. 2). Thus, Martinho et al. (2015) makes a point that citizens need to adopt good green behaviours. Secondly, in a more contemporary interpretation, environmental citizenship talks less about the right behaviour governed by environmental responsibilities and refers more to environmental rights. Here citizenship is a way of highlighting the differential risks to specific human bodies and the ways in which public and private institutions often overlook the environmental rights of specific people (Gabrielson & Parady., 2010). Thirdly, another explanation of environmental citizenship considers it as a “non-territorial form of citizenship, developing not in the institutions of the nation-state but within the cultural and political spaces of contemporary environmentalism” (Martinho et al., 2015, p. 3). Such notion is aligned with the concept of ‘post-cosmopolitan ecological citizenship’ put forth by Andrew Dobson (2003), where affluent groups in the privileged strata have the greatest responsibility to take action to make their lifestyles more environmentally friendly and sustainable. Thus, narratives on environmental citizenship are based on the ideas of participatory democracy, proactive involvement, awareness of rights, responsibilities, and entitlements. The definition and practice of citizenship is not universal and varies across time and space. (Hayden, 2010). Therefore, it is pivotal to deepen the current meaning of environmental citizenship

and effectively explore the practices of environmental citizenship, thereby proactively engaging in environmental participation.

2.4.2 Levels and frameworks of environmental participation

Active citizenship and participation can be in the form of volunteering in civic organisations and/or as activism in social movements, thereby advocating for participatory democracy (Henriksen & Svedberg, 2010). Citizen participation plays an instrumental role, not only because it is an important tool for good governance, advocating accountability and responsiveness, but also because it can be seen as a pivotal element, right and responsibility of citizenship itself (Petriwskyj, 2008). The level of civic participation is potentially determined by the level of integration of citizens in the social networks that propagate democratic decision making and volunteering. It can be argued that the level of participation and volunteering is therefore dependent on the on the extensiveness of social network, associative organisations, and social equality in the society (Simon, 2008).

Participation can be manifested in diverse forms. As a part of preparation for the UN International Year of Volunteers, four broad thematic areas were identified to cover the diverse spectrum of participation and volunteering (Smith, 2000). Firstly, ‘mutual aid or self-help’ can be identified as one form of participation where groups of people with shared problems, issues, challenges, or agendas work together to address them. Secondly, ‘philanthropy and service to others’ is another framework of participation which typically involves organisations that recruit volunteers to provide particular social or welfare services to external parties. Thirdly, ‘participation’ refers to proactive engagement in the political or decision-making processes at any level. Fourthly, ‘advocacy and campaigning’ is another level of participation, which can be understood as collective action focused at ensuring or preventing change, such as campaigning against projects that may be seen as a potential threat or damaging to the environment. Thus, broadly speaking, Hankinson and Rochester (2005) identified four categories of volunteers engaging in participation - service volunteers, campaigners, self-help or mutual aid, governance, and participation. Millora (2020) has revised the typology presented by Smith (2000) and included volunteering as leisure. He argues that this “type would cover volunteering motivated by a personal interest, in activities such as concerts, arts and sports events and tourism. This type of volunteering includes the wealth of volunteer activities primarily conducted by individuals to obtain human, social, and cultural capital that could be valuable, for example, for young people entering the job market. It is important to highlight that thinking of volunteering as leisure does not mean a frivolous activity performed by hobbyists and nor is it synonymous with “voluntourism” (a combination of leisure travel and charity work that is not compatible with principles of effective and sustainable development)” (Millora, 2020, p.13). Specifically talking about environmental citizenship and participation, an academic study done by Martinho et al. (2015) reflects on environmental citizenship as a contested concept, closely associated with the concept of action competence. The authors further reflect on Connelly’s (2006) ideas of key virtues of environmental citizenship and how it is not possible to legislate these virtues, though the state can encourage it indirectly through various incentives and sanctions. The

‘do-it-yourself’ approach to environmental citizenship will only take us part of the way there; an environmental citizenship also requires an active state. The potentially eco-virtuous life is characterised by a need for reminding. It is in the gap between minding and being reminded that encouraging the virtues of environmental citizenship can make an important difference (Connelly, 2006).

Using the prototypes explained by Renn (2008), Martinho et al. (2015) has mapped out different approaches to citizen participation into six different frameworks. First level or framework can be described as functionalist, where participation can be viewed as accumulating all the knowledge relevant to a particular problem when engaging in decision making processes; second approach leans towards neo-liberal ideology where the stakeholder/citizen participation is primarily focused on thorough collection and representation of public preferences; third type of framework can be described as deliberative which is centred towards identifying and ascertaining common good through rational exchange of arguments and dialogue; fourth level can be identified as anthropological that focuses on the engagement of a ‘model’ citizen, through a separate jury structure constituting non-interested laypersons who employ rationale and common sense to decide between conflicting interests; fifth approach can be described as emancipatory, whereby the lower income or less privileged people of the society are given an opportunity to discuss their issues, and participation is seen as means of empowering them to raise their voices and become more politically active; last and final category can be described as postmodern, where the primary purpose of participation is to inform the policy process by bringing forth the diversity of facts, claims, values and opinions. Thus, these frameworks or approaches can be used to understand the different levels of participation and can be further extrapolated to understand the essence and need of different levels of environmental participation.

2.4.3 Volunteering as a link between environmental participation and governance

Volunteerism as a form of civic participation can be an effective mechanism for giving citizens a voice in decision making and encouraging social inclusion in the governance framework. While both state and the market are important actors in the provision of social welfare, community and voluntary organisations are also critical players (Milligan & Conradson, 2006). This is the central tenet of the concept of ‘third way’ developed by Giddens (1998). Etzioni (2001) further highlights that the purpose of ‘third way’ is to engage the citizens in the development of responsible communities. Individuals socialised into communitarian societies, through tools like volunteerism, are seen as more productive than isolated individuals. Thus, volunteering activities not only “bridge the gap between state and market, but through their close connection to citizens and local communities, they also have the potential to act as sites for the development of active citizenship” (Milligan & Conradson, 2006, p. 1). Dekker and Halman (2003) call volunteer work as an “ideal medium for binding together a modern society in which traditional integrating frameworks have disappeared and people enter into relationships on the basis of common interests and shared aims.”

With a growing intervention of the voluntary sector in national level policy agendas, the relationship between volunteerism, place, governance, social and political context has been re-examined to give rise to a concept referred to as the 'shadow state' (Fyfe & Milligan, 2003). Voluntary organisations are always under the dilemma of whether they should accept state funding, giving the state more control, or remain independent, thereby retaining their autonomy (Diamond, 1994). The former kind of organisations constitute what is referred to as the 'shadow state', thereby encouraging citizen participation at an institutional level (Wolch, 1990). Voluntary sector encourages collective participation and therefore serves as an efficient solution to several governance issues and dilemmas (Bass et al., 1995). "It offers governments the prospect of addressing and being seen to address intractable problems through welfare services provided beyond the state, which are thought to involve lower costs, while being effective and innovative" (Milligan and Conradson, 2006, p. 15). Hence, the growing role of volunteerism can effectively lead to increased participation that can be understood as a remedy to governance problems or in other words can be interpreted as an 'institutional fix' (Peck and Tickell, 1994).

Participation and governance are key areas of volunteerism. Participants feel encouraged to be a part of an activity that is working towards valuable causes (Hankinson and Rochester, 2005). Enjolras (2009) posits that voluntary organisation can be seen as governance structures reinforcing the principle of reciprocity. Their operational structure allows them to rectify problems of coordination failure and remain relatively more efficient than other organisational forms. "Voluntary organisations' governance structure presents some specific features in terms of formal ends, ownership, residual claims, decision-making procedures, accountability, checks and balances, control procedures and embedded incentives facilitating collective action oriented towards public or mutual interest or towards advocacy" (Enjolras, 2009, p. 3). Talking about civic participation and volunteering, Petriwskyj (2008) highlighted those individual decisions and actions are important not simply to propagate individual citizenship, but also to contribute towards augmenting the capacity of third sector organisations (voluntary organisations) in governance, especially when these organisations are used as a link between governments and communities. Individual beliefs, motivations and attitudes strongly influence collaborations and partnerships at a community level, which in turn become a strong force in governance (Clark, 1995).

Volunteering also performs the function of reintegrating the marginalised groups back into the society. Focusing on environmental volunteering, it can help build up social capital and contribute to community development, inculcating environmental values in people, thereby positively influencing their attitudes, and motivating them to engage proactively in environmental governance (O'Brien et al., 2008). The contemporary environmental challenges require multi-sectoral and multi-stakeholder responses that acknowledge the diverse contextual spectrum of issues across the globe. "In a dynamic world, the core principle of volunteerism remains a constant – a creative resource present in every society to support multidimensional responses to the challenge of ensuring environmental sustainability" (UN Volunteers, 2014, p. 1). Volunteerism has been an effective driver of the global environmental movement, ensuring

mobilisation of communities at a grass-root level, to help address environmental problems (Ramsey, 2012). UN Volunteers (2014) demonstrates how integrating volunteerism into a development framework as a mechanism for achieving environmental sustainability is crucial. When well supported, volunteerism not only facilitates the achievement of environmentally sustainable outcomes but also propagates "long-term processes that help to build the resilience of communities, improve capacity for local self-sufficiency, encourage empowerment at the grassroots level and durably change attitudes and mindsets, which is necessary to sustain environmental gains" (UN Volunteers, 2014, p. 2). Thus, volunteerism is shown to foster productive participation at an individual as well as a community level, thereby serving as an optimal link between participation and environmental governance processes.

2.5 Environmental volunteering

According to a Scottish Government Report (2007), environmental volunteering can be defined as "the engagement of volunteers to achieve environmental gains". The common feature distinguishing environmental volunteering from other forms of volunteering is the environment (O'Brien et al., 2008). The future of environmental conservation ultimately depends on effective environmental volunteerism, relying on the "collective impact of actions taken by individuals" (Hunter, 2010). Mc Dougle et al. (2011, p.325) highlight those environmental issues are particularly salient for the generation of today and many suggest "that it will be this generation that will lead the environmental movement forward". While a lot of people choose to engage in environmentally friendly behaviours, there are some people who are going a step further by engaging in organised or formal environmental volunteerism through volunteer organisations (Hunter, 2010).

2.5.1 Existing avenues and types

Advocating societal involvement involves encouraging individuals to engage in volunteer work, which in turn builds social capital and encourages social cohesion through sustainable social relations (Boje, 2010). Volunteerism exists in different forms and is manifested through different avenues including non-governmental organisations (NGOs), civil societies, public interest organisations, churches, social movement organisations, promotional associations and even the corporate sector through corporate social initiatives (Salamon & Anheier, 1997). Informal social networks, social contacts in communities and circles of friends grouped together for a social cause can also constitute as volunteering and can prove to be an effective avenue to bring forth "cohesion of the society and the integration of individuals" (Boje, 2015, p. 244).

Exploring different types and modes of environmental volunteering, five principal categories can be identified: "activism, education, monitoring, restoration and sustainable living" (Measham & Barnett, 2007, p. 7). Any single volunteer programme may be engaged in more than one type of activity in any given context. Measham and Barnett (2007) elaborate on each of these five modes of environmental volunteerism. Firstly, activism is one of the main strands of volunteerism. Discussing activism, Bell (1999) postulated that volunteering lies at the core of social action in civil society and is representative of a

proactive engagement aimed at bringing about positive change and empowerment. The key objective of environmental volunteerism is to protect the environment and mitigate environmental damage by encouraging environmental-friendly behaviour. Globally, international activist groups such as Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth encourage volunteers to sign up and campaign for causes like climate change. At a local scale, multiple 'action groups' rely on volunteers to campaign on a myriad of topics, from improving local waterways (Fine & Skoien, 2002) to urban development pressures (Costello & Dunn, 1994).

Secondly, education is another major type of environmental volunteering that focuses on community education on any given topic. For example, 'Volunteers for Environment and Education Program (2006)' in Nepal was a charity organisation which involved skilled volunteers who were responsible for educating rural communities about environmental concerns like waste management and tree plantation and assisting them to come up with possible solutions to these concerns. Similarly, there are several volunteer schemes across the globe, that involve volunteer guided tours of different environmental sites to increase awareness, at a community level, of the "scientific, educational, recreational and conservation functions" that need to be undertaken to protect the environment (Measham & Barnett, 2007).

Thirdly, another significant type of volunteering work involves environmental monitoring. Jacoby et al. (1997) and Carr (2004) highlight the importance of human capital in the form of volunteer groups to carry out environmental monitoring activities. Major government organisations such as the 'US Environmental Protection Agency' recruit volunteers to undertake various monitoring functions, maintaining a national directory of over 700 volunteer monitoring programs (Savan et al., 2003). Bridging informational gaps in broader monitoring processes is another important form of volunteer contribution in environmental volunteering (Measham & Barnett, 2007).

Fourthly, another focus area in environmental volunteerism is ecological restoration which involves volunteers engaging in "removal of noxious weeds, replanting of vegetation and providing habitat for wildlife" (Measham & Barnett, 2007, p. 10). Volunteer contributions in environmental protection and restoration at a local level are generally measured and evaluated in terms of improvements to environmental quality (Fien & Skoien, 2002). Volunteers involved in environmental restoration broadly focus on reducing negative externalities while creating and fostering opportunities that contribute to a sustainable environment.

Lastly, Measham & Barnett (2007) highlight the more recent type of environmental volunteerism that refers to the emerging and growing agenda of reducing ecological footprint, by focusing on effective ways of utilising the resource of energy and engaging in waste reduction at a household level. For example, the 'Green Volunteer Network' of Singapore propagates practices such as eco-labelling, sustainable transport use and recycling (Hobson, 2006). This mode of environmental volunteerism is still developing as a distinct genre, and significantly overlaps with the modes of 'activism' and 'education' due to its strong focus on

campaigns to promote uptake of specific practices and the education mode through its linkages with formal school programmes and environmental festivals.

2.5.2 Challenges and opportunities

Volunteerism fulfils different functions for different individuals; therefore, it is important to understand the motivations behind volunteering. Measham & Barnett (2007) postulate that four broad categories can be synthesised to understand the motivation behind volunteer work. The first category entails extending help to support a cause or make efforts to give back to the community. Second category refers to social contract, i.e., building social capital by connecting with new people. Third category refers to personal development including acquiring new skills and gaining experience. The final category refers to a broad manifestation of pursuing self-interest, for example developing an in-depth understanding of a particular issue or wanting to contribute new ideas to a particular field of interest in volunteer work. Focusing on environmental volunteering, the motivations behind it are more or less consistent with the four broad categories identified above, and can be broken down into six motivational factors that can help further explain the motivations characterising the dimension of environmental volunteerism: "helping a cause, social interaction, improving skills, learning about the environment, general desire to care for the environment, desire to care for a particular place" (Measham & Barnett, 2007, p. 6).

Despite different sources motivating individuals to engage in environmental volunteering, there are multiple barriers that pose as significant challenges in volunteering generally and environmental volunteering specifically. One of the foremost barriers to volunteering is lack of time available to engage in it (O'Brien et al., 2008). "The most common barrier to volunteering reported by non-volunteers is that they are too busy" (Pope, 2005, p. 30). A related issue put forth by the Commission on the Future of Volunteering (2008) is the public perception that volunteering entails a long-term commitment; people do not want to engage in it unless they know that they will be able to show up for it on a regular basis. Management constraints pose another challenge; the cost of planning volunteer schemes, recruiting volunteers and supporting volunteers may discourage many organisations from engaging in volunteerism (Tacticos & Gardner, 2005). "Co-management of natural resources'', perceived variance in the objectives and intentions of some of the participants and "past negative experiences with collaboration" may pose as barriers in managing and executing effective volunteer schemes (Plummer & Arai, 2005, pp. 228-229). Another potential concern under the scope of management constraints is that of risk and liability, especially in relation to corporate volunteering. For example, corporate volunteers who receive pay/stipend might not then be considered as volunteers as per the definition of volunteerism, and therefore might not be protected by civil liability laws (McGregor Lowndes, 2005).

Moreover, lack of information about volunteering opportunities and lack of awareness of what constitutes a volunteering commitment poses barriers to participation in volunteer work (Pope, 2005). Many times, the information that is available is not in accessible formats. A report by The Commission on the Future of Volunteering (2008) states that for disabled participants and those from black and minority ethnic

communities, this barrier can be compounded by the fact that what information is available is often not in accessible formats, thereby excluding people belonging to low socio-economic groups. Another group affected by lack of easy access to information are the people who do not deem themselves physically fit to engage in voluntary work. They are not aware of the diverse range of activities involved in volunteerism which do not require extra strength or fitness. In addition to the above identified challenges, other constraints include "being unable to volunteer due to disability, remoteness or lack of transport" (Pope, 2005, p. 33). Lack of confidence in abilities, unfriendly treatment by organisers, mundane operational tasks, lack of productive feedback are also some of the other challenges that come up in environmental volunteering work (O'Brien et al., 2008). Furthermore, another issue is that of volunteer burnout "in the form of low personal accomplishment" (Byron & Curtis, 2002, p. 66).

While environmental volunteering has its challenges, it also has many benefits that can be translated into a spectrum of opportunities. The perceived benefits of volunteering are closely related to the motivations for volunteering (Holmes, 2009). Moreover, the opportunity to pick volunteer activities that match the individual's motivations, leads to positive outcomes (Houle et al., 2005). However, there is also a second level of benefits of volunteerism that includes benefits to the organisation, the community, and the environment.

Firstly, volunteerism creates the opportunity to build social capital leading to social inclusion. Social capital refers to social networks that pave the path for cohesion within communities, fostering a spirit of cooperation (Wang & Graddy, 2008). "Volunteering directly connects individuals to their communities and breeds the sense of social obligation needed for action at the local level" (Narushima, 2005). There are two types of social capital; 'bonding social capital' which solidifies the bond between similar individuals, and 'bridging social capital' which solidifies the bond between unlike people and groups (Putnam, 2000). Environmental volunteerism creates the opportunity to develop and foster both kinds of social capital which also paves way to overcome social exclusion. This is especially true of environmental volunteering. Dalgleish (2006, p. 12) observes,

"Environmental volunteering offers the potential to engage people who had previously not been engaged with the environment, including the excluded, with a focus on the environment as a common language and a common baseline for all. ...for both the excluded and the non-excluded the common ground can expose people to individuals who challenge their stereotypes and provide a platform for genuine integration. Working in the physical environment breaks down the categories into which people are placed and the opportunity to contribute is genuinely equal."

Secondly, the theme of inclusion is closely linked to the notion of citizenship and empowerment. Environmental volunteering can forge a strong link between citizens of the nation and the nation. People view the environment as a common interest and therefore it becomes the starting point for integration of people in their respective communities (Berkes, 2004). Highlighting the link between volunteering and

citizenship, Hoogland (2001) observes that the members were not individuals, clients, or consumers. Rather they were citizens. Acting together, they were powerful tools of social production. Such a strong level of citizenship is empowering for individuals. Gooch (2004, p. 204) notes that "some volunteers spoke of participation in voluntary activities as being personally empowering, as the experiences gave them the opportunity to develop personal skills and confidence, including the ability to speak to influential people. Empowering individuals by using a range of common-sense and self-help strategies helps to develop resilience in individuals, and this has positive benefits for the whole group and the wider community."

Thirdly, volunteering also leads to improvements in health and well-being. "For older volunteers in particular, volunteering can improve physical health and mental well-being, providing a means to keep active and contribute to communities" (Dalgleish, 2006, p. 10). Volunteering, especially environmental volunteering also contributes to better mental health (Li and Ferraro, 2006). In addition, volunteering leads to improved secondary health benefits including enhanced social capital via better social integration, and improved self-esteem and pride. Volunteer work is associated with a sense of pride for the participants, and they feel respected within the group or organisations they work for, which also contributes to their ongoing commitment with the organisations (Boezeman and Ellemers, 2007). Furthermore, these health benefits are increased when volunteering revolves around 'nature'.

Other benefits and opportunities include organisations meeting their objectives with the help of volunteers; volunteers getting the opportunity of gaining a skill set through training workshops conducted by organisations; enhanced insight into environmental concerns leading to increased environmental awareness, knowledge, attachment, and a sense of responsibility towards the environment (Leyshon & Fish, 2011).

2.6 Environmental volunteering and youth

Volunteerism plays an instrumental role in providing young people with opportunities to bring about a positive change in the society, and it is becoming an increasingly relevant mechanism to engage young people in global peace and sustainable development. Young people also feel volunteerism goes hand in hand with formal education in teaching skills that are necessary for the job market (Hockenos, 2011). Focusing on environmental volunteering, environmental issues are particularly salient for the youth of today, and many researchers suggest that it will be the young generation that will drive the environmental movement forward (Mc Dougle et al., 2011). Lorimer (2010) notes that environmental volunteering is a mode of 'active citizenship' and posits that environmental volunteering boom has been accompanied by a growing interest in volunteerism and its relationships to citizenship. Fisher et al. (2012) notes that environmental volunteering allows citizens to become agents of change and co-creators of democracy, getting involved in decision making through their actual work.

To contribute to environmental protection and care, youth have already begun mobilising their peers via social media and other online forums to discuss, debate and campaign for better environmental protection.

“Youth efforts range from local initiatives to international campaigns, some influential enough to reach policymakers and national leaders” (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs Capacity Building, 2018). As more and more youth are forming networks and connecting, they also use online platforms to raise awareness, educate, share knowledge, and increase outreach. Thus, young individuals act as active agents advocating, lobbying and driving campaigns towards adopting environmentally friendly and sustainable policies and practices that govern daily lifestyles (Micheletti & Stolle, 2012).

2.6.1 Environmental volunteering as a mode of youth engagement

Contemporary research puts emphasis on ‘youth civic engagement’ and ‘youth engagement in organisational governance’. Zeldin (2004) through his academic research reached the conclusion that engaging youth in different forms of decision-making processes ensured that they remain committed to their organisations, and it positively contributed to their growth and development. Thus, youth need to be recognised as a societal asset, and therefore should be actively engaged through various modes of engagement programmes such as volunteer programmes. One of the main aims of national and international organisations is to involve young individuals in community life and participation (Brondi et al., 2012). Focusing on environmental programmes, Brondi et al. discuss two main types of environmental programmes: moralistic and democratic. The former aims at promoting sustainable lifestyles by encouraging environmentally friendly behaviour whilst the latter is more focused on educating the individual, helping them develop forms of critical thinking, the ability to identify and discuss environmental problems, and encourage the active participation of youth in the life of the communities (Schnack, 2008). Both the approaches of environmental programmes assume the paradigm of young individuals as ‘“citizens in the making”, thereby acknowledging the role of youth as active citizens (Brondi et al., 2012). This is further emphasised by the United Nations (1992) that acknowledged youth as key stakeholders in environmental participation. Many young people have more power and potential today to create a change on local, national, and global levels, than they had in the previous generations (Corriero, 2004).

Informed efforts such as well-designed volunteer activities to engage young individuals in environmental issues could have “implications for their interest and involvement in environmental action throughout their lives” (Arnold et al., 2009, p. 28). Therefore, environmental volunteering opportunities need to be designed in such a way that in addition to engaging youth, they also sustain their participation, to become an effective mode of youth engagement. In general, youth engagement can be defined as “the meaningful participation and sustained involvement of a young person in an activity that has a focus outside himself or herself” (Pancer et al., 2002, p. 49). Zeldin (2004) indicates in his research that youth participation is sustained when an educational or organisational entity provides activities that engender a sense of competence, requires the active construction of knowledge by the young person, and involves a depth of understanding that challenges one’s current capabilities or sense of self. (Kay & Bradbury, 2009). Such levels of continued engagement and positive outcomes are further promoted when young individuals have a “legitimate chance to meet the genuine needs of self and others, and to shape their own environments” (Zeldin, 2004, p. 76).

Therefore, well-structured volunteer programmes can act as effective youth development programmes, providing young individuals with the opportunity to actively participate in decision making processes, thereby empowering them to tackle real world challenges that results in a feeling of accomplishment (Ramey & Rose-Krasnor, 2012).

Environmental volunteering propagates and fosters environmental action that involves “deliberate decisions, planning, implementation, and reflection by an individual or group intended to achieve a specific environmental outcome” (Schusler & Krasny, 2010, p.208). Environmental action be seen as educative, where the aim is not only to influence environmental behaviours and attitudes, but to also engage youth to actively participate in planning and decision making in environmental issues they find relevant. Thus, not only is there a positive impact on the natural environment, but these rich experiences help youth grow as active citizens, because they involve direct and authentic participation at a community level (Riener & Hickman, 2014). In propagating youth engagement and fostering citizenship skills, environmental volunteering can be considered as one mode of environmental education that promotes a variety of positive outcomes, in addition to advocating for environmentally responsible behaviours. These positive outcomes are directly related to physical development (health habits and active lifestyles), intellectual development (critical thinking and decision-making skills), psychological and emotional development (emotional self-regulation, self-confidence, and a sense of accomplishment) and social development (building social networks and a sense of social place), thereby leading to a well-rounded growth and development of young individuals (Eccles & Gootman, 2002). Thus, environmental volunteering is an effective mode of youth engagement, fostering environmental action that leads to environmental improvement, alongside youth development, helping young individuals grow as active citizens through direct and authentic participation in environmental issues (Delia & Krasny, 2018).

2.6.2 Levels and frameworks of youth environmental engagement

It is important to understand why young individuals are a good target group for civic environmental engagement. Several reasons include: firstly, people are forming their identities in the period of adolescence and emerging adulthood and therefore it is important that young people see themselves as active participants in their communities; secondly, historically youth has always been at the forefront of socio-political movements and have had successful outcomes; thirdly, young individuals serve as effective messengers engaging in active networking across different groups; fourthly, young people nowadays are exposed to various informative and educative programmes as well as modern technology, and therefore require less training to spread awareness about environmental issues and lastly, young people are more likely to be risk-loving because typically their livelihoods are not directly being put at risk, and they have fewer time or monetary constraints, as opposed to older working adults (Riemer et al., 2014). Hence, there is an increasing realisation that active youth engagement is a prerequisite for healthy communities (Gordon, 2008).

Youth engagement programmes "contribute to the development of youth by fostering active citizenship. These programmes instil a sense of social responsibility in youth that will sustain into adulthood. Programmes achieve these aims by providing opportunities for capacity building and leadership and by encouraging youth to develop a sense of self-awareness" (Shen et al., 2006, p. 1). Such engagement approaches can include a diverse spectrum of activities including volunteering for environmental organisations, after-school activities, community events and programmes. Youth engagement in environmental programmes can vary across the spectrum, manifesting in formal, informal and/or virtual settings (Ballard et al., 2017). Riemer et al. (2014) draw on youth engagement literature to come up with a five-part framework for youth engagement that addresses some of the gaps which hinder effective youth participation, such as inefficient approaches to communication and collaboration. Major components of this framework include: the engagement activity/programme (including objectives, structure, and quality); initiating factors; the engagement process (including intensity, breadth, and duration); sustaining factors; and individual, relational, system and environmental outcomes.

The key idea is that there are initial motivating factors that encourage the young individuals to become engaged in environmental programmes. Everyone can engage for different durations and intensity levels. The sustaining factors such as positive learning experiences, play an instrumental role in ensuring continued participation of the youth. Successful engagement can in turn lead to positive short-term and long-term outcomes, both specific to the young individuals as well as regarding their relationships with society. "The dynamic and complex nature of the engagement process is recognised by including mediators and moderators and by modelling direct and mediated feedback loops between components" (Riemer et al., 2014, p. 558). This five-pronged model provides a framework that ensures effective youth participation, by giving young individuals "the ability to define the context of their participation and act as co-creators or partners in an activity that brings meaningful change to the participants (as individuals) and/or to the community the participants belong to" (Riemer et al., 2014, p. 570). A well-rounded youth engagement experience will include all three dimensions of intensity, breadth, and duration and the elements of affection, cognitive understanding, and behaviour . Noor & Fatima (2012) have used a participatory approach to propose another comprehensive framework that can utilise youth communities as active agents of change, thereby effectively engaging youth in environmental management. Keeping in mind the instrumental role that youth communities can play in catalysing improvements in local environments, there is a dire need of an infrastructure that will "design, implement and monitor all the processes as well as provide resources for such projects" (Noor & Fatima, 2012, p. 31).

2.7 Gendered dimensions of youth volunteering for the environment

Volunteering is a gendered phenomenon and remains understudied particularly in the global South context. Most gendered analyses of volunteering are Northern-focused and have understood gender dimensions of volunteering from a social-psychological perspective (Cadesky et al., 2019). However, in developing country contexts like Pakistan, women's lack of formal participation in community programmes, while the

men actively participate, reinforces pre-existing gender inequality, and leads to further disempowerment of women (Agarwal, 1998). Banerjea (2011) attempts to understand voluntary participation of women in India and demonstrates that female volunteering is practiced through stereotypical images of socially and economically marginalised women. She argues that gendered dimensions of volunteering should be further understood in multiple geographical contexts to move beyond traditional male vs. female voluntary participation rhetoric. In general citizenship literature, attempts towards diversification have been made especially from the feminist perspective (Lister 1997) and translated to environmental citizenship via ecofeminism (MacGregor 2004). Furthermore, geographic environmental citizenship literature is interested in wider questions of inclusion and exclusion, as well as related alternative conceptualisations on what environmental citizenship means, and how it is narrated, imagined, and acted in different places for different genders (Fadaee 2017).

Various factors, reinforced by traditional norms, constrain women in engaging in volunteering activities and participation, as highlighted by Agarwal (1998). Firstly, there are logistical constraints associated with 'double-burden' and 'triple-burden' of women. Domestic chores come in way and thus, they are rarely able to attend long meetings unless there is a family support system that can share household responsibilities. If there is an elder in the house, then women of the house are more likely to be responsible for their care, which at times becomes an additional hindrance when trying to opt for other activities. Secondly, male bias is persistent especially in certain types of volunteering activities that involve field work. Agarwal (1998) gives the example of male forest officers, who rarely consult women when preparing micro-plans for forest development in villages. Women also complain of the fact that whenever there is a dispute, men always crosscheck with men to ascertain the validity of women's claims. Thirdly, there are various forms of social constraints in place such as "female seclusion practices or a more subtle disapproval of women's presence in public spaces; specification of appropriate female behaviour and forms of public interaction; social perceptions (articulated in various ways) that women are less capable than men or that their participation in public forums is not appropriate or necessary; and so on" (Agarwal, 1998, p. 152). In addition to this, committee meetings consist of only men, whose opinions are taken to be representative of the whole family. Fourthly, there is an absence of what Agarwal (1998) calls "critical mass" of women. Majority of the women feel that their individual opinions are not significant enough to bring forth any change, however, they might be able to represent their interests collectively. Moreover, women feel that their authority is not recognised and therefore when they participate in discussions, their ideas are not listened to. Thus, they become what Agarwal (1998) calls "discouraged dropouts".

Discussing gender experiences of local volunteers, Cadesky et al. (2019) describe how volunteers often dealt with family resistance when they expressed their desire to volunteer, and the source of this resistance was often grounded in socially prescribed norms dictating how men and women should conduct themselves in the society. Gender norms constrain women, particularly young women, from travelling away from homes (Grunenfelder, 2013). "Female volunteers may find it hard to persuade their families to allow them to

volunteer, in contexts or communities where women do not normally work outside the home, and/or for pay. In contexts where men are seen as family breadwinners, and move around freely outside the home, male volunteers may find it easier to gain family approval for them to volunteer" (Cadesky et al., 2019, p. 380). Moreover, Cavaliere (2015) points out that the conventional gender division of labour can be found amongst volunteers as well, where female volunteers can be seen engaging in indoor activities or 'caring roles', while male volunteers tend to take on more front-line roles and engage in field work. Some research has argued that men are more likely than women to express interest in risk taking volunteer roles, while women express more interest in helping roles (Wymer, 2011). However, it is important to understand that reasons for this are grounded not in some innate quality of female gender, but in gender relations dictated by societal norms (Trobst & Embree, 1994).

Thus, gendered expectations and gendered social norms extend into the realm of volunteerism as well. Cadesky et al. (2019, p. 382) points out that volunteers need to "navigate through social codes and norms around gender, and in turn reconstruct or reflect back these norms. ...It begins to reveal the productive potential that volunteering offers volunteers to challenge gender norms, as well as for consolidating and confirming them." Therefore, it is crucial to maximise the potential of volunteer experience, by enabling volunteers to challenge gender inequality and work towards women empowerment.

2.8 Chapter conclusion

This chapter delved into the academic and grey literature with a stronger focus on themes of multi-level environmental governance, volunteering a mode of environmental participation and youth engagement. The chapter also identified gendered dimensions of youth volunteering for the environment. It is worth noting that most literature presented in the chapter is framed by the experiences of the global North. My research brings forward the volunteering actors, perceptions, and experiences across multiple geographical levels in Pakistan which could help contextualise some of the themes identified in the literature in a global South context. Chapter 3 outlines the conceptual framework applied to answer the research questions and explore the themes identified in the literature review.

Chapter 3

Conceptual Framework

CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Foucauldian approach

While the world continues to face unprecedented global environmental challenges, the environmental governance architecture erected following Agenda 21 has continuously failed to achieve the vision of sustainable development first developed in 1992 (Park, 2008). Thew (2018) describes how reaching consensus and initiating state-led action has proven difficult, and there is a growing recognition of supplementing governmental resources through multi-actor solutions. The number and diversity of non-state actors in environmental governance processes is increasing rapidly at multiple scales and geographical levels (Bulkeley & Newell, 2015). Thus, there has been increasing importance placed on individual citizens including young people in relation to environmental issues, and their capacity to manage environmental resources by both state and non-state actors (Lane & McDonald, 2005, p. 705).

Luke (1999) argues that environment has come to be understood as a sphere upon which the vitality of the economy, state and population depends. This understanding has led to conceptualisation that the environment, and people's relationship to it, requires management and intervention leading to targeting of nature and social body (Rutherford, 1999). Apart from these two targets, the body of the individual has similarly become the object of government (Luke, 1999). Making sense of this complex landscape has become increasingly difficult. In the past two decades, various approaches have been used to analyse processes of environmental governance including the relationship between state and non-state actors, notably emerging are the concepts of 'environmentality' and 'green governmentality' which build on the works of Michel Foucault on techniques and rationalities involved in both governing the self and governing others (Fletchers, 2017; Cupers, 2008).

In seminal work linking Foucault's writings about governmentality to environmental issues, Luke describes green governmentality as "the disciplinary articulations of sustainability and development [which] centre on establishing and enforcing the right disposition of things between humans and their environment" (1999, p.146) and environmentality as the embedding of "instrumental rationalities in the policing of ecological spaces" (1995, p. 66). Kelly (2000) notes similar narratives have been applied to regulating the actions and thoughts of young people. These techniques and technologies have traditionally augmented from risk, fear, and uncertainty about this population group (Besley, 2010). However, there has been an ideological shift from language of discipline and reform to empowerment of young people, expanding to various sectors including environment across the globe (Dean, 2011). Salafsky (2001, p.185) points out that use of these concepts was a "natural" next step in better understanding environmental governance processes. While governance describes forms of steering that take place by state and non-state actors using different techniques of decision making, using governmentality or environmentality framework allows to fully understand political rationalities and technologies used to inform environmental change. Among the benefits of using a governmentality framework is the inclusion of both cultural and administrative aspects

that together form the governmental rationality of a national context (Keskitalo et al., 2012). The governmentality perspective allows for the analysis of the types of (governmental) practices and techniques that produce certain types of identities and behaviour, as appropriate, legitimate, or effective (Neumann & Sending 2007).

Joseph (2018) acknowledges that a wide array of environmental governance literature within and outside of geography focuses on using Foucauldian frame to comprehend reorientation of governmental responsibility, especially the formation of individual and collective environmental subjects, and recently, the actualisation of this imperative through volunteerism. Nightingale (2018) notes that various scalar processes acting at the global, national, regional, and local levels impact 'how people come to internalise the mandates of the state within themselves' (Robbins 2012, p. 75) as they become environmental subjects. Hobson (2013) argues that much of this work highlights values and actions embedded in complex socio-political landscapes from which different forms of environmental citizenship (might emerge). However, Foster (2018) warns against the application of Foucault's concepts in an overly structural and totalising manner (Rutherford, 2007) leaving little space for resistance and agency (Larner, 2003; Barnett, 2005). They do not completely take into consideration Foucault's later work on technologies of self, e.g., Agrawal's analysis remains closely tied to rationalities of governance and the role of disciplinary power in the production of subjectivity (Singh, 2013).

Hargreaves (2010) notes that Foucault understood power differently; a pervasive and inescapable force that functions always and everywhere throughout society. As such, rather than being possessed by a few, it operates through everyone, making them the 'vehicles of its exercise' (Foucault 1980). Second, rather than seeing power as a solely negative, dominating, and oppressive thing that serves only to constrain activity, Foucault saw it as a positive and productive force that serves to create, or 'make up' (Hacking 1986), the world and the people in it. The central Foucauldian question, therefore, is not 'who has power?' or 'how much do they have?', but to explore empirically 'the how of power' (Foucault 1980), considering the ways in which it operates through people to create them and the world they experience. Crampton & Elden (2007) note that Foucault has largely been considered as theorist of power. However, spaces of resistance are equally important to understand the world from Foucault's lens (Legg, 2019). Although Foucault did not use resistance as an analytical frame to avoid his approach being labelled as leading to a politically liberation or rebellion, the interplay of forces of power and resistance need to be captured to fully contextualise truth and subject formation.

3.2 Multiple environmentalities

Building on this foundational thinking, political ecologists like Agrawal & Bauer (2005), Fletcher (2010), and Rutherford (2016) have further empirically explored and theorised environmentality and green governmentality. Environmentality tends to focus theoretical attention on environmental subject formation (Agrawal 2005), whereas green governmentality more broadly considers the environment as 'a biophysical reality, but also a site of power, where truths are made, circulated, and remade' (Rutherford 2011, p. xvii),

as the state manages and legitimates itself either through the market (neoliberally) or through the inculcation of ethical norms (disciplinarily) (Fletcher 2010).

In addition to disciplinary and neoliberal governmentalities, Foucault (2008) introduces two additional arts of government: direct exercise of sovereign power through construction and enforcement of codified rules, and art of government according to truth, that is, truth of religious texts, of revelation, and of the order of the world (Fletcher, 2010). This shows that the concept of governmentality has transformed extensively from Foucault's initial understanding of the term. While he initially situates governmentality within his famous "sovereignty-discipline-government" triad (Foucault, 1991, p. 102), he later collapses this distinction entirely, making governmentality instead a much more generic term to describe various strategies for directing the "conduct of conduct," of which sovereignty and discipline were now included as two such modalities (rather than constituting opposing forms of governance as before). He then proposes that these modalities "overlap, lean on each other, challenge each other, and struggle with each other" (2008, p. 313).

To fully understand general effects on volunteerism as a tool of environmental governance regimes, Joseph (2018) emphasises on the need to broaden understanding of who governs effectively; limiting our view of 'who governs' only to include the state and related institutions is to risk viewing more mundane practices of governance as mere products of a dominant regime. Expanding our notion of governance to include a more extensive range of governmental strategies and apparatuses wherever they operate brings to the fore sites of diverse and overlapping governmental rationalities. For example, Agrawal's identification of efforts to create volunteers who care about the environment could be considered merely one, disciplinary mode of environmentality (Fletcher, 2017). This resonates with criticism on Agrawal's focus on top-down manipulation of environmental subjects while overlooking self-mobilisation or locally directed forms of governance (Haller et al., 2016).

Governmentality or environmentality approaches to environmental volunteerism draw upon understanding them as bricolage of modes of managing relationships between humans and things, especially things such as "the territory with its specific qualities, climate, irrigation, fertility, etc. (Foucault, 1991, p. 93). Although Foucault was not categorically an environmentalist (Darier, 1999), Agrawal's work on environmentality led to many more studies of environmental governmentalities (Hanson, 2007; Li, 2007; Fletcher, 2010; Ward, 2013). Fletcher (2017) formulates four-part typology to emphasise the need to look at environmental governance issues in a particular space and context through multiple environmental perspective rather than one or the other. These include disciplinary, neo-liberal, sovereign powers and government according to truth (Fletcher, 2010) which was expanded to include communal environmentalities in Fletcher (2020). This fifth type of governmentality was already pointed out by Foucault in his Biopolitics lectures in 2008 as a possible additional, alternative art of governmentality which had not yet been in widespread use referring to a "strictly, intrinsically, and autonomously socialist governmentality" (Foucault, 2008, p. 94). These environmentalities are defined in Table 1:

Table 1 Definitions of five types of environmentality

Environmentality	Definition
Sovereign (command and control)	It refers to the top-down creation of command-and-control regulatory structures. For example, national volunteering policy rolling out compulsory volunteering scheme for students
Disciplinary (ethical injunction)	It refers to internal subjugation of individuals, where subjects self-regulate via an internal ethical compass. For example, creating environmental education programmes for generating environmental concern amongst young people
Neo-liberal (external environment influences/ incentives)	It refers to the "governmentality which will act on the environment [rather than individuals] and systematically modify its variables" (Foucault, 2008, p.271). Harvey (2005) notes that neoliberalism is not merely a type of capitalism but a broader approach to human motivation and governance that can include but is not limited to capitalist production and social relations. For example, international volunteering schemes and paid placements for young people
According to Truth (the order of things)	It refers to the art of government according to truth defined as "truth of religious texts, of revelation, and of the order of the world" (Foucault, 2008, p.311). For example, traditional ecological knowledge (Berkes, 2008) and religious volunteering (Tezcan, 2007)
Communal (socialist, participatory)	It refers to bottom-up self-governance prescribed by various communitarian projects done in the absence of external authority (Fletcher, 2020). For example, a community-led environmental action project

Recent scholars have turned to Foucault's ideas of governmentality to understand how technologies of power intersect with technologies of the self to create environmental subjects, that is, people who display a sense of commitment to the conservation of the environment (Foster, 2018; Singh, 2013). Chong (2011) argues that environmental subjects particularly volunteers are not passive individuals upon whom the power is just imposed. Hoffman (2013) elaborates further those environmental volunteers are increasingly being activated to step in spaces previously dominated by centrally organised regimes. She argues that volunteers are an outcome and not the cause of this decentralisation which should be seen as a complex assemblage or *'dispositif'* (Foucault, 1980) of elements that include technical questions about how to govern, as well as normative practices of community and subject formation (Hoffman, 2013). This is a complex space of governing that is shaping environmental subjects, notions of appropriate responsibility and the contours of solving environmental problems. Mention of the term 'space' indicates rich spatial sensitivities or ontologies in Foucault's work (Huxley, 2008; Philo, 2011). The problems of space in environmentality can be seen as problems of the location of individuals in specific sites and built forms and of demography and population distributions across a territory – "of knowing what relations of proximity, what type of storage, circulation, mapping . . . and classification of human elements should be adopted in a given situation to achieve a given end" (Elden, 2007, p.116).

Huxley (2008) posits the need to take equally into account the materialities of built form, locality, place, territory and space, and the ways in which space figures in the 'thought', aims and rationalities of government. Gibson (2001) illuminates how these subjectivities and spaces need to be historically constituted through Foucault's archaeological method which "examines the conditions under which regimes

of practices come into being, are maintained and are transformed" (Vrasti, 2013, p.18). This articulates the fluid nature of space in subjection formation of environmental volunteers. It is not necessarily set but negotiated through space. For example, neo-liberal policies and practices at global level can be seen as a mobile and multivalent form of governmental rationality (Larner & Walters 2004) that inform, are modulated by, and intersect with, the rationalities of national and local levels of government.

3.2 Applying environmentalities framework

While several researchers have attempted to apply environmentality as an analytical framework, no one definitive approach prevails, and different perspectives give rise to sets of questions or considerations. Singh (2013) suggests that use of such critical lens to understand environmental volunteering or citizenship at multiple levels can help focus on un-interrogated assumptions, taken-for-granted truths, rationales, and technologies that, in diffuse and complex ways, can help mainstream youth volunteerism in environmental governance structures. In my review of grey and academic literature around environmental and youth volunteering, I identified different motivations, reasons and barriers which could broadly and in some places specifically make references to different governmentalities or environmentalities, e.g., some studies focused on development of volunteering sector in neo-liberal policy and economic systems (Dean, 2011), while others focused on religious/ truth motivations and barriers for youth volunteering (Denning, 2021). Different dimensions of environmental volunteering, citizenship and participation identified in the literature review required a framework through which I can collate and map contesting and complementing rationales and techniques for volunteer engagement in governance processes.

Fletcher (2017) emphasises the need to look at environmental governance issues in a particular space and context through multiple governmentalities perspective rather than one or the other. In this research, multiple environmentalities provide a conceptual framework to facilitate critical analysis of the complex intersection among overlapping approaches to environmental governance at multiple geographical levels and formation of youth environmental subjectivities through volunteerism. Foucault (2008) explicitly recognises that subjects come into being through different ways and there is a need to investigate these processes to assess the challenges and opportunities faced by state, non-state actors (civil society organisations, private organisations) and young people in developing and mainstreaming young environmental volunteers in multi-level environmental governance in Pakistan.

The conceptual framework is illustrated in Figure 1:

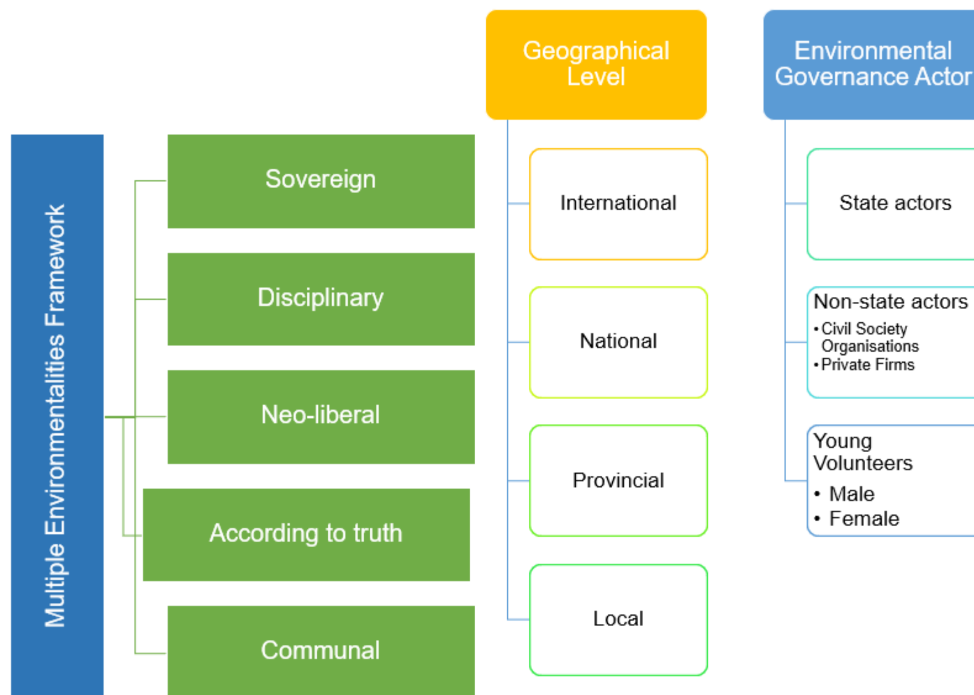

Figure 1 Conceptual Framework (author's own elaboration)

I have taken into consideration Foucault's proposition for reflecting on the nature and development of modern power through identifying procedures of production of 'truth phenomena' (Rainbow, 1986). In other words, develop genealogy or history of the past as 'eventalisation' to focus on "a particular problem and then try to see it in its historical dimension; how this problem turned out to be the way we perceive it today" (Tamboukou, 1999, p.13). He argues that such an exercise should criticise, diagnose, and demythologise the events that produce certain truths and knowledge. As opposed to a plain historiographical account, a genealogy should apply a critical lens on the dispositif which can include "discourses, institutions, architectural arrangements, regulations, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical propositions, morality, philanthropy, etc." related to the problem (Gordon, 1980, p. 194). Although Foucault has not offered us a structured methodology of genealogy, but he insists on looking for philosophical and methodological suspicions towards how the knowledge and truths about a certain subject are produced.

I have further focused on three dimensions of environmentality analysis identified by Inda (2005). First, Inda identifies the 'reasons,' or 'rationality,' of the state and non-state actors, which consist of the forms of knowledge, expertise, and calculation that make humans intelligible and susceptible to management. Second, Inda discusses the 'technics', which are technologies, mechanisms, instruments, and measures those actors apply to form subjects. Finally, Inda describes the 'subjects' of government, or the 'selves, persons, actors, agents, or identities' (2005, p.10) that develop from and figure into governed objects. With the last category, Inda aims to pinpoint the experiences in which environmentality forms the deepest levels of subjectivity, including individual capacities, values, and desires. I further teased out lived experiences of

both male and female young volunteers to understand how environmental volunteering remained a gendered phenomenon.

3.3 Chapter conclusion

I chose to use the concept of multiple environmentalities inspired by Michel Foucault's writings on techniques and rationalities involved in both governing the self and governing others (Fletchers, 2017; Cupers, 2008). Through the thesis, I use the critical lens of identifying both complementing and conflicting environmentalities (sovereign, disciplinary, neo-liberal, according to truth and communal) coming together to form rationales, and technologies that, in diffuse and complex ways, control mainstreaming of youth volunteerism in environmental governance structures across multiple geographical levels. I also capture the lived experiences of formal environmental volunteers and attempt to identify "what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived" (Lefebvre, 1991, p.38). In Chapter 4, I outline the research design and methodology which used to answer the research questions based on the discussed conceptual framework.

Chapter 4

Research Design and Methodology

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH DESIGN & METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the research design and methodology employed in this research. Section 4.1 outlines the research design for the study. I begin by briefly discussing the ontological and epistemological position adopted in the study. The research design is inductive in nature and a grounded theory approach has been used to critically analyse multi-level environmental governance and the role of young environmental volunteers in it across different geographical levels. Section 4.2 discusses the research methods used by this study and the choice of multiple case studies for an in-depth analysis using a variety of qualitative data collection tools including participant observation, semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions. Section 4.4 proceeds to discuss issues around researcher's positionality and ethical implications of using such a research design.

4.1 Research design

Graham (2005, p. 30) highlights that "the way in which the aim of a piece of research is conceptualised and expressed contains within itself, assumptions that tend to direct researchers towards certain methods". This could be best understood through the philosophical worldview assumptions that I brought to my research. Slife & Williams (1995) argue that while philosophical ideas remain largely hidden in research, they still influence the practice of research and should be identified. My worldview and the assumptions of this research are within the social construction traditions (epistemological considerations) and interpretive paradigm (ontological considerations). As a researcher, I believe that social reality is subjective and the nature of reality in which youth and environmental volunteering truths and experiences are formed make sense through interactions, power/ resistance interplay and they develop their social reality in environmental governance arenas across all geographical levels (Charmaz, 2006). This thesis adopts an interpretive paradigm to better understand the relations between state and non-state actors with young people in mainstreaming the role of youth volunteers in multi-level environmental governance processes at different geographical levels.

As a social constructivist, I believe that humans construct meanings as they engage with the world they are interpreting based on their historical and social perspectives. Creswell (2014, p. 8) notes that "constructivist researchers often address the processes of interactions amongst individuals. They also focus on the specific contexts in which people live and work to understand the historical and cultural settings of the participants. Researchers also recognise that their own backgrounds shape the interpretation, and they position themselves in the research to acknowledge how their interpretation flows from their personal, cultural, and historical experiences."

As such, I consider a positivist approach to studying youth environmental volunteering as problematic. Traditionally, volunteering studies have focused on individual and collective behaviour models. Bamberg (2003) argues that these models have received attention because they treat attitudes, values, or motivations as "situation invariant orientation patterns" (p.22). These are particularly popular in social policy

and programme design as they render relatively straightforward responses. In recent literature, these models have been heavily criticised for lacking the 'structural' context, generalising behavioural traits. It has been recognised that individuals do not exist in a social vacuum and social context often overrides cognitive factors included in these models (Stern, 2000). Instead of challenging the basic assumption of the models that individual decision making is maladaptive (Maloney & Ward, 1973), such insights have led to gradual inclusion of various proxies for context (e.g., social norms, networks, or social infrastructures) (Barr, 2003; Martin, et al., 2006). Several geographers have argued, however that it is necessary to go beyond just looking at these linear models of environmental or volunteering behaviour motivations or predictors (Conradson, 2003; Jupp, 2008). This research considers environmental volunteering as a combination of emotional, social, and embodied practices through which enlivened geographies of formal youth environmental volunteering can be explored (Smith, et al., 2010). It responds to calls for "more lively and creative accounts" of the involvement of people in varied dimensions of social action, voluntarism, and participation (Conradson, 2003, p.1989). This will contribute to debates on the need to understand different kinds of rationalities and technologies used in forming young people as environmental volunteering subjects through which "everyday interactions, practices and feelings" in diverse socio-spatial practices of social participation or environmental governance across different geographical levels (Jupp, 2008, p.341; Roberts & Devine, 2004). As Giddens observes "the basic domain of study of the social sciences . . . is neither the experience of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of societal totality, but social practices ordered across space and time" (Giddens, 1984, p. 2).

To be able to tackle the complex and holistic nature of the research questions using the conceptual framework of multiple environmentalities, a grounded theory approach was applied using case study strategy (Feagin et al., 1991) and an ethnographic approach was taken at each geographical level (international, national, provincial, and local) and with the case study organisations selected. It has been noted by Ridder (2017) that a case study strategy is suitable for theory generation instead of theory testing. Yin (2003, p. 13) argues that case study enquiry "investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident." However, combining methods like case study and grounded theory must be done with care so the canons of case study research do not distort the true emergence for theory generation (Glaser, 1998). In my research, grounded theory was driving the investigation as the overarching methodology in which multiple cases were considered to study youth environmental volunteering in a natural setting and generate theories from practice for an area with limited research available in the global South and Pakistan context.

Additionally, with my professional experience in the substantive area of my research study, grounded theory was an appropriate approach as it helped deal with my experience and control the risk of bias introduction in my research. The use of constant comparative method helped me validate, modify, and reject my own observations as a researcher and help in sample selection for the case study strategy (discussed in Section 4.2). Eisenhart (1989, p. 546) argues that "theory building from case studies is likely to produce novel

theory; this is so because creative insight often arises from juxtaposition of contradictory or paradoxical evidence". Table 2 outlines the overall research design used to answer the research questions by engaging state and non-state actors, and young volunteers across all geographical levels. The ethnographic approach taken at each geographical level involved using complementary qualitative research methods that would unravel and reveal the perceptions and experiences of different actors in youth volunteering and environmental governance spaces. The complex social and personal interactions that the research questions engage with required a range of methods to be employed over a lengthy period. Consequently, the empirical work was conducted over fourteen months (January 2018 to March 2019).

Table 2 Research design overview

Method	Frequency/ Duration
International/ Regional Level	
Document Analysis: international and regional policies and strategies Agenda 21, UN Youth Strategy 2030, Lisbon 21+ declaration, UN Environment Strategy for FBOs	
Policy Interviews	7
ICS: UNESCO Bangkok	
Self-observation notes	4 months (2 months online and 2 months in person)
National Level	
Document Analysis: National and provincial policies and strategies National Volunteering Policy (Draft) 2010, Provincial Youth Policies, National Sustainable Development Strategy, National Environment Policy, Punjab Climate Change Policy, UNDP National Human Development Report 2018	
NP-I: National Policy Interviews	4
NP-FG: National Policy Focus Group	9
NCS: WWF Pakistan	
NCS-I: Manager Interviews	4
NCS-I: Volunteer Interviews	6
N-FGD: Non- environmental volunteers	12 (6 male + 6 female)
NCS: Bulleh Shah Packaging Pvt. Limited	
NCS-I: Manager Interviews	2
Provincial & Local Level	
PP-I: Provincial Policy Interviews	2
PCS: Bargad Youth Organisation	
PCS-I: Manager Interview	1
PCS-I: Volunteer Interviews	4 (2 male + 2 female)
LCS: Al Bayrak Clean Campaign	
LCS-I: Manager Interview	1
LCS-I: Volunteer Interviews	5 (3 male + 2 female)
LCS: Lahore Conservation Society	
LCS-I: Volunteer Interviews	6
LCS-I: Manager Interview	1
Research Snapshot	
Total participants	**64**
Self-Observation duration	**4 months**
Number of focus groups	**2**
Number of in-depth interviews	**44**

4.2 Selection of research participants

Silverman (2017, pp. 266-267) notes the logic of case study design is not "modelled on how quantitative researchers select samples but rather generalises theoretical propositions and not populations, samples social relations instead of individuals, and test theories by choosing extreme or deviant cases". Gobo et al. (2007) further encourage qualitative researchers to focus their investigation on interactive units which may include social relationships, organisations, and encounters. He argues that social processes are more easily detectable and observable, but also "because these units allow more direct and deeper analysis of the characteristics observed" (Gobo et al., 2007, pp. 203-204).

The number and nature of cases studied must be provisional. In a case model, the number of units (cases) is unknown until the study is completed with the first cases guiding questions for the next until the objective of saturation in the data gathered is achieved (Small, 2009). Czarniawska (2014) suggests that grounded theory helps resolve this question by instructing the researcher to stop collecting more data when the field material becomes repetitive.

A theoretical sampling approach was used to select the case study organisations and policy participants at each geographical level. As noted by Bryman (1988, p. 90), following a theoretical logic, "the issue should be couched in terms of the generalisability of cases to theoretical propositions [research questions] rather than to populations or universes". This kind of theory-led purposive sampling directs you where to go when further generalisations need to be made from the cases already selected (Charmaz, 2006).

Gobo (2007) argues that the term 'case' is used ambiguously in ethnographic research. What is usually referred to as the case (the organisation) is in fact the setting. "The cases are instead the hundreds of instances (pertaining to rituals, ceremonials, and routines) that the researcher observes, or the dozens of individuals that he or she meets dozens of times during his or her presence in the field. The researcher is not interested in the organisation per se but rather in the behaviours which take place within it" (Silverman, 2017). Silverman further suggests abandoning the term case and replace it with instance in ethnographic research. However, I have retained the term 'case study organisation' while focusing on instances within each organisation.

At each geographical level, I identified the case study organisation(s) which would provide saturated information for answering the research questions. The research questions provided an initial frame for case study selection in terms of the geographical level at which any organisation was operating, the formal nature of environmental volunteering activities it was offering, and the type of organisation itself (state/ non-state (inter-governmental, civil society/ non-governmental, youth-led, private). Through the literature review and genealogy writing processes, I was able to identify some key state and non-state actors and organisations who could provide diverse perspectives on the research questions around reasons, processes, structures, perceptions, and experiences of youth environmental volunteering at different geographical levels. I started

with the national case study organisations. At this time, I had not anticipated to include local level organisations as I thought it would widen the scope of my study a lot and I should only focus on international, national, and sub-national levels. However, the preliminary findings from all national case study organisations indicated the need to understand youth environmental volunteering through formal channel at the grassroots/ local level in Pakistan as well. Similarly, I included a national focus group with young volunteers who had never participated in any environmental volunteering activity. The need for this became apparent when most young environmental volunteers identified similar reasons for taking up volunteering. I wanted to assess whether non-environmental volunteers had similar or different reasons for volunteering.

To capture the perceptions, reasons, and experiences of the state actors, I felt the case study strategy was not appropriate as I wanted to capture the current landscape of policy actions and perspectives at each geographical level. I decided to engage the policy/ state stakeholders through interviews and focus group discussions. I also conducted a document analysis of key policy instruments around youth, environment, and volunteering at the international and national levels to identify popular discourses, rationales and technologies employed and endorsed by state actors to engage young environmental volunteers.

The selection of case study organisations and policy stakeholders at each geographical level are discussed in the next section.

4.2.1 International level

Case study organisation

IGO: UNESCO Bangkok, Social and Human Sciences Unit

At the international level, I decided to use self-observation method and volunteer at an inter-governmental organisation that focused on youth and environmental action. I was particularly interested in state-led agenda setting for youth environmental engagement and experience first-hand the rationales, tools and challenges encountered as a young volunteer navigating through such a space. I was also hoping to capture the range of volunteering activities in which I was engaged as a young volunteer. The first step was to identify a suitable volunteering programme which would meet these requirements. Through online search, I found a bespoke volunteering programme at UNESCO Bangkok, the regional office for Asia Pacific which also included Pakistan as a focus country. I was tempted to apply to this programme as it would allow me to also understand how UNESCO was interacting with state and non-state actors including young people at the national and sub-national levels in Pakistan. I applied for a research fellow/ volunteer position through the formal web application channel and stated my motivation to volunteer in areas around youth engagement and environmental action. Once my application was successful, I was assigned to the Social and Human Sciences (SHS) Unit at UNESCO Bangkok which had a dedicated sub-unit on youth engagement across multiple sustainable development themes, particularly in education, environment, and urban development. The aim of the unit was to provide evidence-based knowledge to understand regional and national social transformation and create policy responses to address these issues. The research fellow

position was voluntary and all expenses of in-person work were bore by me. The SHS Unit was aware of the research aspect of my fellowship and agreed on a schedule to support my aim to undertake participant observation both as an online and in-person volunteer. I agreed a schedule with the SHS Unit to volunteer for 2 months as an online volunteer working remotely from Nottingham (UK) and then volunteer in person for 2 months at UNESCO office in Bangkok. Necessary permissions were taken to engage as both a volunteer and researcher with the SHS Unit. I captured my observations by maintaining a field diary which is discussed in section 4.3.1.

International policy stakeholders

In addition to participation observation as a volunteer at UNESCO Bangkok, I wanted to capture a range of diverse policy perspectives at the international level. Through my volunteering experience, I was able to network with different policy stakeholders who were either directly involved in policy design and state response to youth and environmental volunteering or were considered important voices in the network around understanding international youth engagement better. All the policy interviews at the international level were purposively sampled, recruited through interactions with them during my online and in-person volunteering work at UNESCO. The policy stakeholders I interviewed are listed in table 3:

Table 3 List of policy interviewees at the international level

Programme Specialist, UN Volunteers Asia Pacific
Project Information and Community Officer, UNDP Indonesia
Head of Youth Policy Toolbox, UNESCAP
Strategy Manager, AIESEC Asia Pacific
Founder, Student Christian Movement Myanmar
Member, UNESCO Youth Advisory Group Asia Pacific
Program Coordinator, Restless Development Nepal

4.2.2 National level

Case study organisations

ENGO: World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) Pakistan

At the national level, I was aware of the Youth Development Programme at WWF Pakistan through my previous professional engagement with them and it appeared to be one of the possible national environmental volunteering programmes that I wanted to include in my study. Through a gatekeeper (Marshall & Rossman, 2014), I was able to gain access to the Youth team at WWF head office in Lahore and the regional office in Islamabad (capital city of Pakistan). I decided to interview volunteer managers and environmental volunteers at both offices of WWF Pakistan. At the time when I collected data at WWF Pakistan, the Youth Development Programme was administering winter eco-internship programme and had some young volunteers engaged in its outdoor education and student ambassador programmes. A total of 6 volunteers (3 male and 3 female) and 4 volunteer managers were interviewed. The volunteer managers

included the Senior Youth Development Officer, Youth Development Officer, Coordinator for Green Schools Program, and Manager Corporate Partnership and Fundraising.

Private firm: Bulleh Shah Packaging TetraPak

I had initially not included a private sector organisation/ firm in my case study selection frame. After the case study interviews at WWF Pakistan where corporate volunteering and funding support by the private sector were recognised as important environmental governance drivers, I decided to include a private firm as a case study organisation. It became apparent through online search and reaching out to possible contacts within my professional network that youth engagement or volunteering programmes were only implemented through sustainability or corporate social responsibility units/ departments at private firms and that too were limited to large scale or multi-national companies. Since most of other case study organisations were based in Lahore city (chosen because of convenience as I could cover logistical costs by staying at my parents' home), I searched for a private firm with a sustainability or volunteering programme within Lahore district. Through a gatekeeper within the organisation, I was able to reach out to Bulleh Shah Packaging (Pvt.) Limited, a subsidiary of Akerlund & Rausing of Sweden in Pakistan established as a joint venture with Ali Group of Pakistan. The company focused on providing responsible packaging solutions and had a dedicated sustainability unit which focused on staff and community engagement around responsible consumption and production behaviour. At the time when I collected data at Bulleh Shah Packaging, there were no active young volunteers in the sustainability unit. There were a few volunteers in other departments, but they did not fall under the age group of young participants I was focusing on (aged between 16 and 29). Two volunteer managers were interviewed who were responsible for the design and implementation of community engagement projects and volunteering schemes. They were able to provide insights based on feedback of past volunteers as well.

National policy stakeholders

As was done at the international level, I wanted to capture diverse policy perspectives from different policy stakeholders that included state organisations/ federal government departments, state-sponsored volunteering organisations like Scouts and Girl Guides, IGOs/ UN partners, and academia who all influence policy design around youth engagement and environmental volunteering at the national level. With kind support from the country team at UN Volunteers Pakistan, a high-level policy focus group discussion was arranged. Through my previous engagement with UNDP and UN Volunteers team at the regional and national level in Pakistan, I had access to very senior policy influencers and decision makers. When I reached out to UN Volunteers with the research support request, the team suggested to host a national policy focus group on behalf of UNDP and UN Volunteers and allow me to capture the insights and discussion for my research purposes. All participants were made fully aware of the research purpose of the focus group and consent was sought. An invitation was sent to 15 high level policy decisionmakers and influencers identified through desk research and discussion with UN Volunteers team. A total of 9 participants attended the focus group. The list of focus group participants is provided in table 4.

Table 4 List of participants for high level focus group

Assistant Country Director, UNDP Pakistan
Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Planning, Development and Reform, Government of Pakistan
Chief SDGs, Ministry of Planning, Development and Reform, Government of Pakistan
Policy Analyst, Development Policy Unit, UNDP Pakistan
Assistant Professor, COMSATS Islamabad
National Secretary, Pakistan Boy Scouts Association
Chief Technical Advisor, Youth Empowerment, UNDP Pakistan
Youth Engagement and Social Inclusion Specialist, UNDP Pakistan
Additional Secretary, Federal Ministry of Climate Change, Government of Pakistan

In addition to the policy focus group, key informant interviews were conducted with some key policy influencers who were identified during data collection at the national case study organisations and during the national policy focus group discussion. The key informants included volunteer managers/ programme heads at leading volunteer involving organisations (table 5).

Table 5 List of key informant interviewees at the national level

Country Director, Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) Pakistan
Country Coordinator, UN Volunteer Pakistan
Coordinator, UN Volunteers Balochistan
Outreach, Training and Placement Officer, Youth Empowerment Programme, UNDP Pakistan

Non-environmental volunteers

As pointed out earlier, it was evident through data collection process that perceptions and experiences of some non-environmental youth volunteers should also be included in the research design. This would help confirm, negate, or modify researcher's understanding of the diverse reasons for or against taking up environmental volunteering. It would also help identify the challenges faced by young volunteers in developing environmental concern and / or volunteering for the environment through formal channels. A single focus group discussion was arranged with 12 participants recruited through online open call and an in-person discussion was held at a public networking space in Lahore. A total of 6 male and 6 female volunteers participated in the focus group discussion. I decided to not carry further focus group discussions with non-environmental volunteers as most of the participants had similar values, perceptions, and experiences as environmental volunteers, and were not undertaking environmental volunteering because of limited opportunities instead of lack of interest in 'environment' as an area. Since the focus of the study was on lived experiences and perceptions of environmental volunteers, I emphasised on that as a key group only.

4.2.3 Provincial and Local level

Case study organisations

Provincial youth NGO: Bargad Youth Foundation

I wanted to include a youth-focused non-governmental organisation (NGO) to understand its engagement of young volunteers in its different programmes and its focus (if any) on environmental volunteering. I was also interested to engage with an NGO that was working at provincial level so I could make sense of its positionality and interaction with state and other non-state actors at national and sub-national levels. Through online search, I was able to identify Bargad Youth Foundation which was working exclusively on youth development since 1997 and indicated its provincial and local grassroots focus. It was also engaged in formulation of provincial youth policies through its Bargad Youth Volunteer Network. At the time I collected data at Bargad Youth Foundation, it had 4 active young environmental volunteers who were working on different environment and climate change focused projects in Layyah district in Punjab province. A total 4 young environmental volunteers (2 male and 2 female) were interviewed alongside the Program Manager for Bargad Youth Volunteer Network.

Local CSO: Lahore Conservation Society

As I expanded the scope of my research to include the local level organisations, I identified environmental non-governmental/ civil society organisation which was active and focused on local level programming only. Lahore Conservation Society appeared during the evidence search for historical development of youth and environmental action in Pakistan. It was formed in 1984 and since then has focused on preserving the culture and environment of Lahore city. It engages youth volunteers in its different regular projects like tree plantation campaign (Plant trees, Save Lahore) and ad-hoc awareness and advocacy calls, e.g., protest for blocking development of orange tramline and encouraging young people to file a case against the district government for overurbanisation. At the time when data was collected at the Lahore Conservation Society, 6 young environmental volunteers were engaged in tree plantation project under its Youth Leadership Program. They were interviewed, which included 3 male and 3 female volunteers. The coordinator for Youth Leadership Program was also interviewed.

Local private firm: Al-Bayrak Pvt. Ltd. (Clean Green Campaign)

Since no volunteers were interviewed at Bulleh Shah Packaging (Pvt). Ltd. (national level private firm), I wanted to explore further engagement of youth volunteers by a private firm at other geographical levels. Through online search, I was able to identify Al-Bayrak Waste Management Company which was active in Lahore since 2012 and was engaged in solid waste collection and management at the city level. It had been running Clean Green Campaign through its corporate social responsibility/ communications department and were engaging young volunteers in different components of the campaign. The Campaign focused on awareness raising around solid waste management, and engaging community members in environmentally friendly activities to keep their surroundings clean and healthy e.g., litter picking, dengue awareness, tree plantation, etc. At the time when data was collected at Al-Bayrak, Clean Green Campaign was running, and

several young volunteers were engaged in the campaign. A total of 6 environmental volunteers (3 male and 3 female) were interviewed. The Assistant Manager Communications at Al-Bayrak who was responsible for the design and implementation of the Campaign was also interviewed.

Provincial and local policy stakeholders

I wanted to capture diverse policy perspectives from different policy stakeholders at the provincial and local levels who were able to influence policy design around youth engagement and environmental volunteering at this level. Key informant interviews were held with two high level policy stakeholders at the provincial government level in Punjab. The province of Punjab was chosen as other provincial and local level case study organisations were working here so I could triangulate the emerging findings better and produce in-depth analysis of state and non-state actors interacting in similar geographical context. The key informants included the provincial youth and environment ministers (table 6).

Table 6 List of key informant interviewees at the provincial and local level

Member Social Infrastructure and Environment, Planning and Development Board, Government of Punjab
Provincial Minister for Youth Affairs and Sports, Government of Punjab

Besides several efforts, I was unable to arrange interviews with local government representatives. It is also worth noting that at the time of this research, local government structures were dissolved by the provincial government. Hence, it was difficult to reach out to possible interviewees. However, questions pertaining to local state actors were included in the interviews with provincial policy respondents.

4.3 Conducting the research strategy

An ethnographic approach was designed to build complementary qualitative methods that would answer the research questions around how and why of youth environmental volunteering, and the role it could play in multi-level environmental governance processes across all geographical levels. Hatch (2002) and Marshall & Rossman (2014) note that following characteristics of qualitative research strategy: “qualitative researchers tend to collect data in the field at the site where participants experience the issue or problem under study. They collect data themselves through examining documents, observing behaviour, or interviewing participants and they gather multiple forms of data including audio-visual information” (Creswell, 2014, pp. 185-186). All these characteristics have been considered and an ethnographic approach was applied. Johnson et al. (2006, p. 113) consider that ethnographic approach as “a grab bag of structured, semi-structured and unstructured methods employed to understand bits and pieces of any social or cultural system”. Hill (2009) notes that using ethnographic data gathering techniques and grounded theory to ascertain Foucauldian governmentalities enables new ways of thinking how state and non-state actors interact in complex, both, complementing and conflicting manners.

Consequently, the empirical work was conducted over 14 months spread across all geographical levels of data collection. It is important now to briefly outline the ethnographic methods used and discuss the reasons for employing each one of them and how they were conducted with the case study groups across all geographical levels. I begin by explaining first approach taken to the ethnography and how participant observation (4.3.1) was combined with interviews and focus group (4.3.2) and photo elicitation/ participant photography (4.3.3) to inform perceptions and experiences of state and non-state actors including the young environmental and non-environmental volunteers. In section 4.3.4, I discuss the reasoning and approach for conducting document analysis to: i) inform the 'history of the past' or genealogy of youth environmental volunteering in Pakistan based on Foucauldian principles, and ii) review policy texts and discourses at the international and national levels to identify policy rationales and technologies used for developing youth and environmental volunteering.

4.3.1 Participant observation and keeping a field diary

Participant observation is about understanding communities from the inside (Cooke, 2005). DeWalt & DeWalt (2010, p. 1) define participant observation as "a method in which a researcher takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and their culture". It could help assess the complex, conflictual and problematic yet diverse experiences of the human beings (Jorgensen, 2015). Through participant observation, I was able to experience the reality of environmental volunteering programme offered at an inter-governmental organisation from the viewpoint of someone 'inside' the case study (Patton, 2002). I was able to capture lived experience as both, an online and in-person environmental volunteer.

Most participant observation is very informal and unstructured (Pelto, 2016). Cook (2005) notes that there are countless spaces where participant observation can be carried out, but, unlike with more controllable research, researchers should not expect things to follow a pre-planned schedule. As an online volunteer, I was able to foresee most of my engagement as a volunteer but as an in-person volunteer on ground, I felt it was difficult to pre-plan observation and I was continuously observing as a researcher while I played my active role as a volunteer. Yin (2003) observes that researchers can play a variety of roles, from passive to active participants in the events they are studying. This has ramification on researcher's own positionality and biases they can introduce through interaction with other individuals. This is discussed in section 4.4.2.

Laurier (2016) suggests that participant observation provides direct access to phenomenon and should not only be seen as an observation but a commentary on the culture, society and geography of the spaces and places of activity. I captured this commentary through diary keeping. It is recommended by several authors including Healey & Roberts (2004) and Bissing-Olson et al. (2015) as it can help keep a record of experiences and research developments. It could also be used to trace shifts in ideas through writing theoretical memoranda (Crang, 2005). I made a series of notes during my work at UNESCO. I made a note

of the date and site of volunteering (online/ in-person) which allowed me later to analyse my initial and latter experiences in both volunteering sites. I made notes as soon as possible at or after completing a task, during or after attending a call or meeting, traveling to and from UNESCO office and other places of meetings, etc. This was important to ensure that I did not miss out on important reflections (Dummer at al., 2008).

4.3.2 Interviews & focus groups

Both interviews and focus groups were used as methods to capture perceptions and experiences of state, non-state actors and young people at the case study organisations and for policy stakeholders at all geographical levels. As noted by Kitchen & Tate (2000), interviews were one of the most used qualitative techniques and was referred to as "a complex social interaction in which you are trying to learn about a person's experience or thoughts on a specific topic." (Kitchen & Tate, 2000, p. 215). There are several different ways through which interviews could be used. These include closed quantitative, structured open-ended, interview guide/ semi-structured and informal conversational (Patton, 1990). Semi-structured interviews are considered by Gillham (2005) and Longhurst (2003) as the most effective way of conducting a research interview because of balance of structure, flexibility, and data quality. I have used semi-structured interviews to keep the interviews aligned to the research questions and stick to the topic, while also aiming to get detailed responses. This allows participants to provide open responses and steer the direction of the conversation without derailing a lot (Longhurst, 2003).

Interviews lasted between 45 and 60 minutes, with only a few lasting more than an hour. The audio recording application on my mobile phone was used for recording the interviews, which were then translated and transcribed verbatim. Through recording the conversation, I was able to concentrate on what the interviewee was discussing and steer the conversation accordingly without worrying about extensive note taking (Valentine, 2005). Consent was sought from all interviewees to record the interviews. All recordings were kept on a password protected drive folder on the University of Nottingham server. Names of all interviewees were anonymised to protect their identity (Shore, 2002). However, to draw out themes from the study, some information about the interviewees had to be retained. For policy makers and volunteer managers, consent was sought for their professional job titles be used so the type of organisation and geographical level could provide background information to arrange and discuss themes. For environmental volunteers, the geographical level, type of organisation and gender of the interviewee were recorded to provide essential information to arrange the emerging findings. All the research participants provided consent for using this information for analysis and thesis writing purposes. A research guide used for semi-structured interviews with some research participants is available as Annex A.

In some cases, focus group discussions were used to capture perceptions, experiences, and common understanding of certain actors. Bloor et al. (2001) note that focus group discussions constitute a group interview in which people come together to discuss specific topic with underlying issues that form a common

experience in the lives of all participants. Respondent commonality is the central concern here. Burgess et al. (1988) used this method to capture people's common and different environmental opinions and concerns.

I used focus group discussion as a method in two instances. Firstly, I wanted to understand complementing and contrasting perceptions, reasons and techniques used by high level policymakers and key stakeholders at the national level in Pakistan. Secondly, I wanted to gain an in-depth understanding of common reasons and barriers for non-environmental volunteers for not volunteering for the environment. Smithson (2000) argues that this approach helps to create theory grounded in the actual experience and language of the participants. Using a focus group schedule (schedule used for non-environmental volunteers in Annex B), I facilitated interaction between the participants and encouraged debate to gain diverse responses around topics of discussion. Both focus groups lasted for 2- 2.5 hours. These were translated into English language and transcribed word-to-word. As mentioned earlier for interviews, background information on participants was retained in the similar fashion which would allow triangulation of themes from focus groups with other methods.

4.3.3 Photo elicitation

An additional method which was added after my experience as a volunteer at UNESCO Bangkok where I started to capture photographs of some my experiences and write narrative about those in my field diary. This builds on the recent geographical work of Rose (2001) and Latham (2003) on visual methodologies which showed that photo elicitation or participant photography to capture visual experiences of some actors, in case of this research, the volunteers. These can be considered creative data collection procedures that fall under the category of visual ethnography (Pink, 2020). Although not compulsory, volunteers at the case study organisations were asked to capture their experiences as a volunteer using photos and write a narrative about these and bring them to the interview with them. All except volunteers at the Lahore Conservation Society, brought photographs taken by themselves or their friends to complement their lived experience sharing.

As a researcher, it provided a lot more perspective around the scope of youth experiences and it helped contextualise other findings through this visual sensemaking exercise. Although all participants provided consent for using the photographs for the research purposes, eyes have been blocked out for all faces showing in the photos used in the study (Wiles et al., 2008). Sweetman et al. (2008) note obscuring facial features in contentious practice and has been subject to criticism by social researchers but in some cases, it is necessary to hide the identity of individuals. As some photos shared by volunteers had other people or children, they had interacted with during their volunteer work, it was difficult to ensure consent was sought by everyone in the photograph. Hence, I decided to block the eyes feature to protect the identities of all visible in the photographs. All edited photographs were kept in the password protected drive folder on the

University of Nottingham server and the originals showing participant/ volunteer identity were permanently deleted.

4.3.4 Documentary analysis

Bowen (2009, p. 27) define document analysis as "a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents- both printed and electronic material […] requires that data be examined and interpreted in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge." Atkinson & Coffey (1997, p. 47) consider documents as "social facts which are produced, shared and used in socially organised ways". This kind of analysis is integral for Foucauldian studies where Foucault stresses to develop a history of the past or genealogy critically examining the popular discourses and events through which truths, knowledge and subjects are formed. Fadyl & Nicholls (2012) criticise the use of other qualitative research methods for studying Foucauldian concepts alone and stress upon engaging with actual material and documentary sources in the analysis. In addition to genealogy, document analysis of current policy instruments (texts, strategies, standards, procedures) at the international and national level could help identify any shifts in the discourse around youth engagement, volunteering, and environmental participation of young people. These documents provide: data on context in which the research participants operate, questions that need to be asked or situations that need to be observed, supplementary research data that can be triangulated with primary research findings and means of tracking change and development over a period of time. For my research, document analysis played all these roles.

Labuschagne (2003) observe that the analytic procedure for conducting document analysis is finding, selecting, appraising (making sense of) and synthesising data contained in documents. I used 'keep a look out' approach to include documents in my document analysis as I searched for historical evidence and current policy texts which could provide me diverse and in-depth information on the topics under discussion. Table 7 shows a sampling of documents and data analysed through them.

Table 7 A sampling of documents and data analysed

Documents selected	Data analysed
National Volunteering Policy 2010 (Draft), Government of Pakistan	Aims and objectives, implementation frameworks, target beneficiaries and state/ non-state actors identified
National Human Development Report 2017, UNDP Pakistan	Context for youth development in Pakistan, data from national youth development survey 2017, policy and programmatic recommendations
UN Environment Strategy for Faith Based Organisations 2018	Religious technologies suggested to be used by UN Environment and FBOs for developing religious environmental concern
National Youth Development Framework 2019, Government of Pakistan	Aims and objectives, priority areas, implementation capacities, and structures outlined
Social Development in Pakistan: Annual Review 1999, Oxford University Press: Karachi	Historical development of voluntary sector in Pakistan, statistics around youth and volunteering in 1999

4.3.5 Analytical strategy

Creswell (2014, p. 186) observes that "qualitative researchers build their patterns, categories, and themes from the bottom up by organising the data into the increasingly more abstract units of information. This inductive process illustrates working back and forth between the themes and the database until the researcher have established a comprehensive set of themes. Then deductively, the researchers look back at their data from the themes to determine if more evidence can support each theme or whether they to gather additional information. Thus, while the process begins inductively, deductive thinking also plays an important role as the analysis moves forward". The analysis of the data was carried out to attempt to identify patterns and trends that run through the data. A coding strategy was used as primary technique for data analysis (Charmaz, 2006). It refers to "attaching labels to segments of data that depict what each segment is about. Coding distils data, sorts them, and gives us a handle for making comparisons with other segments of data" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 3). I constructed analytic coding categories from the data, refined these codes, and integrated the codes as suggested by Henwood et al. (1996). The NVIVO software (Version 12) was used to manage and handle the large amount of qualitative data that were used in the data coding process (Gibbs, 2002). The software helped in organising the data which made searching, retrieving and sorting coded data easier and effective. The coding process was iterative. An initial five interview transcripts 1 from each case study organisation were openly coded (Strauss, 1987) and using the research questions and literature review, and the responses themselves to identify categories that be used as initial codes. These codes were then applied to all other transcripts. Identified codes were then explore using axial and selective coding. Cope (2003) notes that in selective coding, themes are identified, and coding trees are developed while in axial coding a particular line of enquiry to find relationships and similarities is conducted.

The figure 2 shows that codes were arranged in umbrella codes around geographical levels, multiple environmentalities, rationalities, technologies, experiences. More analytical codes were applied to the data as I reviewed the emerging findings and revisit the literature review and the research questions. These themes helped me structure my empirical chapters of the thesis. I triangulated the themes emerging from interviews, focus groups, diary notes, photograph narratives and document analyses to arrange my arguments and present them in a coordinated manner as outlined in the conceptual framework for the study. Most codes were grouped in broader themes of subject formation, technics, rationalities, environmentalities, and space imaginaries. As I progressed with the analysis, I dropped data disaggregation based on space imaginaries and focused on rationalities, technics, and experiences of young environmental volunteers instead. There are some problems identified with this approach. Cope (2003) argues that codes must be fluid throughout the analysis, some need to be further teased out and some disregarded. Another was the problem with reviewing interpretations of the data. Although I did not get an opportunity to share the codes with interviewees or participants but owing to the grounded theory nature of the research, I present some of the initial findings to case study organisations and some of them provided feedback on the emerging findings. Some of the case study organisations went on to use the initial findings to inform their volunteering

programmes and action plan as the research continued. Both these processes are noted by Yin (2003) to increase the validity of the research findings.

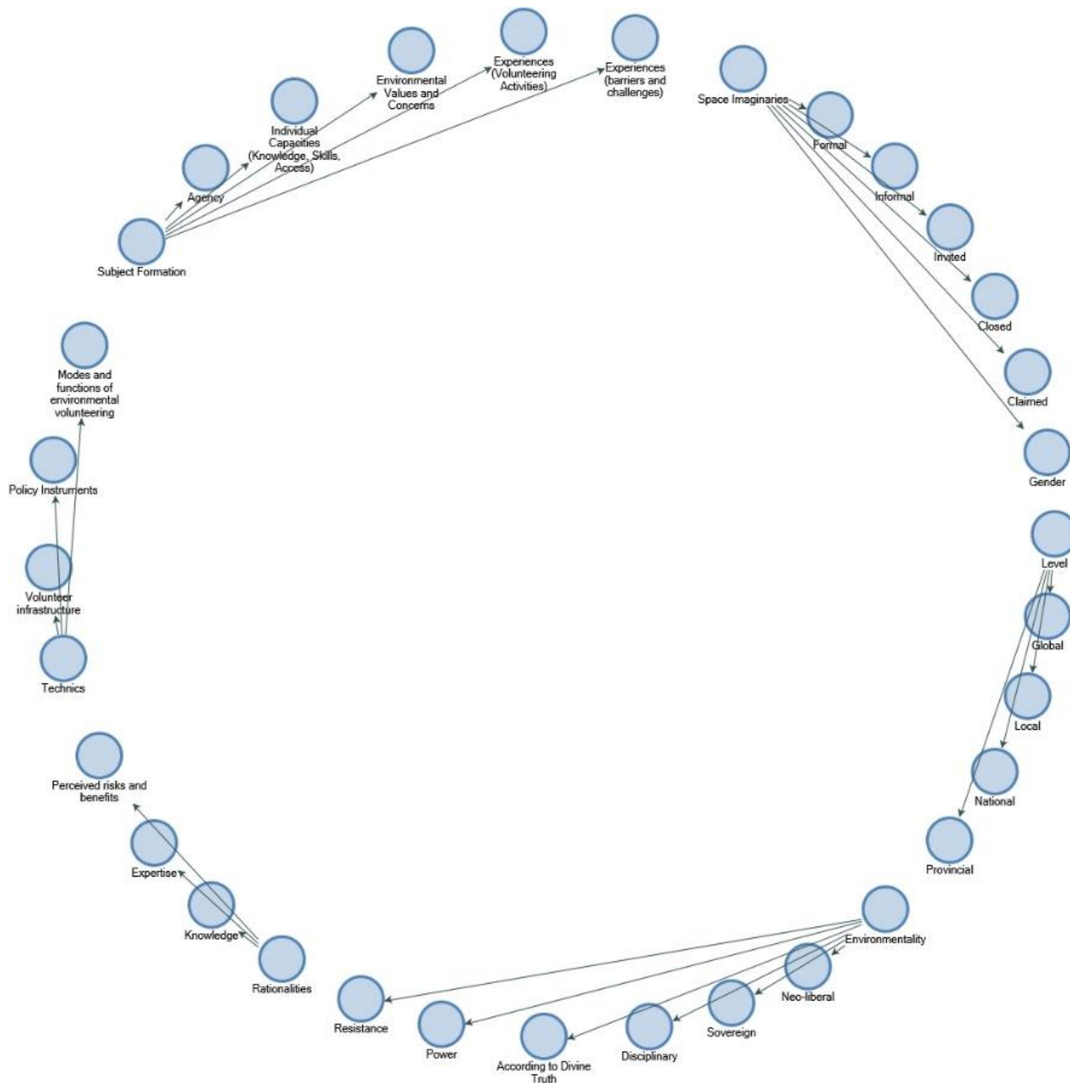

Figure 2 NVIVO Codes Map

The purpose of qualitative, interpretive research is to produce descriptions of the reality of the social world, which is credible and grounded in the data. Smith (1991) notes that case study approach is often stereotyped into lacking precision and objectivity as it compared to the quantitative approaches. While Johnson (1997) acknowledges that qualitative researchers are interesting in unique experiences of a certain group or scenario rather than generalisations about a population, but some rough generalisations are possible. Based on these ideas, Patton (2002) developed a criterion for assessing the credibility, confirmability and data dependability (reliability), and trustworthiness of the qualitative research design. The procedure employed to achieve data reliability, validity and transferability are summarised in table 8:

Table 8 **Procedures undertaken for data reliability, validity, and transferability**

Criteria	Procedures undertaken
Reliability	• Translation and verbatim interview transcripts • Use of coding strategy through NVIVO • Detailed description of research methods and procedures • Multiple research methods and data sources • Clarity of researcher's positionality and role
Validity	• Use of diverse and multiple evidence sources • In-depth interviews and discussions • Feedback to interviewees and case study organisations
Transferability	• Development of propositions

4.4 Ethics and positionality

Research ethics consider issues such as consent, harm and confidentiality for informants as arising from the research process. As highlighted throughout the chapter, I sought written consent from all research participants and case study organisations for participating in the study. All of them gave permission to participate in the study. There were only a few instances during my participation observation at UNESCO Bangkok where I was requested to not take a note of some confidential information around funding and project planning. I was always conscious of this and ensured no sensitive information was included in my diary notes.

Merriam et al. (2001) notes that positionality is where one stands in relation to the other. Factors such gender, age, education, class of the researcher can impact their own understanding of the research subjects, participants, and findings (Narayan, 1993). And new relationships between the researcher and the participants or organisations form particularly in ethnographic research or where prolonged/ long-term interactions are possible. Cook & Crang (1995) note that both the researcher and the subjects are part of a multiple context, strung together through experiences and actions, forming different biographies and self-identities. The ethnography strategy I employed in this study provided distinctive positioning considerations. Before conducting this research, I had personal experience of volunteering in Pakistan and abroad, and I also had professional experience of working on youth engagement in social development sector in the country. I was aware of some of the challenges young people faced during volunteer work. My master's research also focused on this topic but had employed a mixed methods approach in which I conducted a survey with volunteers to understand their motivations and barriers to environmental volunteering. I had also interviewed a few civil society actors and policy makers at the national level. This accumulation of knowledge helped me acclimatise easily in situations where I was volunteering myself and also feel comfortable in engaging participants in case study organisations as it was not all alien and new to me.

However, in some cases I felt my inexperience would have been more useful particularly when I conducted the focus group discussion with the non-environmental volunteers. I felt I was maintaining a checklist as an academic of reasons and challenges around youth environmental volunteering adding any new one which was highlighted in the focus group. Fuller (1999, p. 6) posits that “there is a space in which constant reassessment, renegotiation and repositioning of a researcher’s various identities allows the development of a collaborative position”.

4.6 Chapter conclusion

The chapter provided a snapshot of the overall research design and methodology developed to answer the research questions set in Chapter 1. As indicated, the case study approach with grounded theory application allowed me to adapt and adjust the research design as necessary to capture diverse range of perspectives around the topics of discussion. The next four chapters are narratives based on the empirical findings of the methods employed through this research design. Chapter 5 presents a brief genealogical account of the history of youth volunteering and environmental movement in Pakistan. Chapter 6 presents an integrated perspective to identify different dimensions of reasons and motivations of the state, non-state organisations and young people for developing or undertaking youth environmental volunteering. Chapter 7 presents the technologies of power, resistance and self-transformation used to form young environmental volunteers as subjects and objects. Chapter 8 reflects on these tools forming experiences of young people as environmental volunteers or key stakeholders in environmental governance processes across various geographical levels in Pakistan.

Chapter 5

Genealogical Understanding of Youth Volunteering for the Environment in Pakistan

CHAPTER 5: GENEALOGICAL UNDERSTANDING OF YOUTH VOLUNTEERING FOR THE ENVIRONMENT IN PAKISTAN

In my research, there was a crucial need to contextualise the history of how youth volunteering and environmental movement have been produced by the state and non-state actors in the past, and how these relationships shape the present existence of youth environmental volunteer both as a subject and an object in Pakistan. However, there were several limitations to applying Foucauldian genealogy approach in its true sense. As Tamboukou (1999) notes that this approach requires patience and vast accumulation of source material. There was a dearth of academic and grey literature. While some authors had looked at historical development of voluntary sector in Pakistan through a critical lens, there were very few sources which had focused on youth and/ or environmental participation/ volunteering. Since I was relying on existing source material available through online sources and had limited time to study it, I tried to capture the critical *dispositif* but I do not consider this genealogical account to be an exhaustive critical reflection of the processes of truth and knowledge formation.

In this chapter, I begin by outlining the origins and current state of the voluntary sector in Pakistan. Then, I present a brief history of the development of youth volunteering through state and non-state structures and processes, followed by a brief description of its current scope and breadth. Finally, I do the same for environmental movement and look at its historical and current scope. I divided this chapter into these three distinct sections to help the reader understand the historical development of all three dimensions of the problem under consideration- voluntary sector, youth volunteering and environment as an area of concern.

5.1 History of voluntary sector in Pakistan

The legal framework governing the voluntary sector in Pakistan is both archaic and confusing (UN Volunteers, 2018). There does not appear to be a common legal definition of the term ‘voluntary organisation’ under any law that gives legal status to these types of organisations. The many existing definitions of ‘voluntary’ add to the confusion, as do the activities undertaken by these organisations. Known variously as the ‘non-governmental’, ‘non-profit’, ‘civil society’, ‘community based’, ‘charitable’, ‘welfare societies’, this set of institutions include within it a bewildering array of entities. The Voluntary Social Welfare Agencies (Registration and Control Ordinance), 1961 defines a voluntary organisation as an *‘entity established by persons of their own free will for the purpose of rendering welfare services and depending for its resources on public subscription, donation or government aid’* (NGO Resource Centre , 1991).

The voluntary sector development in Pakistan can be best described in the context of the *statist*[2] model of the social origins theory (SPDC, 2002). It is characterised by low levels of both governmental social welfare spending and non-profit expenditures. It remains relatively small and underdeveloped in terms of its size

2 Salamon & Anheier (1996) identified 4 models of voluntary development: liberal, social democratic, corporatist and statist

and scope. The following sections discuss the origins of voluntary sector in Pakistan in context of the main drivers and barriers to its growth.

5.1.1 Origins and early history

History of philanthropy, voluntarism and self-help activities goes back to 5000 years within the geographical boundaries that now constitute Pakistan (Shehab, 1995). Religion has been the foremost driving force behind this phenomenon. Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, Christianity, and Sikhism have provided a strong basis and incentive for their followers to cater to the needs of the poor, sick and under privileged sections of the society. Moreover, socio-cultural practices such as joint family system and community living have also been conducive to philanthropic activities (SPDC, 2002).

Pakistan is the heir to one of the earliest sophisticated civilisations in the world- the Indus Valley Civilisation. A class-based society came into being with swarming low-income populations living around rich localities. Town planning along with strong emphasis on public conveniences indicates the possible existence of a welfare society. Emergence of Hinduism and Buddhism in the Indian subcontinent contributed significantly to forming the voluntary sector in the region (PRIA, 2001; Mujundar, 1961). Ashoka was the first South Asian ruler who as early as 3rd century BC renounced violence and concentrated on the welfare of his subjects (Smith, 1981). He created a town called *'Taxila'* (now in Pakistan) where free education was provided to all.

The era of Muslim rule (8th to 18th Century)

With the advent of Islam in the region, new dimensions were added to already existing practices of philanthropy and social welfare. Mosques, *Madarasaas* (Islamic religious schools) and *Khanqahs* (Sufi monasteries[3]) are examples of philanthropic institutions of this period. Although Muslim rulers remained pre-occupied with defence, empire building and consolidation of power, they played an important role in the development of these institutions and many rulers took personal interest in public welfare. Local elite gave generous donations for establishment of the *Waqf* (religious endowment) to make them sustainable. This has been primarily guided by religious and political motives. The concepts of *Huqooq-ul-ibad* (human rights) and *Zakat* (a mandatory religious charity to ensure circulation of wealth) motivated rulers and elite to contribute to voluntary sector. On the political front, as the Muslim rulers had foreign origins, there appeared to be a need to inculcate a sense of loyalty among the multitudes of natives through charity and welfare (Haque, 1997). Some notable examples of such initiatives include '*Diwan-i-Khairat'* of Feroz Shah which provided financial help for marriage of poor girls and *'Sadr us Sadur'* which helped maintain mosques and religious schools by providing aid and grants of land. Sufism has played a critical role in spreading Islam across the subcontinent on the notions of brotherhood and peace for all.

3 Sufi monasteries refer to shrines of devotees who believe in Sufism- a mystical Islamic belief and practice in which Muslims seek to find the truth of divine love and knowledge through direct personal experience of God

The Encyclopaedia of Asian History (1988) notes that *Sufis* emphasised the importance of social service, devoting themselves to the care of the poor and creating awareness among the masses regarding the oppressive role of the feudal aristocracy. Hence, it can be concluded that three factors contributed to the development of the non-profit sector in that period viz., political interest, religious spirit and noblesse oblige. Concurrently, at the rural level, the self-sufficiency of the village system was preserved. Self-help, barter, mutual effort towards well-being through the *panchayat*[4] and *biradri*[5] contributed to generate non-profit activity.

Colonial period: new ideas and local response (19th century to Mid-20th century)

During the colonial period, new trends from the west permeated the socio-political fabric of this region and had far-reaching impacts (SPDC, 2002). Development of the voluntary sector during this period is characterised by the local response to imperialistic ideas of social welfare, development of a secular approach to non-profit activity, and evolution of nationalism and mass-mobilisation of the people to achieve freedom. Initial ideas of trusteeship and guardianship proclaimed by the East India Company degenerated into arrogant notions that only the trustees or the guardians could look after the locals who were believed to be either insufficient or corrupt and incapable of self-rule. The utilitarians, though, insisted on socio-economic remodelling of society to bring the benefits of laissez faire ideology to the sub-continent. These ideas did lead to initiation of voluntary activity on the part of British Governors as well as Christian missionaries. The process of social reform included revamping the economy, restoring law and order, developing a uniform system of law and punishment and social welfare programmes based on the promotion of western education and rational thought. British rule-initiated institutionalisation of voluntary organisations.

Various laws regarding the registration and regulation of philanthropic and voluntary organisations were introduced to provide the legal basis for their activities. The prime motives were to keep a check on these organisations so that they would not indulge in activities that could undermine the colonial rule and to encourage philanthropists to come forward and share the responsibility of the provision of social service to lessen the burden on the government. In a bid to regulate voluntary associations, the Societies Registration Act was promulgated in 1860 followed by the Religious Endowment Act of 1863. Another important development on the legislative front was the introduction of Trust Act in 1882 in recognition of the philanthropic nature of charity in South Asia. This period witnessed the emergence of many voluntary organisations in the region (SPDC, 1999).

Christian missionary work

During the early phase of the East India Company's rule, Christian missions were not officially welcomed due to the fear of retaliation from the locals. However, by the advent of 19th century, British power was firmly

4 A council of elders of a village in tribal societies that used to deliberate and decide in the various important matters

5 More or less equivalent to clan

established, and Christian missions were officially allowed to work. The efforts made by Christian missionaries in the field of education and healthcare elicited considerable admiration. Many contemporary social reform movements were influenced and inspired by the efforts made by missionaries and initiated a wide range of social activities (PRIA, 2001). Some of the earliest mission schools and girls' convents included Edwards Church Mission School (1855) and Jesus and Mary Convent (1858). The missions also established hospitals, dispensaries, orphanages, hostels, infirmaries, and seminaries and continued their work after independence in 1947. In addition to Christian missionaries, the Parsi[6] community also made significant contribution through charitable, social and community services.

Nationalistic concerns and independence movement

The first response to growing colonial powers in the subcontinent was a defeatist acceptance of social and political downfall as *fait-accompli*. This led to withdrawal and isolationism in the society. This was more so among the Muslims, as the British had defeated and taken power from a Muslim ruling elite. Revivalists started to emerge in the society looking for secrets of renewal within themselves. This led to movements like 'back to *Vedas* (holy scriptures in Hinduism)' and *Jihad* (call for war as religious obligation for Muslims) against the British rulers. This attitude gave rise to several ideologies like nativism, millenarism, and religious revivalism. This culminated in the British Revolt or War of Independence in the year 1857. The locals were defeated, and the British decided to punish the perpetuators so that the colonial rule could not be challenged in the future. They removed all locals from the civil service and introduced strict laws and regulations. Various reformists appeared after the war who understood the futility of a direct clash with the British power and resorted to more accommodating options. They convinced locals that 'British were here to stay' and efforts were needed to improve the strained relations.

Western education brought the spirit of European Renaissance and Enlightenment to the young educated elite. Such movements included Brahmo Samaj (society of God), Ramakrishna Mission, and the Aligarh Movement. In particular, the Aligarh Movement proved to be a forerunner of the independence movement in the sub-continent as it brought the Muslim society into the socio-political milieu and restored the trust amongst the British. MAO College of Aligarh was established under this movement which was described by Lord Lytton as an epoch in the social programme of India (U.P. Portal, 2000).

The voluntary sector was politicised, and several organisations provided an effective platform for the nationalistic reform activities. Several woman associations *(Nari Sabhas)* surfaced during this period that were run by politically conscious women. Similarly, several student bodies appeared which worked socially, intellectually, journalistically, and politically to serve the national goal of gaining independence. Muslim Students Federation was formed in 1937 which used intellectual front as a significant source for propagating the vision of a separate nation for Muslims by arranging various conferences, camps, symposia, literacy

6 The Parsis, whose name means "Persians", are descended from Persian Zoroastrians who emigrated to India to avoid religious persecution by the Muslims.

campaign, elocution contests, cultural and educational activities, which turned. Hundreds of trained young volunteers were appointed for different duties in the freedom campaigns and provided logistics and first aid support during migration to Pakistan.

Nascent state (1947-58)

Pakistan came into being on August 14, 1947. The evolution of voluntary sector in Pakistan coincides with the changing socio-political environment since 1947. The state was over-extended and, finding it impossible to address the several problems faced by the newly formed nation. Despite a jerky start, state and civil society joined hands to ameliorate the problems of the population. The selfless devotion of philanthropists, relief workers, and volunteers fuelled the process. For the first few years after independence, the focus of voluntary organisations remained resettlement of migrants and providing them the necessities of life. Other areas of voluntary activity in the period included poverty alleviation, education, healthcare, women's issues, and population control.

In 1948, Rana Liaquat Ali, a prominent woman leader, established the Women's Volunteer Service (WVS) and All Pakistan Women's Association to channel women's energies on a permanent and long-term basis even after the settlement of refugees. Other organisations led by women included Family Welfare Cooperative Society and Pakistan Red Cross Society. These women were frequently criticised by reactionary sections of society and derided as *'Begamat'* (rich women) who used welfare work as a pass time activity. They were accused of being 'westernised' and even 'character-less'; and of conspiring to destroy the moral values of an Islamic society (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987, pp. 53-54). The government was generally supportive of the voluntary organisations in this period. In 1951, government approached the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration for training and technical assistance of social workers in Pakistan. The government also helped coordinate activities of such organisations by establishing the National Council of Social Welfare in 1958 (Saeed, 1980).

Under martial law (1958-71)

Pakistan has been characterised by periods of democratic rule interrupted by various coup d'états as well as civil war. General Ayub Khan led the country from 1958–69 after coming to power through a coup. His rule was characterised by internal instability and a war with India in 1965. Between 1969 and 1971, Yahya Khan, another military leader, led Pakistan through a civil war which resulted in the secession of Bangladesh (then East Pakistan) as an autonomous state. The defining feature of this era was suppression of political rights on the one hand, and growth of voluntary organisations engaged in service delivery on the other (Khan, 1998). The military government put a ban over political parties and all political activities. Many officials in the Ministry of Social Welfare were also removed because of political affiliations. From then on, voluntary activity was propelled, not through concerted efforts of state and society, but through legal ordinances. In 1961, the Voluntary Social Welfare Agencies (Registration and Control) Ordinance was promulgated to keep an eye on the activities of voluntary organisations (Ali and Ali, 1998).

A Basic Democracy System was developed by the government which assigned several social welfare functions to local government and promoted the role of social service volunteers. The Grant in-Aid Programme was introduced to support voluntary organisations through technical and financial aid. This encouraged the formation and registration of new voluntary organisations across the country. At the same time, government took over the Sufi shrines and *Auqaf* (endowment and trust) to these shrines. They were given under the control of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. This action affected the volume and flow of charities due to the lack of confidence of the donors in the government officials to look after the shrines. The situation led to development of number of voluntary associations and organisations by the custodians and followers of shrines all over the country. Reflecting the desire of social service among the young educated members of the population, several Graduate Associations emerged in various parts of the country since the late 1960s. During the period of wars, the voluntary sector played a key role in relief activities. Several voluntary organisations including Red Cross Society, Girls Guides and various community-based organisations helped in the relief efforts. These efforts were supplemented by individual philanthropists who actively worked to gather donations to help victims of war and violence, and to support the war efforts.

Bitter taste of democracy & martial law (1971-88)

A period of relative calm followed in the 1970s after which time General Zia-ul-Haq became the country's third military president. Zia introduced the Islamic Sharia legal code, which increased religious influence over civic life. The overall attitude of the government in the 1950s and the 1960s implied a partnership between the state and the voluntary organisations in welfare and social work. In the 1970s this model was altered to denote the state's dominant responsibility to provide the essential services to its citizens. Policies of expanding the state's role in economic, educational, and cultural spheres through nationalisation of industries and educational institutions eroded the institutional base of the modern component of civil society (Qadeer, 1997). The nationalisation of educational institutions set up and run by voluntary organisations, trusts and foundations was a major setback for the voluntary sector in Pakistan. Highly popular and credible organisations like Aga Khan Education Services and various Christian missions lost their premises, resources and some small voluntary organisations even lost the incentive to serve. From 1973, trade union activity regained momentum after passing through a difficult period during the 1960s. The environment which was not conducive to voluntary organisations fostered trade unions instead, which grew both strong and powerful (NGORC, 1999). The main factor behind this active labour movement was populist slogans emerging from the then government. The general disillusionment led to a new wave of protests, strikes, lockouts, etc. Several commissions were set up for the reconciliation of the labour conflict and several concessions were doled out to the working classes. The wave of politicisation also affected the youth community and student unions became more active in various educational institutions across the country. The 1970s also witnessed a growth of some non-political youth organisations that aimed at empowering youth through education, fighting drug addiction and providing social services. Women rights focussed organisations also emerged which now aimed at creating general awareness of the 'double oppression'

faced by working class women, who were victims of both class-based society as well as the patriarchal traditions of their own class. These included Aurat (Woman) Foundation, Shirkatgah, etc. SOS Kinderdorf International set up SOS villages across Pakistan in the 1970s to provide security, education and care facilities to orphans and abandoned children. Since then, several international voluntary organisations started to show interest in the social sector of Pakistan.

The decade of 1980s marked significant and multidimensional changes in the voluntary sector in Pakistan. The backdrop was provided by the Islamisation drive, the Afghan War (1979-89), and the liberal flow of foreign funds. It also coincided with the general perception that the government had failed to provide adequate basic social services to the masses and self-help was the answer. Some organisations grew due to state patronage while other emerged in response to state coercion. Apart from increased welfare activities of religious organisations in this period, two significant phenomena emerged which disrupted the voluntary sector activities in the country. First, a high degree of militancy was exhibited by religious organisations that were involved in the Afghan War. Second, differences among various religious sects soon became evident leading to intolerance and sectarian violence. This trend led to proliferation of sectarian organisations in Pakistan (NGORC, 1999). Concurrently, a number of voluntary organisations working in the fields of advocacy and awareness regarding human rights emerged. The establishment of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) in 1986 was a landmark. According to the estimates of a survey of about 2000 voluntary organisations (conducted by Social Policy & Development Centre in 2001), over 27% of currently active organisations surveyed were established during 1978 to 1987 (SPDC, 2002).

An important aspect of this phenomenon was the emergence of special purpose and interest-based development organisations in the modern-urban sector. Some notable initiatives of this time included Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP) working on rural development in the northern areas of Pakistan and Orangi Pilot Project (OPP) which focused on water and sanitation problems in urban slums of Karachi, Pakistan. At the same time, the Edhi Trust emerged as legendary social welfare organisation. It runs the largest non-profit ambulance service in the world.

Liberalisation (1988- present)

After the sudden death of Martial Law Administrator in 1988, a party-based democracy system was revived in the country. During the 1990s and 2000s, the voluntary sector continued to develop almost on the same pattern as of the 1980s, with a rapid growth in the number of organisations working in almost every field of non-profit activity. On the other hand, government attitude towards advocacy-based organisations remained hostile as was in the past, and tension between secular and religious organisations continued to grow over time. However, the developments of the 1980s have led to a general acceptance of the role of the voluntary sector as a major actor in the development process. In the 1990s, government initiatives to support the sector included establishment of Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund and the Social Action Programme (1992). Similarly, the Trust for Voluntary Organisations (TVO) was set up in 1990 in support of USAID. The rise of voluntary organisations' coalitions and networks in another important phenomenon of

these two decades. The Pakistan NGO Forum was established at the national level with four provincial apex bodies as its members. Another significant development is the emergence of non-government think tanks in Pakistan, who begun to exert some influence on the evolution of government policies. The Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI), Social Policy and Development Centre (SPDC) and Centre for Economic Research in Pakistan (CERP) helped shape several policies at federal and provincial levels.

In recent years, there has been a stark increase in the hostility towards 'foreign-funded' voluntary organisations, whose operations remain largely outside the regulatory control of government either because they are part of some large international umbrella non-profit organisation or because they receive funding directly from bilateral or multilateral donor agencies. However, the hostility arises not only because of the financial and functional autonomy, but mainly because many of these voluntary organisations have taken up causes like human and women's rights, environment, political freedom, nuclear disarmament, municipal building regulations, etc., which are considered politically sensitive or have security implications.

In the year 2015, national operation of 'Save the Children', an international education and health focussed organisation was banned by the federal government amidst fears of its role in promoting terrorist activities in the country (Boone, 2015). The operation resumed after extensive lobbying and campaigning by international organisations active in Pakistan. Since then, the government introduced a bill imposing strict checks on the operation of international organisations in the country. Many 'local' or 'indigenous' voluntary organisations prefer to maintain a distance from international agencies, especially those, like the World Bank, which have a controversial reputation in the local culture. Some of these organisations are quasi-political or quasi-religious in nature, and it is important for them for demonstrate their 'purity' and commitment to an entirely domestic agenda, to mobilise popular support (Pasha & Iqbal, 2002).

The emergence of a voluntary, participative, and democratic non-profit activity has been stymied in most parts of Pakistan. The feudal elites and religious organisations have generally tended to act as support bases for undemocratic, military regimes. It is thus not a coincidence that the political history of Pakistan has been one of military rule interspersed with quasi-civilian rule. Given the lack of consistency in the government posture, no explicit comprehensive or cohesive policy has yet been articulated with respect to the voluntary sector. This is also the consequence of the absence of an institutional mechanism to coordinate the role of different registration authorities.

5.2 Context and development of youth volunteering in Pakistan

The National Youth Policy (2009) defines 'youth' as people between the ages of 15 and 29. This definition categorises approximately two-thirds of Pakistan's population as youth. Barber (2013) argues that Pakistan, with a population majority of youth that is constantly expanding, stands at a critical juncture in terms of

empowerment and engagement[7] as far as socio-economic development is concerned. This valuable national resource, a demographic dividend, could be harnessed and converted into a tremendous force for sustainable social change (Ashraf, et al., 2013). Although the national policy (2009) acknowledges that young people are a major human resource as well as agents of socioeconomic change and that it is necessary to provide adequate means and environments in which this invaluable human resource attains the optimal growth potential, Pakistan's youth are faced with several socio-economic, cultural, and political challenges that inhibit robust civic engagement.

Jamil (2014) notes that historically, youth have explored a myriad path of social and political engagement in Pakistan. Since the independence from the British Empire in 1947, "youth have travelled multiple paths of good, bad, and ugly: from enterprise to jihad[8], to organised crime, politics, music, media, technology, civil society activism and social good…. youth have remained systematically marginalised in a country that superficially courted and quoted the demographic dividend without commensurate strategic actions" (Jamil, 2014, p. 5).

Male youth was almost entirely trained to either become part of the military service or undertake agricultural work for livelihood purposes. Whereas the religious and cultural environment further limited the female youth to household chores. Illiteracy was rampant and education for all except elite and noblemen was never a priority for foreign rulers. The British arrived in the mid-seventeenth century and, decided to stay like other rulers. At first, they formed colonies and then after years of battles and rebellions, took full control of the Indian sub-continent in the mid-nineteenth century. For about half a century that followed, British resented the Indian locals as they blamed them for the war of 1857 and did not include Indians in the civil service. However, when the British started to develop infrastructure and administrative systems (mainly for imperial gains), they realised it was imperative to cautiously empower the local Indians to avoid future conflicts and to maintain their hegemony.

Stephanie Olsen in her work 'Juvenile Nation' (2014) points out that moral concern emerged in the late nineteenth century amongst the British Empire for promoting the noble task of educating the childish native of India. Carey Watt argues, for the British, the civilising mission had multiple meanings and mainly aimed to bring benefits of British culture to the supposedly inferior Indians (Watt, 1999). Youth were especially seen as malleable and impulsive and therefore in need of disciplining to keep their possibly destructive energies in harness. Scholars such as Bernard Cohn conceptualise the use of colonial education curriculum and social welfare as 'cultural technologies of rule' which deployed techniques of governance that involved minimalistic or no coercive measures such as military aggression and war (Cohn, 1996). While these efforts helped pave a path for Indian youth to flourish, these also led to development of active citizenship as a form

7 The terms youth engagement and youth participation have been used synonymously to youth volunteering in this section. It is clearly articulated where used differently

8 Islamic belief of spiritual or physical struggle within oneself against sin or enemies of Islam

of nation building amongst youth in colonial India (Watt & Mann, 2011). Topdar (2015) notes that Indians were not passive recipients of Western colonial education and culture. In fact, it was their lack of passivity that bothered the British state. This reluctance was reflected in the emergence of Scouts and Girl Guides movements in colonial India (discussed later).

The first youth focused organisation to surface in colonial India was Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). The YMCA began its work in India in 1875, when A.N. Somerville, a minister of the Free Church of Scotland, started a chapter in Bombay (Mumbai) (Mallampalli, 2004). According to YMCA India's website, the first YMCA dated back to 1857 when Calcutta Christian Juvenile Society of 1822 was renamed to Calcutta YMCA (YMCA India, 2017). However, establishment of YMCA Lahore chapter in 1876 marked its emergence in the now Pakistan area (YMCA International, 2017). All these chapters were part of a National Council which oversaw nearly forty member associations throughout India. Upon its arrival, the YMCA had not been well received by the local population. This had been due to its Christian orientation, its Western leadership, and the services it provided only to the European and Anglo-Indian communities. Fishcer-Tine (2017) notes that at the same time, local religious groups driven by the fear of an impending wave of conversions to Christianity, created their own clones of YMCA including Young Men's Hindu Association and Young Men's Buddhist Association. Towards the turn of the century, however, the YMCA had begun to extend its services to youth from many religious backgrounds (Mallampalli, 2004). These young people tended to come from educated, urban, middle-class families. In 1890, the Madras YMCA had been founded and its membership opened to all Indians irrespective of caste or creed. In addition to contributing to the physical, spiritual, and educational development of youth, the YMCA with its extensive network throughout India became a training centre for future Indian leadership.

5.2.1 Boys in uniform

In his seminal work on boy scout movement in India, Watt (1999) states that boy scout movement started in United Kingdom in 1907 and since then it caught on and expanded quickly throughout the world including India. He notes that the "most crucial years of the movement in the subcontinent were between 1908 and 1921 when the first scout or quasi-scout troops and associations were started by missionaries, non-governmental bodies such as the YMCA, colonial officials and the Indian social service and self-help associations. However, there was no coherence to these different initiatives, and they were not co-ordinated" (Watt, 1999, p. 38). The government of India tried its best to avoid addressing the issue, and it was particularly concerned about the prospect of the scout movement being taken up by the Indians. The founding of the Boy Scouts in 1907 coincided with the fiftieth anniversary of the 1857 mutiny and, ominously, a new wave of agitational and 'extremist' Indian nationalism. The debate and procrastination by British led to the proliferation of alternative scout movements outside government control (Veer, 2001).

The emphasis on physical culture, healthy bodies and good citizenship added to the movement's attractiveness in colonial India. The first Boy Scout troop in India was started in 1908 by Reverend

Alexander Wood, and it was composed entirely of Indian boys. Figure 3 shows a Boy scouts in Bangalore (India) in the year 1909.

Figure 3 Boy Scouts in Banglore (1909) (Kumar, 2011)

In 1910, scouting started in Punjab Province of now Pakistan with headquarters established in Lahore and summer camps arranged in the northern hills of Murree (Pakistan). The Theosophical Society started a movement named Sons of India in 1908, formed scout troops in 1910 and 1913. In 1916, it established Indian Boy Scouts Association (IBSA). The Indian YMCA also formed a Boy Scout approximation, the Boy Shikari[9] Movement. The movement was inspired from *Shikaris*- native experts used by British as guides when hunting game, but they were also known for their great knowledge of flora and fauna as well as their skill in tracking animals. Proctor & Neilson (2009) note that while hunting in Kashmir (India-Pakistan) in 1898 that Baden-Powell (Founder of Scout Movement) started to write Aids to Scouting, which is a precursor to Scouting for Boys. Emergence of Theosophist scout movements was regarded as a greater danger by the colonial government, and it changed its tactics in 1921 by forming and giving full support to, the All-India Council for Scouts, with the Viceroy as the Chief Scout of India.

The support for the scout movement continued after the Independence in 1947. Pakistan's founder Muhammad Ali Jinnah attended the World Scout Jamboree of 1947 in Moissan, France along with boy scouts from Pakistan. At that time, total scouts in Pakistan were 50,000. The number has increased to 150,000 today. Figure 4 shows Jinnah with the delegation.

9 Shikari- a Hindi word for hunter

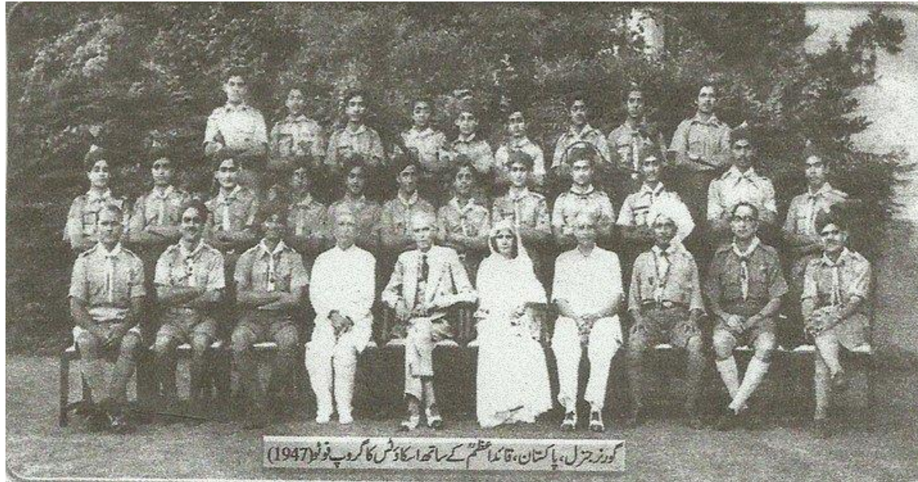

Figure 4 Jinnah with scout contingent after attending World Jamboree in 1947 (Scouting for All, 2016)

Jinnah stressed that "scouting can play a vital role in forming the character of our youth, promoting their physical, mental and spiritual development, and making them well disciplined, useful and good citizens…" (Scouting for All, 2016).

Scouting continued in East and West Pakistan as part of the Pakistan Boy Scouts Association until the country was split in 1971. The Government of Pakistan commemorated the efforts of scouts in relief and rehabilitation efforts during the formative years of Pakistan and wars of 1965 and 1971 with India by issuing postal stamps. Special stamps were issued to celebrate 75th anniversary of Scout Movement and the 125th birthday of Lord Baden-Powell. Pakistan also declared 1982 as the year of Scouting. Figure 5 shows some of the stamps issued by the government (Istamp Gallery, 2017).

Figure 5 Postal stamps issued by Government of Pakistan to celebrate scouting (Istamp Gallery, 2017)

Endeavour was also made to form an international forum to activate and coordinate the activities of Muslim Scouts in 1982 and several Islamic Scout Conferences were held. This trend however discontinued for undocumented reasons. Pakistan also served on the World Scout Committee from 1963 to 1969. Mr. Niaz Khan was awarded the Bronze Wolf of the World Organisation of the Scout Movement for exceptional services to world of Scouting. Pakistan Boy Scouts Association is now focussed on creating co-educational youth scout programmes and aims to reach 2 million young members by the year 2020.

5.2.2 Girls in uniform

Girl Guides have been active in the area which is now Pakistan since the year 1911. In 1928 this area, along with that of present-day India and Bangladesh, became a Founder Member of World Association of Girl Guides & Girl Scouts (WAGGGS). In 1948, the Pakistan Girl Guides Association was welcomed as a separate member of WAGGGS (WAGGGS, 2017). Stanhope (2012) observes that when the Guiding movement emerged in Britain, maternalism[10] had become a mainstream women's right ideology that interest groups across the political spectrum appropriated to justify diverging agendas. Although maternalists ranging from Indian male-imperialists to white missionaries discursively advanced that all women were naturally endowed with maternal instincts, they agreed that inadequate mothers threatened to undermine human progress. They imagined middle-class white women guiding colonised people, the working class, and other groups at the periphery of 'civilisation' to exchange their backward, superstitious traditions and irrational beliefs for the modern rationality of the Western bourgeoisie. In India, western elites, white and colonised, quickly grasped on the movement as tool of nationalism as soon as it arrived in 1911. They hoped that through performances of imperial pride, service projects targeted at mothers and children, traditional crafts and games, and physical adventure, guiding would prepare colonised girls for the responsibilities of imperial citizenship. Figure 6 shows girl guides in Purulia (India) in the year 1920.

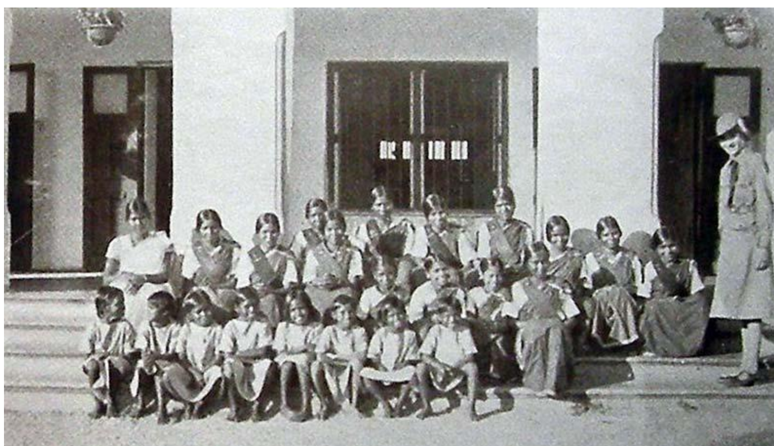

Figure 6 Girl guides in Purulia (India) in the year 1920 (WAGGS, 2020)

10 Maternalism is the theoretical viewpoint that incorporates a common idea of femininity and applies it as a support for women's involvement in society

At first, Baden-Powell rejected the idea of non-western guides just like he did for boy scouts. Successful reports from missionary Guiders and the British government's interest convinced Powell to agree to internationalise the movement and the colonial government of India took up the cause of Girl Guides. He explained through Scouting we aim to gradually persuade the [non-western] boys and girls to see things from the white man's point of view. His wife Olave Baden-Powell is noted to have said that "those who have gifts can use them without effort, lucky people; and those of us who are perhaps a bit backward and not so brilliant can probably cultivate what talents we have and get quite clever at arts and crafts if we plod along and have a good try" (Baden-Powell, 1936, p. 99). Stanhope (2012) notes that observations made by Olave in her letters and travelogues suggested that colonised were best the natural followers of the colonisers. Some colonised people, Olave feared, might lack the basic ability to follow. This demonstrated a conviction in racial essentialism, in which Western women were more capable and smarter than non-western counterparts. However, she embraced a more positive outlook after the decolonisation of India and believed that all people could achieve the level of modernisation of the West.

The dissonance between Olave's thoughts characterised the Guiding movement until the late 1960s. On the one hand, the programme celebrated equality and active citizenship in an imagined global sisterhood, while on the other it supported traditions of colonial hierarchies that limited the active citizenship of its membership. British women represented India at the World Conferences until 1938. They considered women in India as toddlers not walkers (Stanhope, 2012). Even when non-Western delegates and observers began to attend the World Conferences and Camps, Western planners often failed to include them in performances and parades. Anu Karkare (1959) notes that Indian delegates were portrayed as spectacles that existed only to prove the international authenticity of WAGGGS. Their comments generally focussed on the 'exotic' sari[11] uniforms that some Indian women had begun to wear in the late 1930s.

The Indian women who had taken up the cause of girl scouting were highly educated and included Hindu and Muslim women. As the independence movement became anti-British and more sectarian in the 1930s these women pursued their nationalist vision through Guiding and other outreach programmes. By 1940s, some Guiders had involved their guides in displays of support for the All-India Muslim League and the idea of a separate Muslim nation. Mumtaz & Shaheed (1987, p. 45) argued that "in collecting funds, selling badges, and propagating the idea of Pakistan, all the girls got involved, by appearing in public and interacting with strangers, were violating the unwritten but centuries old rule of purdah[12] and confinement for Muslim women". This convinced Muhammad Ali Jinnah to fully support the movement upon independence. In October 1947, Begum G.A. Khan was entrusted by Jinnah with responsibility of

11 A sari is a female garment from the Indian subcontinent that consists of a drape varying from five to nine yards in length and two to four feet in breadth that is typically wrapped

12The practice in certain Muslim and Hindu societies of screening women from men or strangers, especially by means of a curtain.

organising the Girl Guides Movement in Pakistan. In December 1947, Miss Fatima Jinnah (sister of Muhammad Ali Jinnah and famous women leader) accepted the patronship of the associations. The middle class of Pakistan understood Guiding as a necessary activity that trained their daughters as citizens hence, supported the movement. The Pakistan Association attempted to enrol guides in modernisation campaigns of literacy, public sanitation, and vaccination. It also adopted new uniforms modelled to evoke the legacy of Muslin anti-imperialism. Figure 7 shows Girl Guides at a recent Gymboree in Islamabad (Pakistan).

Figure 7 Girl Guides at a Gymboree in Islamabad (Pakistan) (WAGGGS, 2017)

The expansion of Guiding after the Independence of India and Pakistan in 1947 led WAGGGS to start a process of structural change that gradually made the international movement more inclusive. In the early fifties, it incorporated Pakistani women into the leadership of international movement and accepted their ideas. The current number of girl guides in Pakistan is 83,206 (WAGGGS, 2017).

5.2.3 Student & religious movements

Since Independence, youth participation has mainly included the politicisation of youth and student bodies during different political eras, rapid emergence of student and youth-based organisations as the level of literacy improved and the use of youth volunteers in extensive relief, rehabilitation, and philanthropic activities across Pakistan. According to Rumi & Nauman (2013), Pakistan has a long history of student participation and students have played a major role in shaping the directions taken by the state and the government of Pakistan. However, the sustained involvement of external forces like state institutions has altered student participation. The use of 'student' instead of 'youth' in participation literature is a product of series of historical events. Almost all current literature on the role of young people in Pakistan since the Independence focuses on student politics. While this classification ignores the numbers of youth (particularly in rural areas) who did not have access to education, it was used because of the highly influential role of student politics. Political repression in Pakistan has often meant that voluntary sector has

been at the receiving end of state repression. Many young people who were involved in NGOs have been targeted. As a result, explicitly political forms of youth civic engagement have met with considerable resistance. By the 21st century, the direct involvement of students in local and national politics was greatly reduced, as student politics had become extremely violent and illegal. The most glaring restriction inhibiting youth participation is a decades-old ban on student unions. Youth participation in political parties has considerably resurfaced since the emergence of youth-mandate based political party, *Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf* in General Elections of 2013.

The ICIP Report on civic engagement in South Asia (Erra, et al., 2010) notes that political changes have impacted state's attitude towards youth participation in the voluntary sector, which has been inconsistent. The historical development of the voluntary sector has been closely related with the political environment, religious institutions, and the changing perceptions of social welfare and philanthropy. Volunteerism and philanthropy are deeply rooted in Pakistan's Islamic religious traditions. In Pakistan, religious institutions play an important through often controversial role in the voluntary sector. While many religious institutions carry-out important charitable work, some have become extremely partisan and politicised, and some exploit and manipulate young people's idealism, desire for recognition and dedication to their community. Some religious institutions in Pakistan work against promoting youth civic engagement and voluntary service within the context of democracy.

5.2.4 Current scope and breadth

Policy & legislation

In 2009, the Federal cabinet approved the national youth policy (2009). However, in 2010 the Ministry of Youth Affairs was dissolved following the passing of the 18th Amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan, and responsibility for youth, along with other policy areas such as education, was devolved to the four provinces (Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and two territories (Gilgit Baltistan and Azad Jammu & Kashmir). To date, only the Punjab province has an approved youth policy (2012), though the Sindh province has a draft youth policy (2012) and the other regions and territories are engaged in consultation and drafting processes. As a member of the Commonwealth of Nations, Pakistan is a signatory of the Commonwealth Plan of Action for Youth Empowerment (PAYE) 2006-2015 (Youth Policy Institute, 2013). Erra, et al. (2010) note that the national youth policy included a section on promotion of youth volunteering in Pakistan and suggested the creation of a National Youth Volunteers Corps to utilise the youth human resource and mobilise then to assist in the social and economic development of the country It suggested involvement of volunteers across all sectors from social security, education, environment, gender, sports, and community uplift.

Civil society organisations

The SPDC's report on dimensions of non-profit sector in Pakistan (2002) states that about 5% of total volunteers in Pakistan are involved in youth services and welfare. There are about 8000 registered NGOs in Pakistan. Gul (2017) identified 70 active NGOs and networks particularly focused on youth development/

engagement in Pakistan. Whilst there is no official youth council, there are several youth-led groups that operate at a regional and national level. The National Youth Assembly (NYA) aims to educate youth aged 18-30 about leadership, politics, and democracy. The role of young people in these organisations are unclear, as is their representative nature. Several youth organisations are listed as members of the Commonwealth Youth Council.

Some other prominent organisations or networks include Youth Advocacy Network, Center for Civic Education Pakistan, Youth Action for Pakistan YES Network, Population Council- Pakistan, and Ehsaas. Most of these organisations tend to respond to various development challenges including public health, sexual and reproductive health and rights, women rights, disaster relief and preparedness. There is also a strong focus on vocational and skills training, with a particular focus on social entrepreneurship. Some umbrella organisations including international, national, and local organisations also consider youth as an important source of change and have prepared volunteering programmes in this regard. A comparison of some of the youth engagement organisations/ programmes in Pakistan is provided in Table 9. It is based on work of Erra, et al. (2010) and author's own elaboration.

Table 9 Comparison of youth engagement programmes/ organisations in Pakistan (non-exhaustive list)

Organisation	Type	Main purposes	Roles of Young People	Number and Level of Inclusion
Bargad Youth Foundation	Youth leadership & Advocacy	Political Participation	Volunteer, Leader, Mentor	All; participation from all provinces
Center for Civic Education	Service learning, Youth leadership & Advocacy	Education	Civic Educator, Volunteer	All; 50% from rural areas; from lower-middle class and middle class
Youth Engagement Services (YES) Network Pakistan	Youth Entrepreneurship, Youth Leadership & Community Service	Education	Educator, Leader, Volunteer	All; special focus on out of school and youth at risk, and rural girls
Youth Advocacy Network	Advocacy & Campaigning	Education	Advocate, Volunteer, Member, Programme Implementation, Leader, Peer educator, Researcher, Programme design, Mentor	All; 25% from rural areas; mostly from lower-middle class
Pakistan Youth Parliament	Youth leadership & Advocacy	Political Participation	Volunteer, Leader, Mentor	All; participation from all provinces
National Youth Council	Youth Leadership & Communication	Education & Participation	Volunteer, Leader, Peer educator	All; 25 current members
Ehsaas	Community Service	Disaster Relief & Poverty Alleviation	Volunteer	All
Rabtt	Service learning & Community Service	Education	Mentor, Volunteer, Peer educator	Punjab and Sindh focussed; urban- rural participants
Aware Girls	Advocacy & Campaigning	Women Empowerment	Volunteer, Leader, Mentor	All; young women- led
School of Leadership	Youth Leadership	Education	Mentor, Peer educator, Leader	All

Pakistan Youth Alliance	Advocacy & Campaigning	Community Participation	Volunteer, Programme design	All; national network
Next Generation Pakistan	Service learning	Education	Volunteer, Leader, Programme design	All
VSO Pakistan	Community Service	Community Participation	Volunteer	All; international volunteering
Pakistan Youth Revolution	Service learning	Education, Community Participation	Volunteer, Mentor, Peer educator, Leader	All

5.3 Context and development of environmental movement in Pakistan

The flagship report on environmental challenges in Pakistan by the Ministry of Environment (2001) claims that the word 'environment'[13] was unknown to people of Pakistan until the year 1983. This might be true in terms of the policy infrastructure but the roots of environmental movement stem from earlier centuries. Rizvi (2005, p. 61) states that the history of environmental movement in Pakistan "predates the nation's inception in 1947". Sahu (2007, p. 3) notes that genesis of environmental concern in this region "can be traced back to the early twentieth century when people protested against the commercialisation of forest resources during the British colonial period". On the contrary, Mann (2015) suggests that environmental historiography of South Asia can be divided into three periods: pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial. He argues that most historians have portrayed a pre-colonial equilibrium between humans and nature in contrast to the 'violent politics and the destructive effects of the colonial period' (Guha, 1991; Saberwal, 1999; Gadgil & Guha, 1992; Damodaran, 1992). Agarwal (1998) claims that undoubtedly colonialism contributed drastically to environmental degradation and action in the region, pre-colonial period was also far from one of ecological stability. Hence, it is important to stipulate pre-colonial and colonial concerns to fully understand the emergence of environmental movement.

While the agenda is broadening out to include a range of sectors and periods, historical accounts are majorly available in the context of India not Pakistan. Naureen (2009), Rizvi (2005) and Aftab (1994) have discussed the post-independence development of environmental movement in Pakistan but it is almost entirely focussed on legislative and organisational infrastructure. Where possible, this section attempts to identify the common historical elements from pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods that have helped develop concern for environmental protection in Pakistan.

5.3.1 Pre-colonial period

According to Gilmartin (1994), the environmental narrative of Indus basin[14] should include long-term interactions among pastoralism, migration, agriculture, and trade. Gadgil (1985) has represented the entire period from 500 BC to AD 1860 as one of relative stability in the natural environment. Religion, caste, and political motives provided a nonconflictual basis for sharing communal resources. Agarwal & Narain (1989) further explained how communal institutions for resource management were the norm which were subsequently destroyed under colonialism. The society had a system of community self-help for conservation of resources whereby exploitation of resources beyond specified limit was punishable. An example of such case was the confiscation of one sheep or goat of the defaulter which was killed to provide

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13 The word environment here refers to the ability of people to perceive common interest in environmental protection and bring about changes in environmental policies and practices

14 Indus is the historic river along which Indus Valley Civilisation (now Pakistan and India) lived. Indus is the main source of water for Pakistan even today

a feast for all the village people (Naureen, 2009). During the Mughal period, codified environmental regulations existed but for hunting only.

Glorification of pre-colonial environmentalism has been challenged by Agarwal (1998) as she points out that growth of human and animal populations, agricultural intensification and pre-British state interventions did contribute to environmental degradation in the sub-continent (Grove, 1993; Greenberg, 1996). Mann (2013, p.236) argues that "forest destruction and canal irrigation was a feature of the South Asian (environmental) history since, for example, the settlement of humans and the formation of states and societies in the Ganges Valley from the first millennium BCE. Similarly, deforestation also took place during the Mughal period and continued well into the 18th century".

Agarwal (1998) also argues that it was neither a period of social harmony. Caste and class divisions were deeply oppressive, especially as experienced by the poorest and lowest castes. She points out the striking absence of gender perspective within the debate. It is argued that environmental historians have not challenged the traditional inequalities and revivalist tendencies hence, strengthening institutions that entrench gender inequalities. On the other hand, authors like Cooper (1988) and Lalita (1989) are cited in Agarwal (1998) to have shown how caste and class-linked sexual exploitation of and violence against women for resource management were common in this period.

Religion remained an important force in this regard. Tomalin (2004) states that religious environmentalism emerged in India as a post-materialist environmental philosophy from the West and has its roots in the eighteenth century European romantic movement. But the roots of religion's influence on environmental concern can be dated back to before the British arrived in the sub-continent. While it endorsed caste and class divisions, some religious traditions like maintenance of sacred groves were a key conservation ethic of this period (Malhotra, et al., 2001).

5.3.2 Colonial period

The colonial period covers the time between the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century, when the British colonial rulers managed natural resources like forests, water, and fauna for almost one century (Farooque, 2011). This indicates the severity of colonial influence on the relationship between nature and humans in this period. Gilmartin (2015, p. 2) states that as "British colonial state transformed the landscape of the Indus basin, it also redefined its claims to legitimacy through its reformulation of communities defined in relationship to nature". Sangwan (2017) argues that environmental concern of colonial forces travelled in two directions. While material demands provoked colonials to reverse the resource use practices of indigenous peoples, demands of science invited them to experiment with the nature.

Barton & Bennett (2008) argue that colonial India provided the context and laboratory for environmental legislation and policy that later spread around the British empire during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism* Grove (1995, p. 3) emphasises the importance of this: "... the historically decisive

diffusion of indigenous, and particularly Indian, environmental philosophy and knowledge into western thought and epistemology after the late fifteenth century has been largely dismissed. Instead, it has simply been assumed that European and colonial attempts to respond to tropical environmental change derived exclusively from metropolitan and northern models and attitudes. In fact, the converse was true."

In the colonial period, the environmental landscape was "determined firstly by government forest policy, secondly by its irrigation policy (canal irrigation and large dam projects) and thirdly by its wildlife policy (control of carnivores, wildlife preservation)" (Rangarajan,2009, p. 229).

Forests & wildlife

Systematic forest management started during this period (Ayaz, 2001). This included strengthening government control over forest resources to ensure their continued commercial availability, and, for this purpose, the forest officers were trained in paramilitary traditions to implement colonial policies and undermine the traditional community rights and indigenous use of systems (Palit, 1996; Rishi, 2007). Gadgil & Guha (1994, p. 104) argue that "imperatives of colonial forestry were largely commercial, and its most significant consequence was the intensification of social conflict between the state and its subject". Critics argue that based on such an approach, the "powerful outsiders brutally suppressed" the resistance of local communities to outsiders' extraction of forest resources (Sponsel, et al., 1996, p. 96).

Kumar (2010) in his work on Green Colonialism points out that British initially destroyed forests and later propagated desiccationist[15] ideas, branding natives as destroyers of forests. Grove (1993) shows that a similar reasoning was used to develop forestry conservation laws in the first place by the East India Company during the early to mid-nineteenth century. It was not until mid-nineteenth century when it turned its back on its conservationist ethic and gradually became exclusively devoted to profitable exploitation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Barton & Bennett, 2008).

Hunting regulations introduced by the Mughals continued to be used in the colonial period. The Criminal Code of 1860 further outlawed killing of any animal whose value exceeded ten rupees. The law also extended protection to domesticated animals such as elephants, camels, cows, and horses. Hunting remained the key motivation for forest conservation in the nineteenth century. Rahkow (2014) criticises colonisers use of having ulterior motives and using hunting as a means of state penetration into India's forest interior. Subaltern *shikaris*[16] were employed by elite sportsmen and were paid to hunt in the colonial regime's vermin eradication programme, which targeted tigers, wolves, bears, and other species identified by the state as dangerous beasts. Weil (2006) concluded from the analysis of titles in the *Indian Forester* that foresters became less interested and able to hunt during the twentieth century, leading to a decline in

15 The desiccationists believed cutting down a tree reduced the amount of rain that fell on the spot where the tree once stood. They believed by clearing a forest one cut off the area's rain supply and produced a desert. (Desiccate is a verb meaning to dry up; usually used regarding removal of moisture from vegetables)

16 Hindi word for hunters

the conservation sentiment amongst foresters. Barton & Bennett (2008) have contested this argument and state that decline in hunting did not occur due to decline in naturalistic interests of foresters but due to rise of animal protection awareness driven by many foresters themselves like Jim Corbett.

On the other hand, romantic descriptions of nature, description of insects, birds and wildlife abounded in forestry literature in the inter-war years in India. Several romantic stories about forestry were published and widely read during the twentieth century. John Budden published two children's books about forestry in India, *Jungle John,* and *Further Adventure's with Jungle John.* Descriptive biographies of forestry life by foresters include those of Webber, Eardley-Wilmont, Best and S.D. Joseph (Barton & Bennett, 2008). In an *Indian Forester* article about forestry in Madras, E.D. Richmond (1931, p. 253) mused that "time prevents mention of the aesthetic side of forestry, its appeal to the lovers of natural history, of the fauna and of the wildlife".

Sangwan (1995) notes the contribution of British naturalists towards identification of flora and fauna in the sub-continent. Stewart (1982) in his seminal work on botanists in India and Pakistan elaborates that interest in natural history collection existed amongst the servants of East India Company from the very beginning of its emergence in India. First example of such an interest was the establishment of a horticultural garden by first missionaries in the eighteenth century. Colonial naturalists and botanists particularly involved in the now Pakistan region included Miss Elsie Saunders & Canon Stokoe (Gilgit-Kashmir), C. PInwill, Father Blatter, McCann & Sabnis (Sindh), Ronald Holland & Father Santapau (Balochistan), Rev Williams, Lester-Garland & Eugene Nasir (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and John Colvin, Joseph Rodin, & F.G. Dickason (Punjab) (Stewart, 1982). These naturalists also involved the local people in identification and understanding of plant life. Sangwan (1995) states that interaction between these western minds and local collectors was reciprocal. The British naturalists helped introduce local collectors to the scientific language of modern botany. Some local collectors were known to understand Linnaean system of distinguishing between male and female flowers in Dioecious clan of plants (Worster, 1985).

Irrigation

State investment in irrigation in colonial India laid groundwork for capitalist transformation. It laid out changes in patterns of land use as agriculture expanded in response to technological and political changes, focusing on the dramatic expansion in the production of commercialised cash crops (particularly what, cotton, and rice) that came in the twentieth century. Gilmartin (2015) reasons the image British created of irrigation patronage as a selfless and beneficent gift to the people of India. Cultural assumptions about the legitimising significance of water control can be seen in the many indigenous, colonial era ballads celebrating the exploits of British water engineers and casting them as water patrons. But if such work showed beneficence, it also reveals irrigation patronage as an act of power, bound up with all the moral ambiguities that the direct exercise of state power over nature inherently involved. Wittfogel (1957) termed it as 'oriental despotism'. Reliance on large-scale water works removed power from local hands and vested it in the hands of authoritarian managers, who controlled the knowledge, labour, and military means to

protect these works. Such concentrations of power in turn led to hierarchical class divisions and to the ideological structures needed to legitimise such authority. Shiva & Mies (1993) have articulated the need for more communitarian national ethos in face of such large-scale decline. Similarly, Gadgil & Guha (1992) have suggested the possibility of an alternative environmental morality with participatory potential and less evidence colonial genealogy.

5.3.3 Post-colonial period

A wide gap exists in the historiography of environmental movement in Pakistan. As stated in the introduction, recent attempts by Rizvi (2005) and Naureen (2009) have tried to analyse the chronology, but it is solely based on the legislative drivers and barriers. There is no relevant social research conducted to understand the process. However, this section attempts to identify environmentalism landscape in the post-independence period based on works of Guha (2000), Sethi (2001) and Prakash (2006) in context of India and the global South. It is suggested that two waves of environmentalism occurred in sub-continent. The first wave spanned from the late 19th century to the outbreak of World War I and the second wave started in the early seventies (Guha, 2000). In the first wave, which began in the 1860s and continued through the interwar period, three varieties of environmental thought competed to construct a diagnosis of environmental degradation and an alternative vision to it: the back to the land movement, the scientific conservation movement, and the wilderness movement. Motilal & Nanda (2006) have categorised this type of environmentalism as 'utilitarian conservationism'. The first wave of environmentalism ended with an interlude of 'ecological innocence' after World War II, when both North and South were committed to economic growth through technology (Guha, 2000). The newly independent countries of India and Pakistan sought economic lift-off on the western path with environmental concerns relegated to the background (Dauvergne, 2005).

Sethi (2001) argues, this approach prevented nationalist elite from comprehending the organic link between nature and survival societies; it failed to see that the major conflicts in Indian society revolved around the control, use and nurturing of natural resources like soil, water, and air. This also stands true for the then elite government of Pakistan. With massive programmes of industrialisation and emergence of green revolution in the 1960s, the GDP growth rate of Pakistan became highest in the region. Niazi (2004) has noted that while small farmers benefited a little economically, most of the wealth generated was concentrated in the hands of elite and feudal families. A similar situation appeared in India coupled with drastic environment depletion, leading to burgeoning of new environmental movements in India (Dwivedi, 2016). These movements have been viewed as essentially actions by the marginalised poor to protect their environmental means of livelihood and sustenance. Prakash (2006) has characterised this as 'environmentalism of poor'. These movements included *Chipko* and *Narmada Bachao Andolan* [Movement to save Narmada]. Besides similar environmental and social challenges, no such movements have been recorded in this period in Pakistan. However, Pakistan was quick enough to formulate policies and develop institutions as soon as global concerns for environment started to surface in the 1970s. This second wave

led to intellectual reflection and popular social movement to generate a public debate on ‘the conditions and prospects for sustainable development’. Motilal & Nanda (2006) have categorised this type of environmentalism as ‘protectionist conservationism’.

5.3.4 Current scope and breadth

It is important to note besides drastic increase in public salience and institutional capacity building for environmental protection in Pakistan, environment is best viewed not because of necessity, but as a luxury- a post materialist concern (Amalric & Banuri, 1995; Inglehart & Abramson, 1999; Kidd & Lee, 1997). The then environment minister of Pakistan, Anwar Saifullah, pointed out at 1992 UNCED conference that: "Eighty percent of our water is untreated. That is our biggest problem. When I must worry about such basic provisions of life, it is a luxury to talk about the environment" (Purvis & Grainger, 2004, p. 291).

According to World Bank (2016), 61% of Pakistan’s population is still rural as compared to 78% in 1960 with 60 million people (one-third of population) living below the poverty line. Ashfaq, et al. (2016) note that Maslow’s hierarchy of need theory and Alier & Guha (1997)’s arguments make poor in Pakistan ‘too poor to be green’. However, they argue that this vicious cycle of poverty-environmental damage needs to be targeted with poverty alleviation and environmental literacy programmes. Recent evidence suggests on the contrary, new, modern environmental risks emerge with increase in wealth as the previous risks offset (Smith, 2001). Hence, it is important to carefully think ecosystem services and poverty alleviation policies and strategies in Pakistan, undertaking a sustainable livelihoods approach.

Policy & legislation

Rizvi (2005) and Naureen (2009) note that Pakistan inherited several colonial environmental laws pertaining to land tenure and use, forestry, wildlife protection, canal irrigation, energy development, pesticide use and noise pollution. The first concrete step taken by Government of Pakistan (GoP) for the environment was the establishment of Environment, Local Government and Urban Affairs Department (EUAD) in the year 1974, under the Ministry of Housing and Works. The EUAD played a leading role in promoting environmental concerns in 1970s and was later upgraded to Ministry of Environment. This included: i) drafting and promulgation of environmental protection legislation i.e., Pakistan Environment Protection Ordinance (1983) and the Pakistan Environment Protection Act (1997); ii) development of Pakistan National Conservation Strategy in 1992 and iv) the dissemination of information regarding environmental issues.

This increase in environmental concern at policy front can be attributed to the global and regional enlightenment. Reasons range from popularity of Rachel Carson’s Silent Spring in 1962 (Guha, 2000) to celebration of Earth Day in 1970. United Nations Conference on Human Environment 1972, Chipko movement in neighbour country of India in 1974 and finally 1987’s Brundtland Report on our common future guided strategic interest in environmental issues in Pakistan. Rizvi (2005) argues that most of the early national interest was superficial and rooted in legislative measures only. Environmental movement gained real momentum in Pakistan only after development of the National Conservation Strategy (NCS) in 1992.

NCS has been marked as the first national policy level document which attempts to integrate environmental concerns in every aspect of Pakistani economic life. The policy was developed by IUCN and GoP in consultation with 3000 people from across Pakistan. It clearly identifies the need for active and informed participation of key and local stakeholders in environmental decisions. Other major legislations and strategies included Pakistan Environment Protection Act (1997), Biodiversity Action Plan for Pakistan (2000), National Environmental Quality Standards (2000/2001/2012), National Environment Policy (2005), National Climate Change Policy (2012), etc. Pakistan is also a signatory of various multilateral environmental agreements including Agenda 21, Montreal protocol, Kyoto protocol, CITIES, CBD, UNCCD, Ramsar Convention, UNCLOS, etc. [17] Pakistan has also ratified the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development which has almost entirely guided the recent policy action in this regard.

Institutional set-up

The institutional set-up for environmental protection in Pakistan has drastically altered because of 18th amendment to Constitution of Pakistan in 2010. Environment has been devolved as a subject from federal to provincial level. Under the 18th amendment, there is no Environment Ministry at federal level though Environment Protection Agencies are working in all provinces. In the recent years, fate of national policies and strategies has been debated and provinces have been encouraged to develop action plans based on national guidance available or generate new policies at the provincial level. Government of Punjab has taken lead in introducing provincial level environmental legislation and has introduced major policies including Punjab Environment Protection Act Amendment (2012), Punjab Climate Change Policy (2017), Punjab Sanitation Policy (2015), etc. Other provinces are in process of introducing relevant legislation as well.

While the policy framework is conducive, weak implementation mechanisms are in place. This situation has been shown to improve with devolution of environmental action from federal to provincial level, but sustained impetus of energy and resources is required from other key stakeholders including academia, non-governmental organisations, and community at large. Another key stakeholder in Pakistan for environmental concern is the religious leadership.

Religious influence

96.4% population in Pakistan is Muslim (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2017). Islam has played and can play a vital role in shaping environmental concern in Pakistan. Naz (2009) notes that rich legacy of environmental consciousness exists in Islam with mention of interaction between environment and man mentioned several times in the Quran, supported by the Hadith and Sunnah.[18] Islam views the attitude of

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17 CITIES: Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wildlife Fauna and Flora; CBD- Convention on Biological Diversity; UNCCD- United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification; UNCLOS- United Nations Convention on the Law of Sea

18 Hadith refers to the sayings and Sunnah to the actions of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)

interaction in the environmental ecosystem as a big issue when the trust and stewardship are granted to humans as an important appointment to manage and administer the environment (Mamat & Mahamood, 2017). Besides religious significance, Rizvi (2005) notes that environmental trends have been viewed with suspicion by the religious leaders. They have been considered a part of 'Western' agenda. He argues that this is due to high ignorance of ecological realities amongst the religious leaders, and this has unfortunately resulted in their open opposition of civil society and non-governmental organisations working in the sector. He claims that this opposition has particularly undulated the path of environmental movement in Pakistan. An effort needs to be made to challenge this fundamentalism by raising ecological awareness among religious leaders and their disciples by pointing out what Islam says about managing natural resources.

Civil society and private organisations

Civil society organisations are uniquely placed in Pakistan to deal with environmental concerns in Pakistan as they tend to work at the grassroots level, are therefore in position to help navigate government's agenda and bring about the required change in the community (Naureen, 2009). Aftab (1994) has categorised environmental NGOs of Pakistan into two categories, those running environmental programmes as part of a broader participatory development programme and those involved exclusively with environmental issues.

According to Pasha et al. (2002), 0.2% (103) organisations have registered as environmental NGOs in Pakistan. Since there is no recent estimate available, it is assumed the number is bound to have increased as environmental agenda has widened. As pointed by Aftab (1994), many NGOs have umbrella projects and programmes in which environment is a key component. Such programmes include Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP), Orangi Pilot Project, National Rural Support Programme, etc. Hence, the breadth of environmental action in Pakistan is larger than projected in available statistics. Table 10 reports briefly on the origins and the focus areas of some the leading national, local, and international environmental NGOs in Pakistan.

Table 10 Origin & Focus areas of some Environmental NGOs in Pakistan

	Year Founded in Pak	Focus
WWF Pakistan	1970	Wildlife protection (priority species in each province), ecosystem protection (wetlands, mangroves), public awareness
Shirkat Gah	1975	Women voice in environmental protection, gender rights
Aga Khan Rural Support Programme	1982	Natural resource management, community-based management, sustainable livelihoods approach
IUCN Pakistan	1985	Biodiversity conservation, climate change mitigation, community-based management

Society for Conservation and Protection of Environment (SCOPE)	1988	Social mobilisation, environmental law, climate change mitigation
Orangi Pilot Project	1989	Sanitation, health, housing
Sungi Development Foundation	1989	Sustainable agriculture and food security, disaster risk reduction
Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI)	1992	Policy, research, and advocacy for sustainable development
LEAD Pakistan	1995	Climate change research and advocacy, environmental management, social change development
Subh-e-Nau	2001	Environment and public health concern

Most of these organisations are home-gown, traditional organisations. Organisations/ projects like Orangi Pilot Project and APRSP emerged as community-based social innovation solutions. Similarly, WWF & IUCN Pakistan started in a non-conducive policy and infrastructure environment and grew naturally. Other organisations like LEAD Pakistan and Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI) have been developed by leading academicians. SDPI was founded on recommendation of National Conservation Strategy 1992. Newly surfaced organisations like Pakistan Sustainability Network and Lahore Conservation Society indicate youth's interest in environmental protection in Pakistan. Pakistan Sustainability Network[19] is a youth led environmental organisation which has formulated the first environmental youth council for Pakistan. In addition to these, there are several private companies in Pakistan which either focus on environmental products and services or are committed to sustainability and environmental protection as part of their corporate social responsibility vision/ work. There were no studies found which focused on youth engagement by private firms in Pakistan. The empirical chapters of my research discuss the current state of private firms engaging young volunteers across multiple geographical levels in Pakistan based on the research findings.

5.4 Chapter conclusion

The chapter presented the history to help better problematise the young environmental volunteer as a subject and an object. Across the historical account, a multitude of complementing and contesting reasons and methods can be seen to be employed by the state, non-state actors and young people themselves to

19 Year of formation is uncertain from the website. Best estimate: 2013

take up volunteering or action for the environment. This appreciation of diverse range of knowledge and truth formation processes through power relationships between different actors sets the scene for the next three empirical chapters of the thesis. Through applying the multiple environmentalities framework, chapter 6 focuses on the rationales or reasons for youth environmental volunteering considering the historical eventalisation discussed in this chapter and the emerging findings from the primary data collected as part of my research. Chapter 7 delves into the technologies or techniques of power and resistance applied by different actions including the young people. Chapter 8 reflects on these tools forming experiences of young people as environmental volunteers or key stakeholders in environmental governance processes across various geographical levels in Pakistan.

Rationalities

CHAPTER 6: RATIONALITIES

Building on the genealogical understanding of youth volunteering and development of environmental movement in Pakistan, I unpack 'reasons' or 'rationalities' of both state and non-state actors for developing or undertaking youth environmental volunteering in this chapter. This also includes rationalities identified by young volunteers themselves. I have arranged the chapter according to four broader rationalities: sovereignty and discipline, neoliberalism, truth, and communal. This approach helps to identify the interplay of multiple and complex sources of knowledge and expertise, and the perception of risks and benefits for mainstreaming young volunteers in the environmental governance process in Pakistan at the national, provincial, and local levels, and configuring roles of young environmental volunteers at the global level.

I reflect on how rationalities and the power relations could produce young people as both, environmental volunteering subjects and objects. This is based on Foucault's notion that "to constitute oneself as a governing subject implies that one has constituted oneself as a subject who cares for oneself" (Foucault,1997, p.293). Several reasons for young people themselves volunteering or not volunteering for the environment have been identified at all geographical levels. It should be noted that the identified reasons are not exhaustive and provide a snapshot of complex interaction of different rationalities in certain space and time for forming multiple environmentalities of youth volunteering.

6.1 Sovereign and disciplinary rationalities

In this section, I discuss the sovereign and disciplinary rationalities used by the state and non-state actors operating at different geographical levels in Pakistan. In addition to these, I have also attempted to identify rationalities used by young people to self-control and discipline themselves. The complex nature of spatial influences informing these rationalities are acknowledged and discussed in this section.

'Reactive' policymaking: responding to international and national pressures

When I volunteered as an in-person volunteer at UNESCO Bangkok, I was first introduced to the draft national volunteering policy for Pakistan which was formulated in 2010. My first reaction to the policy is captured in my diary note:

> Where did this come from? I never found any such document when I googled volunteering and Pakistan. It is a shame the policy did not receive any attention. I wonder why? It was possibly because it was introduced in 2010, and then the social welfare subject got devolved to the provinces, I think the policy has lost its ground. Having skimmed through the first few pages, it has a 'disaster management' focus. I am assuming this emerged out of the 'push' created by the National Volunteer Movement launched in aftermath of the massive Earthquake in 2005 and the floods that occurred in 2009/10. It seems to be drafted by funding support from the British Council, probably because of that youth report they published in 2009. It is also interesting to note the use

> of the term 'renewed' significance of volunteering as if people only recently started to volunteer again, and if they did, why is that so? (Self-Diary Note: UNESCO In-person Volunteer (April 12, 2018))

When I analysed the volunteering policy draft further, I identified the 'reactive' nature of the policy, reacting to global rhetoric for citizen engagement in sustainable development and the citizen-led disaster management experienced between 2005 and 2010. The draft policy identified the 'renewed' significance of volunteerism in Pakistan in supporting sustainable development challenges and the national and international commitments made to achieve sustainable development agendas in 2015 and beyond. The 'reactive' policy response stressed how "the achievement of UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) would have been difficult without the role of individuals and communities through volunteering and active citizenship" (p.5).

The draft policy (2010) identified 5 'push' phases of volunteerism post-independence in Pakistan, including the Boys Scouts Association and Pakistan Girl Guide Association focusing on character building of younger generations; Civil Defence based on employee training for social services; the national Development Volunteer Program (NDVP) introduced in the 1970s to offer apprenticeship opportunities across different public and private sector organisations. However, budgetary priorities in favour of national security over welfare and social development led to the programme being axed (Gulbrium et al., 2013; Hussain, 2004). The Decade of 1990s witnessed a boom in the number of international, national, and local non-governmental and civil society organisations surfacing across Pakistan which encouraged public participation and civic engagement. Furthermore, the horrific earthquake of 2005 triggered an unprecedented rise in volunteerism and active citizenship in Pakistan.

The national government quickly responded to the interest in volunteering and announced the formation of a 'National Volunteer Movement' (NVM) in 2005. The Movement was housed within the Ministry of Youth Affairs and was tasked to recruit and train volunteers especially young volunteers in disaster management and response to other emergencies. The United Nations' country office in Pakistan responded to the Government's new commitment. It launched the "Support to Volunteerism Initiatives" project to support the national movement and other UN Agencies and national NGOs. A total of 132 UN Volunteers were recruited under this project which lasted from 2005 to 2008. The project also marked the beginning of a comprehensive UN Volunteers (UNV) programme in Pakistan which is still in operation. In an interview with the Country Coordinator of UN Volunteers Pakistan, they stated:

> Even though the National Volunteer Movement died, we survived. At UN Volunteers, we continued to identify the need to engage volunteers for sustainable development and through funding support from the Global UN Office and other partners, we are growing. (NP-I: Country Coordinator, UN Volunteers Pakistan)

The British Council released a report titled ‘Pakistan: the next generation’ in 2009 which recognised the need to harness the potential of the demographic dividend in Pakistan and led to the formation of the ‘National Partnership Forum’ to coordinate youth and social development efforts. The Forum led policy dialogues on the need for a national policy on volunteerism in partnership with UK-based charity Voluntary Services Organisation (VSO) and NVM. NVM added drafting and seeking government approval of a national volunteering policy by 2010. However, due to the 18th amendment to the constitution in 2010, by which number of competencies were relegated from the federal level to the provincial level, the Ministry of Youth Affairs under which NVM was administered was dissolved and the programme was unfortunately discontinued. According to the Country Coordinator at UN Volunteers Pakistan, in June 2011, an effort was made by UN Volunteers Field Unit to re-establish a volunteer committee at federal level with a plan to create a volunteering body at the same level, but the effort was disbanded.

Despite this acknowledgement a decade ago, a comprehensive volunteering policy or legal framework for volunteering still does not exist in Pakistan. The State of the World’s Volunteerism Report (2018) noted that Pakistan was among 11 countries in Asia and the Pacific region to have developed a draft volunteering policy in 2010. Still, after the 18th amendment, the subject was devolved to the provinces, and the policy lost its ground. In addition to this, several study respondents noted that the first and last national youth policy developed in 2008 also met the same fate because of ‘youth’ being devolved as a subject as well.

Upon the close of the MDG period, Pakistan witnessed a legislative surge in ‘resetting’ national and sub-national agendas in the context of UN Agenda 2030 ‘Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The Chief of SDGs, during the national policy focus group, pointed out that Pakistan became the first country to adopt UN Agenda 2030 as national development agenda and since then, it has been attempting to mainstream its legislative procedures and governance processes. This agenda shift is in line with the findings of Ansel et al. (2012) who noted that global sovereign power operating through global youth and environmental policy discourses impact governance processes of nation-states, making policymakers feel ‘obliged’ to embed these discourses in their national and sub-national policy instruments.

In the policy interview with the Programme Specialist at UN Volunteers in Bangkok, they reflected on the popular knowledge and policy discourses that guide the regional, national, and local level volunteering and youth engagement programmes:

> It was Agenda 21 in 1992 that pushed us to think of children and young people as a major group at the UN. It was push from the knowledge in the sector and the clear ask from people to be involved more that we saw MDGs, and SDGs bring ‘people’ into the limelight. The 5Ps of Sustainable Development, which ‘people’ is one, has influenced a lot of policy and programme work at all levels. (IP-I: Programme Specialist, UN Volunteers Asia Pacific)

The national vision document particularly stressed the importance of effective youth development to realise the true demographic potential highlighted in global and national discourses. Since then, provincial youth

policies were developed on the pattern of the 2008 national policy (Population Council, 2016). The youth policies of Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa were approved (in 2012 and 2016, respectively), but Sindh and Balochistan still have draft policies (dated 2016 and 2015, respectively).

Several non-state actors believed that besides the provincial youth policies recognising volunteerism as an important facet of youth development, the policy scope was limited to certain development areas including education, skill development, sport, and reproductive health, with extremely limited or no focus on the environment/or climate change adaptation. In addition, the youth policies were not responsive to the inclusion of diverse youth groups in Pakistan, and the near absence of segmentation made the policies bound to be ineffective. Furthermore, a wide gap between the policy aims and strategies was highlighted by some national non-state respondents. They noted that in some cases, proposed strategies were inadequate to meet the objective(s), and in others, there was no mention of suggested implementation mechanisms or reporting indicators.

Increased political action for youth development

When the current ruling political party, *Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf,* participated in the General Elections of 2013 and in 2018 it based its mandate almost entirely on youth development:

> You know this Government is serious about youth empowerment. We are not just saying it; we will do it. (PP-I: Minister of Youth Affairs and Sports, Government of Pakistan)

In 2019 the Government of Pakistan launched the 'National Youth Development Framework' (NYDF), which served as an umbrella guidance document to facilitate federal and provincial governments and organisations to undertake a practical approach through a focus on 3 Es (Education, Engagement and Employment) identified by the UNDP National Human Development Report (2018) on youth.

NYDF (2019) promoted the vision on 'Naya (New) Pakistan', which supported socially integrated youth who espouse the values of volunteerism, inclusivity, and environmental concern. The framework affirmed global and national commitment to generating new modes and avenues of voluntary engagement for youth groups, including but not limited to vulnerable youth at madarassas (seminaries), rural youth and young women:

> To fulfil Pakistan's global commitments through the engagement of youth for achieving SDGs especially related to youth, while focusing on mainstreaming marginalised youth groups. (National Youth Development Framework, 2019)

The framework promoted institutionalisation of the 'Green Youth Movement' where urban and rural youth will be provided opportunities to participate in various environmental protection and climate change adaptation activities at school, university, and community levels. It was the first youth-focused policy instrument in Pakistan to move beyond 'awareness amongst youth' to identifying a need for practical youth engagement activities for environmental action at individual and collective levels. Environmental protection and conservation, climate change adaptation, access to clean drinking water and water conservation, food

security and green initiatives were identified as key focus areas for youth's health and social well-being under the mandate of the 'Green Youth Movement'. The detailed action plan for the 'Green Youth Movement' was not yet released (at the time of this study).

In addition to subjects like youth affairs (including volunteering), social and population welfare, women's development, and *zakat* (charity), 'environment' was also relegated to the provincial level upon the 18th amendment to the constitution. This led to the national environmental policy (2005) losing ground. Eventually, Punjab became the first and the only province to date to have an approved environmental policy released in 2015. Upon devolution, the Federal Ministry of Environment was abolished. A new Ministry of Disaster Management was developed, which was quickly changed to Ministry of Climate Change as climate change remained a federal subject. This led to the development of several new federal and provincial pieces of legislation focusing on climate change adaptation. The first national climate change policy was developed in 2012, followed by a framework for implementation of climate change policy 2014-2030. The subject of climate change was eventually devolved to the provincial level in 2016/17, and provincial governments were encouraged to produce provincial climate change policies based on the recommendations of the national policy, i.e., Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2016, Punjab in 2017 (Draft) and Sindh in 2019. Balochistan did not have a provincial climate change policy at the time of this study. The national policy led to the 'Pakistan Climate Change Act' was passed in 2017. The Act established a national climate change council and authority to coordinate and mainstream climate change concerns in decision making across federal and provincial levels.

Several non-state respondents expressed their frustration in the shifting political will and 'ever evolving' government policymaking at federal and provincial levels. They deemed these actions as 'messy' and felt these led to limited mandate uptake and resource mobilisation by both state and non-state actors, across all geographical levels:

> If I go to the environment department at the Government of Punjab and ask them about awareness campaigns, they tell me to go and ask the Ministry of Climate Change at the federal level as it only does environmental monitoring. If you go to the climate change ministry, they tell you this is a provincial mandate. Imagine what they will tell you at the district level. Where do we go? (LCS-I: Coordinator, Youth Leadership Program, Lahore Conservation Society)

'Volunteering' was not fully contextualised

While there was no mention of the term 'volunteering' in the national development framework rolled out in early 2014, 'Pakistan Vision 2025', it aimed to build the character of the younger generation through education and awareness by the local community and religious leaders:

> A large set of Pakistani youth is dissatisfied. This has led to serious social problems, including drug abuse, crime, mental disorder, terrorism, and religious fanaticism. Character building will be a key component of education at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels. Instilling high ethical

> standards will help root out corruption, strengthen governance and improve economic efficiency… local community and religious leaders will be utilised to raise awareness about the importance of a strong moral character and a morally upright society. (Pakistan Vision 2025)

The Chief Technical Advisor, Youth Empowerment, UNDP Pakistan also pointed out the importance of this wider context and socio-political environment. She argued that policymakers needed to acknowledge the sense of alienation, fear and distrust faced by young people for decades, and consider these factors when gauging the willingness of different youth groups to engage with the society.

The brand-new national youth development framework declared 'volunteering' as a national priority for effective youth engagement. 'Volunteering' was also explicitly highlighted as a key mode of civic engagement in the first provincial youth policy of Punjab (2012). However, this looked at the concept from a narrow lens of volunteering for disaster or emergency response:

> Social volunteerism is at the heart of the policy for youth mobilisation to deal with any natural calamity or national emergency. (Punjab Youth Policy, 2012)

This is reflective of how volunteering surfaced on the policy radar after the earthquake response in 2005 and youth engagement in flood relief activities during flash floods in 2009 and 2010. During the national policy focus group, the Chief Technical Advisor on Youth Empowerment at UNDP Pakistan rightly pointed out:

> When we talk about volunteering in Pakistan, we end up talking about disasters. We also need to explore technical areas like engineering, environment, medicine, social development and other technical fields for volunteering to add value. (NP-FG: Chief Technical Advisor, Youth Empowerment, UNDP Pakistan)

The Country Director at VSO Pakistan explained two scenarios in which volunteering mainly occurs in Pakistan:

> There are two types of scenarios. Firstly, in times of emergency, you get an unlimited number of volunteers who are ready to put in their time, energy, efforts. An example was that of the time in Kashmir in 2005 when a lot of volunteers were travelling towards Kashmir to help regardless of their age. Then there is a normal situation where commitment matters. The latter is less focused on. (NP-I: Country Director, Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) Pakistan)

During the national policy focus group on volunteer infrastructure, most policy stakeholders highlighted the need to develop an enabling environment for volunteerism in Pakistan, given the global and national agenda priorities for holistic civic engagement. The Youth Engagement & Social Inclusion Specialist at UNDP Pakistan argued to consider the existing volunteering structure in countries like Pakistan and how volunteering evolved there and use this understanding to institutionalise volunteering through regulation.

The draft national volunteering policy (2010) did attempt to contextualise volunteering culturally and religiously in Pakistan.

> Pakistan possesses a rich tradition of indigenous volunteering in terms of cultural and social support, religious obligations, and beliefs as well as spiritual support. Historically, rural areas practice indigenous forms of volunteering in the way of mutual help at the time of crop sowing and harvesting, marriages and funerals, building community places like *bethak/otaq,* caring for the poor in the community etc. Our religious beliefs are strongly based on the spirit of giving. Therefore, there are a lot of religious charities which provide help and inculcate a sense of volunteerism. Likewise, spiritual traditions and *mazars* (tombs) provide *lungar* (food) to the poor.

The Chief of SDGs at the Ministry of Planning, Development and Reform called for building a parliamentary caucus or task force to further understand volunteerism development and its political alignment to UN Agenda 2030 (SDGs) fostering global and national citizenship. In addition to this, when asked if a national volunteering policy was needed, some state and non-state actors at the provincial and local levels did not find the need to have an exclusive policy around volunteer infrastructure in Pakistan:

> What would a stand-alone policy do? It (volunteering) is a cross-cutting theme and needs to be addressed like that. (PP-I: Member, Social Infrastructure & Environment (Planning & Development Board, Government of Punjab))

Limited understanding of the environment and youth volunteering for it

Several study respondents suggested how limited commitment to environmental volunteering emerged from a limited understanding of environmental issues at international, national, and sub-national levels and the lack of focus on environmental volunteering as a mode of governance. Several respondents at the national and provincial levels observed that the term ‘environment’ was not well defined which had repercussions on the scope and breadth of volunteering for the environment:

> How is the environment defined anyways across these policies? And what is environmental volunteering? These are important questions to ask. Environmental concern is often limited to not generating too much waste or cry about smog in the winters. The problem is a lack of understanding of what a volunteer would do to manage smog. (PCS-I-: Program Manager, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

The Assistant Manager Sustainability at Bulleh Shah Packaging expressed her view that besides Pakistan having one of the largest youth populations in the world and facing high environment related risks, young people volunteering for the environment was not common. She further described:

> It is changing but at a very slow pace, and this might still be due to the lack of understanding of environmental issues and the importance of environmental volunteering. (NCS-I: Assistant Manager Sustainability 1, Bulleh Shah Packaging Pvt. Ltd. (TetraPak))

In the provincial youth policies, 'environment' was mentioned as an action area, but there was no attempt to define or elaborate the term. For instance, the Sindh Youth Policy (2016) mentioned it was the responsibility of youth to preserve and protect the environment, but no further elaboration of the visions and implementation mechanisms was provided. The Program Manager at Bargad described the lack of these detailed implementation frameworks as a key barrier to vision to help the environment convert into tangible action on the ground, undertaken by several actors including young volunteers.

Similarly, in the environment-focused policies including climate change, water and sanitation, forest and land management, disaster management and agriculture, there was a strong focus on community awareness and participation but limited mention of 'youth' as a key stakeholder. The National Sustainable Development Strategy (2012) called for improving multi-level environmental governance through community level environmental management. The National Climate Change Policy (2012) also stressed upon community mobilisation and mentioned 'students' as a key actor. The National Drinking Water Policy (2015) explicitly mentioned the inclusion of children in planning and implementing water supply systems in addition to other community stakeholders. Adolescents and young women were mentioned in some policies and strategies at the national and provincial levels including the National Sanitation Policy (2017) and the Balochistan Gender Policy Action Plan (2016-2030). The Balochistan plan clearly highlighted the need to focus on gender aspects of climate change and engage young women in these. The UNV Coordinator for Balochistan noted that government policies were aligning to focus on environmental volunteering, but the scope of opportunities was limited:

> The government policies are aligning with the environment focus. Opportunities such as climate change workshops/activities/seminars, tree plantation/walk for greener Pakistan with the collaboration of Environment/Forest Dept and engaging school/college/university students are kind of opportunities in which youth volunteerism can happen, but it is not happening to the extent needed. (NP-I: UNV Coordinator, Balochistan)

Some young volunteers participating in the research felt that environment was defined differently by diverse state and non-state actors. They highlighted their frustration in the limited understanding of environment as a problem by some organisations that might differ from their own perception of the environment:

> WWF has a very different definition of the environment than me. For them, it is all about national parks, water, and air. But for me, I want to also explore noise pollution, but I do not think they will let me. (NCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 2, WWF Pakistan)

Some volunteers expressed concern around 'widening' the scope of environmental action at multiple geographical levels. At the local level, volunteers at Al-Bayrak cleanliness campaign suggested there were environmental issues that young people would be willing to focus on, but there are limited formal avenues to learn about them and act accordingly:

> All our university does is plant trees and do these advocacy walks. I am sure there is so much more we can do. What about cleaning the river and main canal? I hope there is more material to study on environmental problems and solutions around us. (LCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 4, Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign)

These contesting definitions were leading to young people forming their own self-understanding of environment as a problem, and the role they can play to help it through volunteering or other forms of environmental participation. A volunteer manager at Bargad Youth Foundation (provincial level) acknowledged that young people were becoming more aware of environmental issues around them and organisations needed to quickly respond the building youth interest:

> In response to the local demand, we have started a project in Layyah to encourage youth entrepreneurship for mitigation techniques for climate damage, for instance, tunnel farming. Our volunteers from that side are very aware of the climate problems in Layyah. (PCS-I: Program Manager, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

Youth's environmental concern varied at different levels

Besides various definitions, most young volunteers participating in the research identified the environment as a key concern for them. However, the level of concern varied across the geographical levels based on the existing knowledge and experience of environmental problems around them. Some volunteers at the provincial and local levels pointed out that it they had recently started to observe or become more aware of the environmental problems faced by their communities. They felt that community members needed to understand environmental damage around them further as it will help shape their attitude towards reducing it:

> I am more aware of my surroundings than others in my community. We need to shape people's attitude towards the environment so they can protect it. (LCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 1, Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign)

Another volunteer from Bargad Youth Foundation pointed out the importance of adopting sustainable practices to address the growing environmental concerns. He said:

> Many vulnerable communities are suffering at the hands of environmental challenges, which can be addressed only by adapting sustainable practices by the wider community; therefore, I want to create a group of like-minded individuals to help reach all the key stakeholders to enable them to

> make sustainable decisions. (PCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 1, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

The Program Coordinator at Lahore Conservation Society acknowledged the increasing awareness amongst young people particularly around issues that directly affect them e.g., around overurbanisation and the need to plant more tree to reduce urban heat impacts. However, environmental concern was not observed to be consistent across all youth participating in the research. For some volunteers and non-environmental volunteers across all geographical levels, environmental changes were a secondary issue and poverty, employment, and housing remained priority concerns for them. This environment-poverty paradox has been also identified by several other authors (e.g., Gray & Moseley, 2005) which shows how environment is considered as a luxury by most population groups as the income levels remain medium-low and unemployment rates are high. One of the volunteers at WWF Pakistan (national level) said:

> I know this interview is about the environment, but frankly, I did not care much about it until now because when you must worry about *'roti, kapra, makaan'* (bread, clothes, and shelter), this comes way later. (NCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 3, WWF Pakistan)

When asked why he was volunteering at an environmental organisation in the first place, he stated how it was only to add some experience to his resume, but now he would want to do more about the environment. Some other volunteers at the local level also pointed out the increase in their environmental concern after participation in environmental volunteering activities:

> I believe I am a much more responsible citizen than ever. Now I have a better idea of the environmental issues and their effects on us. I feel the environment is equally an important issue to consider in my community alongside education and health. They are all connected. (LCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 4, Lahore Conservation Society)

The Assistant Manager Sustainability at Bulleh Shah Packaging argued that environmental concern could be fostered amongst young people by providing them first-hand experience of their local environments. He noted that these experiences make youth more sympathetic towards the environment and helps them understand the stewardship role young people can play in protecting it. Similarly, the Coordinator for Youth Leadership Program at Lahore Conservation Society noted:

> We have so many examples of young people who planted trees for the first time, and now they ask us periodically how is that plant, is it growing, etc. It feels good to know how concerned they are. I think that is a new meaning they have associated with just a 10-minute activity. Also, when they pick litter under the sun, they realise how much waste we all generate, and they are always tempted to go home and tell their family to reduce their waste. It is funny how such common-sense stuff

> becomes so visible to them, and they want to carry the message forward. (LCS-I: Youth Leadership Program Coordinator, Lahore Conservation Society)

I had a similar realisation as the UN Volunteer at UNESCO Bangkok. I felt that environmental concern was 'spatial' in nature and volunteers beyond local levels struggled to find specific environmental issues to focus on, and besides having increased understanding of environmental concerns in regional or global contexts, the sense of 'displacement' persisted. In my diary at UNESCO, I wrote:

> I do not think the environment itself means much at the super level. When deciding what areas to focus on at the social sciences unit, environmental migration was decided to be a priority focus area. But to do something about it, they need an anchor point, and that would not come until they contextualise it in local realities? As an environmental volunteer, may be the place to be is in the community and not at the policy table? (Diary Note: UNESCO In-person Volunteer (April 28, 2018))

However, a few volunteers at the national level made references to terms like mother nature and Gaia, highlighting the need to conserve the environment regardless of any geographically specific environmental issue:

> Since I saw Captain Planet show on the TV, I have always felt like 'Gaia', that lady who was like the spirit of the whole earth. Although I know, it is a bit abstract, but we ought to humanise earth a bit to realise it is something we need to care about. (NCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 2, WWF Pakistan)

Few volunteers highlighted that it is important to acknowledge that climate change is not a country-specific problem. Environmental solutions should be aimed at bringing a positive universal change. It can be viewed as a global as well as an ethical responsibility that needs to rise above local and international boundaries. Without the element of universality, there is no environmental justice, and without environmental justice, solutions are not sustainable.

During a provincial interview, a volunteer from the Bargad Youth Foundation stated:

> Climate change is a universal challenge that has no borders, and to fight that entails coordinated work by all the youth. Many people do not know what it really amounts to.

Also, another volunteer at the provincial level pointed out how in Islam, Muslims believe each non-human thing will be given a voice on the day of judgment and any person who has consciously harmed it, will be held accountable. She said:

> I certainly believe the river we pollute all day will point out on the day of judgement that so many plants and fish died because these humans put trash in it, and we will have to pay the cost for it. (PCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 2, Bargad Youth Foundation)

The varied environmental concerns at multiple geographical levels highlighted how individual young people were generating and engaging with varied environmental discourses. This was also highlighted by Yadav (2018) in context of Nepalese adolescents forming environmental discourses of their own.

Environmental knowledge was mostly limited

While 'helping the environment' and 'affinity towards the environment' were mentioned by most volunteers, several volunteers and non-volunteers described the general lack of environmental knowledge, which influenced their volunteering proclivity and intensity. Volunteer managers mentioned that 'environment' was an emerging area of interest for young people but, young volunteers, the state and non-state organisations had a limited understanding of it. The Assistant Manager Sustainability at Bulleh Shah Packaging noted that there was a uniform lack of understanding of the importance of environmental issues.

Several volunteers highlighted the lack of 'early' exposure to building a connection with the environment and, therefore, lack of interest in different environmental issues around them. A local level environmental volunteer at Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign mentioned that she had never properly studied about the environment at her school, so she struggled to understand some problems. Similarly, another local level volunteer at the Lahore Conservation Society felt that lack of physical exposure and field trips led to his limited relationship with the flora and fauna in some areas other than his surroundings.

Some other volunteers highlighted how they became more knowledgeable about of the environment because of their field of studies or career development requirements. Some volunteers were pursuing undergraduate degree in environmental science or related fields like botany, biology, environmental engineering, etc. A volunteer at WWF Pakistan recalled that as part of her class assignment, she was asked to watch David Attenborough's documentary on the planet and that helped her understand the need for environmental conservation:

> After I watched the documentary, I studied more about local native species of some plants. I also visited the botanical garden at my university to know more. (NCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 2, WWF Pakistan)

Two volunteers at WWF Pakistan (national level) pointed out that a key reason for 'feeling disconnected from the environment for many young people was the limited 'localisation' of available environmental information and awareness material. Most available content was either too scientific or not written in a local youth-friendly context, presenting examples and field stories that might not resonate with a large portion of the youth population (particularly rural youth) who have limited understanding of global and regional environmental issues and focus on local issues impacting their livelihoods and quality of life:

> Most environment-related knowledge material is in English and written in a western sense. How can young people relate to it? 3R's (reduce, reuse, recycle) does not work in Pakistan until we first

> teach them about the type of plastics we use. (NCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 4, WWF Pakistan)

An increased call for intergenerational equity

By the time this research was conducted, global youth-led climate movements like the Fridays for Future and Climate Action Now were taking root. One volunteer at the Lahore Conservation Society (local level) highlighted the need to remain relevant as environmental concern was being raised by young people globally, and they wanted to contribute to the momentum and generate a local voice:

> Everyone is talking about it globally. I wanted to get involved because I want to remain relevant. It might make a difference. (LCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 2, Lahore Conservation Society)

Another volunteer at the national level highlighted the need to maintain and propagate intergenerational equity. He observed that if environmental challenges were not catered to in a timely manner, future generations would face grave consequences:

> I do not think my parents will let me skip school for the environment [laughing], but it will be cool to see more young people come together and raise our collective voice for it. (NCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 4, WWF Pakistan)

A volunteer from Bargad Youth Foundation further emphasised this point by highlighting the importance of young people participating in environmental projects. She commented:

> I have participated in several similar projects merely since climatic change could have an adverse effect on life on earth and hence needs to be fixed before it's too late. I aim to inspire many to continue in the same direction. (PCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 2, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

Some volunteers also indicated the growing sense of frustration amongst many young people, particularly in the urban communities in Pakistan, around environmental threats, and the current response from the state and non-state actors. One volunteer highlighted how she was generally attached to her environment, and she felt anxious to see it being damaged:

> I like how the consistency in nature, the weather around me. I like when the birds come to our house rooftop during summers for water. But heatwaves are killing them, and now not many birds come. I feel very anxious sometimes. I want us all to do something about it. (NCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 3, WWF Pakistan)

One volunteer stated how she would resist the environmental damage and hold the government and non-governmental stakeholders responsible for the damage done so far:

> I chose it for helping conserve the environment as I observe how polluted Lahore has become in recent years, and we really need to do something about it. I feel I am partly responsible for the future of my city and country. A better environment will have a direct effect on our future. We need to question the government and the NGOs, and the public- when will they stop polluting their house? (LCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 3, Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign)

Policy respondents also acknowledged the need to bridge the intergenerational gap and make the young individuals realise that their ideas and concerns are equally important and should be respected by their older peers:

> Intergenerational solidarity is required. There is a need to interact with older people and bridge the gaps. In many patriarchal societies in the region, a lack of respect for younger people is an issue. (IP-I: Head of Youth Policy Toolbox, UNESCAP)

However, it was observed by some respondents and me as UN Volunteer that the power-resistance interplay was complex and difficult for young people to navigate especially in the Asia Pacific region where intergenerational respect forms the basis of adult-youth/child relationship and has ramifications for youth across personal and professional interactions with adults. In an interview with Project Information and Community Officer at UNDP Indonesia, it was highlighted that young people need to be provided with capacity building opportunities to strengthen their ability to raise concern around intergenerational equity issue:

> There is a need to do capacity building of youth so they can speak about their issues and do something about them. (ICS-I: Project Information and Community Officer, UNDP Indonesia)

6.2 Neo-liberal rationalities

In this section, I discuss the neo-liberal rationalities used by the state and non-state actors operating at different geographical levels in Pakistan. From building a welfare economy to making young people productive economic agents through volunteering, many state and non-state respondents observed that they were responding to market trends, and it was forming their reasons for developing youth environmental volunteering further. Neo-liberal reasons for young volunteers themselves taking up environmental volunteering are also discussed.

Building a welfare economy

Most policy respondents participating in the research made references to the need to develop a 'welfare economy' at the national level based on the popular political discourse of the ruling government party. Although the current legal and economic policy structures were found to be mostly neo-liberal in terms of scope and implementation mechanisms, the current rhetoric being emphasised was to encourage social

welfare on the model of Islam's first city, 'Madina', which was a welfare state developed by the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). The Minister of Youth Affairs and Sports stated:

> We need to take the vision of Prime Minister Imran Khan forward of creating Pakistan on riyasat-e-Madina (state of Madina) model where social welfare is ensured for all, especially the poor and destitute. Young people can play a key role in it. We think for young people to arrange free food (lungar) and medical camps in their areas. (PP-I: Minister of Youth Affairs and Sports, Government of Pakistan)

The Country Director for VSO Pakistan argued that the government was using umbrella terms around civic engagement and social welfare without fully contextualising them or creating proper structures for it. He pointed out that the Federal government was in the process of launching a large scale 'Ehsaas (Care) Programme' for providing economic relief packages and basic amenities to low-income population groups and was also launching a loan scheme on youth entrepreneurship under this Care programme as well. He stated:

> While it is early to critically reflect on it, it seems like a timely solution to put this demographic dividend to good use. (NP-I: Country Director, Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) Pakistan)

In an interview with the Chief for SDGs at the Government of Pakistan, he felt that there was a need to leverage the potential of the young populace in Pakistan to eradicate poverty and improve socio-economic wellbeing by taking an 'all hands-on deck' approach and engaging them through education, employment, and civic and political engagement. He particularly highlighted the role young people can play in the sustainable development agenda and economic growth of the country:

> We will need to use every young person for the sustainable development of Pakistan. There is no economic growth without them. (NP-FG: Chief, SDGs, Government of Pakistan)

Some volunteer managers mentioned the need to reflect on the state's reliance on young people with caution as it appears to be deflecting its responsibilities to provide quality well-being to all on to young people who themselves are struggling with quality education, healthcare, and decent employment:

> The state needs to do a lot more for young people before expecting this much in return. We can't just keep saying 'youth are the true potential' when we don't raise the potential of all, especially local or rural youth. (PCS-I: Program Manager, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

The Youth officer at WWF Pakistan observed this push for young people to start acting like adults and actively contributing to the socio-economic uplifting of their peers, community and even protecting the environment:

> Maybe it is too much of an ask? I do not think we have enough time to be just young in Pakistan. We should quickly grow up and start contributing financially and socially, and now protect the environment as well. (NCS-I: Senior Youth Development Officer, WWF Pakistan)

Investing in human and social capital

An emerging rationale was the recognition of youth volunteering as a source of building human assets and competencies for maximising human capital and making young people 'value added' for the state, community, organisations, and businesses. The Chief Technical Advisor at UNDP Pakistan noted:

> We are losing money every day when our productive population is not actively participating in the country's development. It is like putting them in 'holding tanks' and then keeping them there until they do not remain able to move to the productive economy. (NP-FG: Chief Technical Advisor, UNDP Pakistan)

In a policy interview with the regional youth organisation coordinator, she pointed out the significance of individual and collective benefits for youth capital development as it extended to both current and future generations, and economic growth was dependent on it, as were upon social capital and networks at multiple geographical levels:

> Investing in young people makes social, political, and economic sense. (IP-I: Program Coordinator, Restless Development, Asia Pacific)

Several respondents accepted the need to apply social and financial resources of adults at all levels towards the development of productive 'youth' through an investment of social and financial capital. This resonates with Coleman (1994, p.34) description of "the investment of the social and financial capital of one generation toward the creation of human capital in the next generation":

> We need to build social relations through volunteering, and we need to fund the sector for greater returns. (PCS-I: Program Manager, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

At the international level, the Head of Youth Policy Toolbox at UNESCAP Asia Pacific also pointed out the popular discourse of 'disciplining youth' through volunteering. This could be the first experience of many young people to become 'good' and 'active' citizens primarily in their respective communities, and then to continue contributing meaningfully at national and international levels as well:

> We do not want to deal with young people on the streets or in drug centres. Volunteering helps to keep them away from anti-social behaviour. For countries like Pakistan, it is an escape from extremist tendencies as well, given they do not volunteer for such organisations or groups. (IP-I: Head of Youth Policy Toolbox, UNESCAP Asia Pacific)

Several non-state respondents felt that the potential of youth for socio-economic development was undervalued. They recounted how young individuals were perceived as inexperienced and not well versed enough to make meaningful contributions that can be translated into a positive impact. As a result of this perception, youth were only engaged for the sake of showing youth representation in a policy dialogue or community event, and their ideas while listened to were not heard, or acknowledged:

> Not many people see youth as a key stakeholder. It is very tokenistic. Youth are seen as a checklist box- only for the sake of showing that youth were consulted. (IP-I: Project Information and Community Officer, UNDP Indonesia)

There was a view that older experts in the field considered youth as amateurs who did not possess the necessary agency, knowledge or skill sets to add value. This intergenerational inequality was quite problematic and could result in demotivating the young individuals, who often were not willing to use their free will and agency to develop solutions and structures that resonate the most with them:

> Youth-adult relationships are a big problem. They often make you feel inferior to them, and I feel I cannot challenge them that easily. I am frustrated when I see invited youth at these consultations are not willing to speak or contribute. Adults do not listen to us- they say we know what you need and what is best for you. Now since I am a staff member of UNDP, people listen more to me rather than me being in the youth group. (IP-I: Project Information and Community Officer, UNDP Indonesia)

Furthermore, several respondents at the local level also noted that the potential of volunteerism was undervalued. There was a dearth of social and financial resources mobilised by state and non-state actors towards the development of productive skills in young people, particularly those from marginalised communities:

> There is a lot we can do, but NGOs and government departments focused on youth, or the environment can do so much more than us. There is limited interest in this agenda. (LCS-I: Assistant Manager, Communications, Al-Bayrak Pvt. Ltd (Lahore))

The private sector participants in the research acknowledged that communities were being engaged through the corporate social responsibility agendas but a particular focus on youth environmental volunteering was missing. The Assistant Manager at Bulleh Shah felt there was a general lack of trust and data privacy concerns amongst private firms which hindered opportunities for young volunteers in the private sector:

> I believe youth potential for environmental volunteering is not fully utilised. On the one hand side, there is a lack of trust between the private sector and volunteers on sharing of information and

> data, while on the other hand, the government is also not taking enough initiatives to regulate the volunteering of pupils and graduates for environmental protection in the country. (NCS-I: Assistant Manager Sustainability 1, Bulleh Shah Packaging Pvt. Ltd. (TetraPak))

Some respondents observed that measuring formal volunteering and assessing its direct contribution to the economy could help build more trust amongst state and non-state actors for engaging young volunteers. They felt that the measurement would encourage state and non-state actors including the private sector organisations to recognise the economic potential of investing resources in building the agency and capital for youth to become productive economic agents at all geographical levels:

> We can measure volunteer time and calculate direct contribution to Pakistan's economy. (NP-I: Country Coordinator, UN Volunteers Pakistan)

Volunteering leads to youth employment

Almost all respondents acknowledged the potential of volunteering to help young people gain 'first' or 'better' employment opportunities. They observed that skilled youths with value-added technical and general skills were seen as a lucrative resource bank for the state, organisations, businesses, and communities, including families. The Assistant Manager Sustainability at Bulleh Shah Packaging commented that volunteering "mainly" helps young people get an insight into the private sector and get experience which would help them later in securing a good position/job. Likewise, the Project Information and Community Officer for UNDP Indonesia, felt that "if done properly" youth volunteering provides "a platform to seek jobs". Similarly, the state actor at the Government of Punjab suggested that volunteering often was the first experience through which young people could enter their professional lives.

The Program Manager at Bargad Youth Foundation (provincial level) also indicated the development of entrepreneurial and innovation skills for young people besides conventional job opportunities. She pointed out that, to change the perception of volunteerism from a non-essential activity to essential practice, it was important to engage young people in volunteering activities. First-hand experience could play an instrumental role in evolving views about volunteerism and making the youth realise the impact of their small actions:

> Bargad Volunteer Network (BVN) not only provides you opportunities, but it also majorly has to do with having the satisfaction of being a part of this movement. We cannot promise or provide the youth with job opportunities, but we do provide them a platform where we train and groom them. Through the BVN, they can gain experience in areas such as management and logistics.
>
> We have had amazing success stories. For instance, a volunteer from Swat now owns and runs his own restaurant as an entrepreneur after serving as a BVN volunteer. Similarly, a volunteer from

> Khanpur now owns a travel company that arranges trips for young people. (PCS-I: Program Manager, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

It is also worth recognising that a large proportion of youth in Pakistan remain unemployed and seek 'decent' work opportunities. Hence, many volunteers did not want to identify themselves as volunteers. The Senior Youth Officer at WWF Pakistan indicated the negative connotation for the term 'volunteer' for many young people who would like to be called by alternate titles even when giving their time for free:

> They [young people] want to be called anything but volunteers. They like terms like 'intern', 'fellow', 'apprentice', etc. (NCS-I: Senior Youth Development Officer, WWF Pakistan)

One possible explanation for the negative connotation was the vicious cycle of being stuck at the transitionary stage of volunteering and not landing up on their first or better job. For many young people, volunteering was part of a phase of their development and not an end goal. As Carvalho (2014) argues, it could become a forced or negative experience for many young people putting them in a state of 'waithood' or exploitation because of their vulnerability or disadvantage:

> Many volunteers are stuck in volunteering and are not able to get jobs. It does not remain an empowering experience after a while (PCS-I: Program Manager, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

This has been also observed by Rolandsen (2008) where government was found to unreasonably transfer more of its own responsibilities to community volunteers to carry out state services. This poses an important question around the intrinsic nature of volunteering being positive or 'doing good' and opens the debate to considerations like 'who is volunteering and why?' and 'what does everyone get out of it, particularly young people?' (UNDESA, 2016).

Egoistic value for young people: it is good for professional development and networking

It was observed by some respondents that young people were a varied group of diverse identities and experiences whose motivations and reasons for volunteering could differ at multiple stages of 'being young'. For instance, the volunteers between the ages of 18 and 24, who were most likely college or university students, wanted to volunteer to gain 'early' field experience and explore the 'environment' sector for potential employment prospects within or beyond the formal organisations they volunteer with. For older youth aged 25 and above, who were either in employment or looking for decent work opportunities, the reasons to volunteer also included 'accessing suitable networks' of peers, professionals and organisations around areas of interest to them:

> Yes, youth get to interact with other people, so it is a learning opportunity for them. And they are the future of this country, so it is better to educate them from the start. (LCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 4, Lahore Conservation Society)

Very few references were made by volunteers about the global good or international contribution of their willingness to help others. This is reflected in my diary notes while observing other international volunteers at UNESCO Bangkok:

> I meet several volunteers and un-paid interns at lunchtime daily. Everyone has a career plan and how UNESCO fits into it. They usually start with cliché terms like 'I am here at UN to make a difference where it matters but then quickly it becomes about how they will finish their volunteer assignment, wait for six months and then hopefully apply for a job at UN. They would not even wait for six months, but it is a legal requirement that is a let-down for many volunteers. I think it is to do with the age of these volunteers. Most are university graduates who are moving on with their careers now. It is less about just doing good because you want to. (Diary Note: UNESCO In-person Volunteer (April 5, 2018))

Female volunteers also acknowledged they 'found' ability to access professional networks through online volunteering opportunities and platforms. In a culturally conservative society, female volunteers have limited civic engagement and professional development opportunities available, particularly in peri-urban and rural areas. Digital volunteering spaces could provide many female volunteers with first-hand access to these engagement and professional networking opportunities, not just at local and national levels but also at the international level. But these spaces were not open to all young female volunteers as the digital divide remained a key deterrent for a large proportion of the youth population across the country:

> The university gave me a laptop. I can explore multiple opportunities there. Imagine if I did not have a laptop and internet at home. I would have never even known about participation in this research. (PCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 2, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

While most females acknowledged the potential of online volunteering in enabling them to volunteer, a few were concerned about environmental or field volunteering having limited scope for going 'digital':

> I think WWF is all about working out in the field with communities, so I would prefer field related work with WWF. What could I possibly do just online? (NCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 1, WWF Pakistan)

> As you can see, we are out in the park, picking up garbage. I would be so limited if I were only doing this from home. But I know for some, that would be good too. (LCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 2, Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign)

Most volunteers highlighted how volunteer experience could enhance their existing interpersonal communication skills, time management skills, and provide avenues to learn new 'technical' skills. A national volunteer at WWF Pakistan, participating in the national eco-internship programme, said:

> It polishes the management and leadership qualities of students at the university level as well as makes them responsible towards the environment. (NCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 1, WWF Pakistan)

One local volunteer at Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign pointed out that for many young people, including several of his peers, the volunteer experience was often the last resort to gain transferable skills for employment. They preferred paid internships over unpaid work, but if no other opportunities were available, they would take up volunteering. He stated:

> Most youngsters are focused on exams, deadlines, and CV, so they look for paid internships and easy ways to get certificates. I guess their parents do not encourage them to volunteer to or they are not that educated. Often, there are some people in the group who are only there because their teachers have sort of forced them to attend the drive. I feel discouraged by these people, but I understand not everyone will understand the importance of your work. (LCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 1, Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign)

Several volunteer managers believed that most volunteers did not have a true sense of purpose for volunteering and hence, impacting their volunteering intensity and proclivity over time, particularly beyond young age. The Program Manager at Bargad Youth Foundation (provincial level) noted:

> I think it is losing its essence; youth are volunteering for certificates and material recognition instead. (PCS-I: Program Manager, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

Another aspect of this is that individuals want to be paid to do volunteer work and are not willing to freely give their time and labour. The Assistant Manager Sustainability at Bulleh Shah Packaging pointed out:

> I do not know much about this. The major problem I have seen is that only a few people are enthusiastic enough to volunteer; most people still want you to pay them to do any sort of "volunteer" work. This may be because of the flawed definition of volunteering back home and that some people think that they are not worthy of the job. But more volunteering activities should be encouraged at the school and college level. (NCS-I: Assistant Manager Sustainability 1, Bulleh Shah Packaging Pvt. Ltd. (TetraPak))

In my diary note as an online volunteer at UNESCO Bangkok, I reflected on being considered 'less worthy of attention or focus' because I was just a volunteer. It may stem from either weak organisational culture

for engaging volunteers effectively or previous experiences of young people around volunteering in their communities or in other formal and informal spaces:

> Sometimes I have a feeling I am just a volunteer and maybe not so important to the senior team members. But maybe I am wrong? We shall see. At a point, I was tempted to ask them to give me some title like fellow or intern. (Diary Note: UNESCO Online Volunteer (February 18, 2018))

Hedonic value for young people: it is a fun use of leisure time

In addition to young volunteers wanting to develop professional skills, other rationalities included the desire amongst volunteers for leisure and recreation in a given time and space. This was also observed by Hamann (2009). Many young volunteers identified socialising through volunteering with their peers and friends, making new friends or acquaintances and spending their free time in a 'fun and engaging' manner as other key reasons for volunteering:

> I made a ton of new friends, especially during the cleanliness drive. We bonded over the mutual garbage (like literally). (LCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 1, Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign)

Many volunteers acknowledged volunteering could improve their mental and physical health through the provision of opportunities to be physically active on the ground or allow them to 'feel good' about making a social or environmental contribution to society:

> It's good for my physical health to be active. (LCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 2, Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign)

> I was depressed about my relationship. This was such a good escape from all that anxiety. (PCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 2, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

Some volunteers also highlighted the power of young people to encourage their peers to take up environmental volunteering. One of the volunteers at the provincial level noted that young people were able of creating informal networks to create volunteering opportunities for their peers. Another national level volunteer at WWF Pakistan felt that "young people could encourage their peers to take part in such activities and guide them about the importance of the matter".

However, several non-environmental volunteers or young people who do not generally volunteer identified themselves as being 'time poor' and referring to volunteering as a luxury, and only a few privileged young people can enjoy it in Pakistan as serious leisure, particularly middle-class youth living in the urban areas:

> It is cool for high society kids. We middle-class people cannot just do it for fun. I only volunteer when I really need experience on my CV, and there is no paid job available. (N-FGD: Female non-environmental volunteer 3)

Another volunteer suggested that there was need to bring young people living in the rural areas into the picture. He noted that as most rural youth work in agriculture which is physically labour intensive and often takes all day, rural youth do not have enough time to volunteers:

> Go talk to young people in villages. They are working in [agricultural] fields all day. They have no time for volunteering. (N-FGD: Male non-environmental volunteer 2)

At the international level, it appeared that volunteers wanted their work to be considered 'serious' and their time contribution be acknowledged as 'valuable provision of time' instead of the use of 'free leisure time'. In my diary notes, I observed the following:

> Many people just assume I am here to volunteer because I wanted to visit Thailand, and I could afford to volunteer in Bangkok. Yes, the latter is correct- I could pay for my living expenses to volunteer in this expensive city, but the first part of it is all wrong. I consider my work at UNESCO important, and it is not just about using my free time. What if I did not have free time and I took some time out for this activity? We should not just assume if someone is volunteering, they have free time. It may be a much more complex decision than that. (Diary Note: UNESCO In-person Volunteer (May 1, 2018))

6.3 Truth rationalities

In this section, I discuss the according to truth rationalities used by the state and non-state actors, including the youth people at different geographical levels in Pakistan. In addition to these, I particularly identified the religious influences and the truth cultural traditions and norms (e.g., family volunteering traditions) and how they shaped reasons for young people to take or not take up environment volunteering.

Strong Islamic identity

In the National Human Development Report 2017, one of the critical policy texts I analysed, 44.7% of young people consider religion the most important component of their identity in Pakistan (UNDP, 2018). This resonates with the strong influence of religion, particularly Islam, on the national identity and social capital development since the country was formed based on religious concerns, as also observed by Ahmed (2008). This religious identity formation was observed by several respondents to have implicitly and explicitly influenced volunteering regimes in Pakistan, including on youth environmental action.

The National Secretary for Pakistan Boy Scouts noted that most people in Pakistan got involved in volunteering because of religious reasons or reward in the afterlife. Regardless of gender, several young volunteers who participated in the research also identified spiritual value, good deeds and duty of care as critical factors pushing them to volunteer. They shared references to religious dogma, texts encouraging them to volunteer or support the deserving, and practices (Sunnah) of the Prophet Muhammad around volunteering:

> Our religion tells us to do charity and volunteer; our Prophet (PBUH) was the first volunteer he volunteered and helped in building mosques. So, where do you think we went wrong? (N-FGD: Male non-environmental volunteer 1)

Another national volunteer observed that in the holy month of *Ramzan*[20] , people often jump at the chance to do good deeds. Some of the local volunteers pointed out how philanthropic virtue was a component of religious obligation rather than altruistic concern, and they were pleasing God in addition to helping the humanity through their gestures :

> It's not because we have a big heart, it's because we are religiously obliged to donate money in form of *Sadqah* (charity) and *Zakat* (annual tax). (LCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 3, Lahore Conservation Society)

Most of the environmental volunteers at national and local levels had a more robust understanding of Islam and environmental stewardship. While they did not identify themselves as religious volunteers, there was a clear reflection of religious influence in the formation of them as environmental volunteering subjects across the national and sub-national levels:

> Umm, because we are Muslims, and we follow the teachings of Quran and Holy Prophet PBUH. These quotes have been in our books, but I guess we just never think of them in context of the environment. Environment is always taken care by Allah Himself, so we just leave it to Him. But I know God helps those who help themselves. We need to do our part. The one argument which works like a wonder is when I tell them how planting trees or conserving water is '*sadqa-e-jariya'* (life-long act of charity). (LCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 1, Al Bayrak Clean Campaign)

There were a few volunteers who did not make direct reference to the religious influence but to seeking spiritual satisfaction through volunteering in the nature:

> But also, spiritually, I can't do anything without thinking about the way that it affects me spiritually. I find that being in or around nature allows me to just be aware of … listen, you can hear the birds, you can see greenery all around you. This is great! (LCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 1, Al Bayrak Clean Campaign)

Contrasting religious environmental concern

Although strong Islamic identity surfaced as a key rationality, young volunteers had contrasting religious understanding of environment concerns which impacted their willingness to volunteer for the environment or not. Several young volunteers were able to call out that religion and environmental concern did not have a positive relationship by default and religious beliefs could impact environmental subjection formation both

20 Ramzan or Ramadan is the 9th month in the Islamic Calendar in which Muslims fast from dawn to daybreak for 29 or 30 days. The month signifies purification of human soul promoting a culture of care and service to others.

positively and negatively. One of the male environmental volunteers at Al Bayrak Clean Campaign pointed out most people's religiously fatalistic attitudes where most of the general population considered environmental damage as either God's will to bring doom or destruction to the disobeyers or hopeful belief in God's ability to protect them against any environmental damage and the repercussions caused by this:

> I feel frustrated to see how naive local people are and when you tell them they need to do this and that to help the environment, all they say is *'Allah ki marzi'* (God's will) or *'apko zada pata hai'* (you know more than God). Umm, I really do not know how to challenge that (laughs). We are a weird society stuck with some beliefs and traditions. It was far easier to encourage people in Romania than in Pakistan. I wonder why? May be because we are not willing to change that easily. (LCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 2, Al Bayrak Clean Campaign).

Most volunteers and volunteer managers also expressed the view that lack of religious knowledge and awareness about environmental problems was one of the causes of limited youth volunteering influenced by one's religion. One of the national level environmental volunteers at the WWF Pakistan felt that as she learnt more about the role of human as God's vicegerent (Khalifa) on Earth, she was tasked to take care of the Earth's resources and help spread awareness about this. Some other volunteers also observed that religion could be used as a tool to encourage young people showcase environmental stewardship or develop pro-environmental behaviour:

> Yes, we become more responsible towards our environment. I feel an obligation to do my bit and encourage my friends and family members to do something about it too. I remember when I first met the whole volunteers' team, the supervisor told us about how 'cleanliness is half our religion'. I use that example now to push people around me to do their part. Such awareness campaigns should be done on a regular basis as it reinforces the minds of the audience on regular intervals. (LCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 1, Al Bayrak Clean Campaign)

High perceived risk of 'religious influence'

While religious, environmental discourse appeared to be popular amongst both volunteers and state/non-state actors, there was a high-risk perception around the extent to which Faith-Based Organisations (FBOs) should be engaged in environmental volunteering activities for young people. The concern about a clear lack of understanding of the nature of youth engagement at FBOs was voiced during the national policy focus group discussion. The Advisor on Youth Empowerment at UNDP Pakistan pointed out:

> Unlike the west, in countries like Pakistan, we have under-researched cases like those of religious organisations and we need to study such models of how our religious parties and organisations are stepping out and what is their model of operation e.g., Abdul Sattar Eidi…. The issue of distrust, fear and lack of information needs to be addressed at policy and operational level in Pakistan.

Distrust and fear about religious scholars and FBOs emerged as a common theme amongst urban youth volunteers participating in the research. The following quotations show how young volunteers perceive this as a socio-politically ‘sensitive’ area and their distrust is manifested in how they perceive the contribution of religious scholars or FBOs:

> These days the image of religious scholars has been marred by themselves which is why people don’t pay much heed to them and cast their sermons aside. Not many young people are willing to listen to the Mullahs (clerics) as they think they will poison their minds so I am not very hopeful they can encourage youth environmental action. (N-FGD: Male non-environmental volunteer 6)

Apart from FBOs, madrassas (religious seminaries) were considered by many respondents as a bitter-sweet spot in the past and current history of youth development in Pakistan. In an interview at the national level with the Outreach Officer at UNDP Pakistan, they identified madrassas as key engagement spaces that act as welfare institutes, volunteer banks, shelter, livelihood, and food to thousands of destitute youths that cannot afford mainstream education. However, the stifling class structure in Pakistan, ethnicity and religion place these youths in a rigid hierarchy of marginalisation determined by the popular narrative about social and environmental identities in religious vs. secular settings. This marginalisation is also observed in the lack of knowledge base of these young people:

> There are roughly 3.5 million youth studying at these madrassas. We cannot empower youth fully without leaving them behind, can we? We need to focus on environmental behaviour of youth who go to Madrassas (religious seminaries) as they are a big portion of our youth community. (NP-I: Outreach, Training and Placement Officer, UNDP Pakistan)

The Pakistan National Human Development Report (UNDP, 2018, p. 67) points to the variety of educational curricula used in Pakistan: “the madrassa curriculum (Dars-e-Nizamya) includes religious and secular subjects, but most madrassas only teach religious subjects”. On the other side, urban secular curricula focus on science, numeracy, geography creating a large void between young people in Pakistan. This discrimination nurtures an “us vs. them mentality” (p. 110), “developing a deviant identity antithetical to a progressive and moderate Pakistan” (p. 56). The Outreach Officer at UNDP Pakistan rightly pointed out:

> This has created a large segment of marginalised and disenfranchised youth with diminished potential to contribute to society meaningfully.

When asked about mainstreaming madrassa-based youth in environmental governance regimes at national and local levels, he stated:

> There are so many different schools of thought, so you need evidence to base arguments and have a proper communication strategy. Faith-based education can play a key role in our culture regarding social welfare and community protection. Some sort of incentive needs to be put in place so religious activism can be promoted in this regard. These clerics have limited knowledge about

> climate change and other environmental issues, but I am sure if they can be convinced about the gravity of the situation from religious point of view, it should work.

Weak volunteer infrastructure and policy instruments for FBO engagement

Another key international text analysed, the State of the World's Volunteerism Report (UN Volunteers, 2018, p. 84), argues that partnerships between faith-based organisations, governments and young people need to be explored for more constructive value-based volunteering. At the global level, the UN Environment Strategy on Engaging with Faith-based Organisations (UNEP, 2018) identifies 'trust issue' as a key policy concern for FBOs and religious scholars about UN and secular organisations. Agenda 2030 and the Sustainable Development Goals are perceived as a foreign mandate and an effort to develop a new world order regardless of religious beliefs. The strategy promotes an integrated approach for agreeing with FBOs on common religious grounds around environmental protection and duty of care by all. It also identifies youth as the foundation of any faith-based movement to end environmental problems, fostering youth volunteering and global interactions of young religious leaders to ensure the integration of youth issues and environment into the overall global efforts:

> Voluntary services by faith followers are encouraged at the local and global levels as part of their duties towards the faith community. (International: UN Environment (2018) Strategy on Engaging with Faith-based Organisations, Nairobi: UNEP)

As an Islamic republic, the influence of religion can be seen in the policy texts on volunteering, social welfare and youth development. Interestingly, there is no mention of religion-influenced environmental behaviour formation in any major national and provincial policies on youth or volunteering. Some references are outlined below:

> Our religious beliefs are strongly based on the spirit of giving. Therefore, there are a lot of religious charities which provide help and inculcate sense of volunteerism. Likewise, spiritual traditions and mazars (sufi shrines) provide lungar (food) to poor. (National Volunteering Policy 2010 [DRAFT])
>
> Religious scholars and prayer leaders shall be encouraged to promote volunteerism in their sermons. (National Volunteering Policy 2010 [DRAFT])

The first text which appears to establish a link between religion and environmental discourse was the National Environmental Policy (2005) which identified the role of religious scholars in promoting environmental concern at multiple geographical levels and suggested the following:

> A national strategy would be developed and implemented for raising environmental awareness of the public as well as selected target groups (e.g., religious scholars) at the Union Council, Tehsil, District, Provincial and Federal levels. (National Environmental Policy 2005, p.19)

However, after the 18th constitutional amendment in 2010, the environment was devolved from federal to provincial level and the national policy lost ground. The provincial government of Punjab launched a draft

provincial environmental policy in 2015 but without any mention of religion, FBOs or religious scholars and with a single mention of formation of youth clubs for environmental action.

The recently formalised National Youth Development Framework (2019) declared volunteerism as a national priority. It affirms commitment to generating new modes and avenues of voluntary engagement for youth groups, including but not limited to youth at madarassas (seminaries), rural youth and young women. It also promotes the institutionalisation of a ‘green youth movement’ where urban and rural youth will be provided with opportunities to participate in various environmental protection and climate change adaptation activities at school, university, and community levels.

Family tradition of volunteering

Apart from religious rationales, the cultural norms and traditions of philanthropy and volunteering emerged as truths for some young volunteers. They identified family or inter-generational ‘traditions’ of volunteering since a young age and the positive memories associated with it as a key reason for continuing volunteering in their youth as an individual or with their peers and family members. One female volunteer at WWF Pakistan recounted that she started environmental volunteering in the age of nine when her mother helped her to raise funds for conservation of snow leopards in the Northern areas of Pakistan. Since then, she was always passionate about the cause and pursued volunteering opportunities around biodiversity conservation. Some other volunteers also highlighted their experience of volunteering with their parents, grandparents and/or siblings, which led them to take up and continue volunteering work in their youth:

> I used to go with my grandfather to pick cherries in our village in Skardu during harvest time. I would love to go back and help and relive those memories. (PCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 1, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

Another volunteer at the provincial level felt that he was interested in volunteer work because “it ran in his family”. He recalled that he belonged to a small village near Gujranwala, where his father spent quite a few years teaching village kids for free which motivated him to continue doing so. However, there were a few young volunteers who felt family traditions of volunteering often led to working with specific groups or organisations which the family had traditionally supported. One of the local volunteers noted that her parents were reluctant for her to volunteer for garbage picking through Al-Barak Clean Green Campaign. When she insisted, they offered her to donate to the local mosque after Friday’s holy sermon which would count as good deed and her intention would be noted by the God. She felt that traditions of volunteering can become a deterrent for some young people willing to explore new avenues.

6.4 Communal rationalities

In this section, I discuss some of the communal rationalities identified by the young people and non-state actors, suggesting the importance of bottom-up and self-governance of community and environmental issues with or without an external authority.

Altruistic value for young people: it is for the greater good

Most young volunteers identified altruistic reasons for volunteering by indicating their willingness to do good for the society and environment and give back their time and energy for the betterment of others in the community. Local and provincial level volunteers made direct references to feeling obligated to help their communities more than national or international level volunteers:

> I feel an obligation to do my bit for the community and encourage my friends and family members to do something about it too. (LCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 3, Lahore Conservation Society)

The Assistant Manager Sustainability at Bulleh Shah Packaging recognised youth altruism as a key asset for the 'greater good of the environment' at all geographical levels:

> I think we as a team believed that young environmental volunteers are an important asset especially at the local level and can contribute to a great deal at the national and international level if they keep on working towards the greater good of the environment. (NCS-I: Assistant Manager Sustainability, Bulleh Shah Packaging Pvt. Ltd. (TetraPak))

At the national, patriotic sentiments were identified to drive altruistic tendencies in some volunteers. Volunteers highlighted how the spirit of nationalism was reinforced by engaging in volunteer projects aimed at developing communities around them or help solve development challenges faced by Pakistan:

> Yes, there are loads of benefits for the younger generation, as they are a major part of the Pakistani population. Plus, I personally feel happy to help people. The whole nation benefits from this. (NP-I: UNV Coordinator, Balochistan)

However, these sentiments were also observed at the local level. One of the local volunteers at the Lahore Conservation Society emphasised that while his volunteer work was quite local, he felt a lot of drive amongst young people came from their national spirit to help other Pakistanis.

At the international level, most volunteers did not identify specific areas or communities where they wanted to help but used broader statements like helping the global youth, supporting the poor communities in low-income countries, and their willingness to improve the society around them as global citizens.

Participatory decision making and communal production

Another emerging rationale amongst young volunteers was their willingness to self-arrange themselves to participate in decision making processes in their communities, and support/ lead local community action for the environment. This rationality could be seen as an act of resistance in face of their growing frustration into the inability of the state and non-state actors to solve different community-specific environmental

problems. One of the environmental volunteers felt that it was her intrinsic responsibility to support her community and create opportunities herself for her peers and other community members.

> I feel an intrinsic motivation to help others and be at service for my people and my community even if I must develop projects and campaigns myself. (PCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 1,

Another local volunteer at the Lahore Conservation Society expressed her interest in using her knowledge, skills, and civic responsibility to empower her community and solve environmental problems. The volunteer manager at Bargad Youth Foundation (provincial level) also noted this agency amongst many young volunteers to help other social groups in their communities through formal and informal volunteering channels. She noted that "young people could become channels for change through this self-determination to help others".

Several non-state participants indicated that they were responding to this demand from young people to be directly involved in communal production of projects, initiatives, and platforms for environmental action and they were beginning to formalise channels for further communal participation of young volunteers.

6.5 Discussion

In this chapter, I identified rationalities for youth environmental volunteering for the state and non-state actors, including young people as both 'object' and 'subject' of multiple environmentalities at different geographical levels. It is worth noting that these identified reasons are not exhaustive in nature and acknowledge their complex manner of interaction with one another in varying socio-economic, political, and environmental contexts (Chandler, 2014). The rationalities identified through my research are summarised in table 11:

Table 11 Rationalities of state and non-state actors including young people for multiple environmentalities

Environmentalities	Rationalities of state actors	Rationalities of non-state actors	Rationalities of young people
Sovereignty (command and control)	• International policy push (SDGs/ Agenda 21) • National political will for youth development • Multi-level commitment to improving the environment	• Inclusion of environment/ climate change as sectoral focus for non-state organisations	• Willingness to volunteer for the environment through formal state and non-state organisations

Discipline (ethical injunction)	• International push for youth environmental citizenship • Increased demand from non-state actors for engaging young people for environmental action	• International and national push for programming on youth development and environmental action by donor agencies, IGOs and governments	• Need for increasing environmental knowledge • Increased environmental concern • Call for intergenerational equity
Neoliberalism (incentives)	• Building a welfare economy • Investing in human and social capital • Keeping unemployed youth engaged	• Youth professional development • Capacity building for youth employment • Corporate social responsibility for private firms • Demand for international exposure through volunteering	• Volunteering leading to decent employment opportunities • Skills building for professional development • Networks and expert mentoring
Truth (the order of things)	• Islamic identity formation • Perceived positive relationship between religion and environmental volunteering	• State push for national and local interventions for madarassa youth • Young people as target audience of Faith-based organisations	• Religious reasons for environmental volunteering • Volunteering traditions at home/ in community/ social groups
Communal (socialist, participatory)	• Active citizenship through collective responsibility	• Participatory decision making • Communal production	• Altruistic value to do good for others • Hedonic value: leisure time use • Spending time with friends and family

As identified in this research, the reasons for a sovereign state to promote volunteering for young people and particularly environmental volunteering, seemed varied and, in several instances, conflicting in nature. The state's understanding of the complex concept of 'volunteering' appeared to be limited. Hustinx et al. (2010, p. 410) also acknowledges that "volunteering is a complex phenomenon that is not clearly delineated and spans a wide variety of types of activities, organisations, and sectors". Several non-state actors emphasised that in the absence of a well-developed and properly implemented regulatory frameworks for volunteering, it was difficult for young volunteers to effectively contribute to the international and national development agendas (e.g., sustainable development). However, some non-state actors also pointed out the risks of making the volunteering sector more bureaucratic and overtly structured for engaging young people. UN Volunteers (2018, P. 25) presents similar view that "too many regulations risk making

bureaucratic requirements too burdensome" and close spaces for some key actors, particularly local level community and youth-led organisations.

Most of the sovereign and disciplinary rationales focused on a transition framework, making young people into the correct type of adult, as also observed by Woodman & Wyn (2013). While there has been a global and national policy discourse shift from the language of discipline to the language of empowerment, the focus largely remains on correcting youth behaviour. Several state and non-state respondents considered volunteering as an additional social education element to supplement youth transitions. Some volunteer managers called for reinventing volunteering for young people as a politics of behaviour instrument for the ethical re-socialisation and responsibilisation of diverse youth groups towards active citizenship, self-sufficiency, and social integration (also observed by De Waele & Hustinx, 2019). However, the research showcased that the relationship between youth and volunteering was not positive and unequivocal by default as multiple factors came into play informing this transition. Young volunteers were not passive recipients of these pushes but also had their self-rationalities of making sense of the habitus. As Bourdieu demonstrates "the ways in which not only is the body in the social world, but the social world is in the body" (Reay, 2004; p. 432). As also shown by Dean (2012), these sovereign and disciplinary rationales for reforming and reframing youth embodied behaviour through policy were met by a clash, fighting against pre-embodied social behaviours of the young people.

Based on the documentary analysis of national and provincial policies and strategies concerning sustainable development, youth engagement, volunteerism, and environmental protection and/or climate change in Pakistan, it was reflected that a 'very broad' approach was undertaken towards youth or civic engagement in most policies with limited focus on mainstreaming youth volunteerism in environmental governance regimes across Pakistan at national, provincial and/or local levels. There were limited linkages made between the environment and youth engagement across the governance processes and regimes in Pakistan. This is indicative of contextual challenges faced around sectoral coordination and policy mandates pre- and post-devolution in Pakistan.

It was evident that the way policymakers and stakeholders discursively construct 'the environment' (Luke, 2001), as Foucault (1994, p. 353) suggests, "this allows individuals or groups to represent words to themselves, utilise their forms and meanings, compose real discourse, reveal and conceal in it what they are thinking or saying, perhaps unknown to themselves, more or less than they wish, but in any case leave a mass of verbal traces of those thoughts, which must be deciphered and restored as far as possible to their representative vivacity". Most research participants had contrasting and limited definitions of the term environment which translated into limited environmental concern and knowledge. It was observed that the environmental imaginaries for several young volunteers were 'spatial' in nature as they framed environment mostly in geographical sense. It was easier for young volunteers at the local level to identify environmental

concerns in their communities but at the regional or global levels, the sense of displacement in environmental framing persisted (Watkins, 2015).

The neo-liberal rationales for developing or not developing youth environmental volunteering were equally diverse and complicated. There was a combination of welfare economy and investment in human capital that emerged to drive economic understanding of youth environmental volunteering in Pakistan. Most state actors highlighted the need for collective and individual responsibility for the 'social good' and 'welfare of all' while most non-state actors recognised neo-liberal incentives in terms of benefits and costs for forming 'value-added' human and social capital through youth volunteerism (Wilson & Sauer, 2020). It appeared to contest the state's willingness to govern too much vs its ability to not be able to govern given its limited resources and dependency on youth demographic bulge for being 'active' and contributing to the country's economy as soon as possible through their individual choices and agency. This particular view was also popularised by Lorenzini (2018, p. 161) who suggested that the neoliberal subject as an 'entrepreneur of themselves' who "tries to effectively manage their talents and acquired skills within a space of freedom which seems unlimited."

This process of internalisation of market trends and investment into youth's human and social capital was observed by several state and non-state actors to extend economic rationality beyond its traditional field of application and encouraging young people to transform this rationality into a "mechanism of intelligibility for the whole social field of personal relations" (de Beistegui, 2006, p. 109-117). This is in line with Vatter's (2017) view considering human capital as new humanism where people are at the 'centre of the economy' who are free to behave and choose as they wish.

However, as identified by research participants, volunteering is not inevitably inclusive or egalitarian and can take advantage of certain population groups, particularly young people who may not necessarily be driven to volunteer by their 'free will' (Vrasti, 2013). Baillie Smith et al. (2018) question the traditional western definition of volunteering, particularly in a community context in the global South, where volunteering is for many young people is being stuck in a state of 'waithood' or exploitation because of high youth unemployment rates (Carvalho, 2014) or associating a negative connotation to the word 'volunteer' as they prefer to identify with paid role titles like activist, intern, or unpaid employee (Jackson, 2019). The rhetoric of volunteering leading to young people gaining the right skills and work experience to land up jobs is often exploitative and can take advantage of vulnerable youth groups (UN Volunteers, 2018).

Islam, the popular religion in Pakistan, emerged to form a key component of youth identity in Pakistan at the national level, as also identified by Kirmani and Zaidi (2010) and UNDP (2017). The 'casual' mention of religion as a reason for forming environmental volunteering rationales amongst youth by both state and non-state actors highlighted Foucauldian understanding of religion as a blueprint for critical thought and securing social order (Foucault, 2008; Tezcan, 2007). Many young volunteers provided direct references to religious texts and scriptures showcasing the role of religious belief in the formation of them as

‘environmental subjects’ (Smith & Leiserowitz, 2013; Hitzhusen & Tucker, 2013). In line with Bailey’s (2007) concern around the complex and multi-dimensional nature of the religion-environment connection, non-state actors, including some volunteer managers and environmental volunteers, questioned this unequivocally assumed ‘positive’ relationship and identified both positive and negative impacts of religion on environmental subject formation in Pakistan. One of the key deterrents for limited environmental concern identified by many volunteers is the interpretation of environmental problems as the ‘will of God’ and traditional inter-generational religious fatalism (Ammar, 2004; Hutton & Haque, 2003). However, many young people seem to be able to form an individual sense of religion’s role in developing their environmental concern, which is reassuring but not problem-free (Khalid, 2002).The spill over effects of the political use of religious rationales, particularly by Faith-Based Organisations (FBOs) and Madarassas (religious schools), were seen by many research participants as counter-effective in the formation of environmental rationalities amongst young people. It was noted that there was a growing sense of distrust amongst young individuals, their parents/ guardians and other state/non-state organisations towards FBOs and madarassas. They feared religious radicalisation of impressionable young people which could then be used as a machinery against the state or the democratic and tolerant society. This fear stems from the historical use of religious sentiments to engage young people in political movements and protests. This risk is particularly highlighted for less educated or rural youth in the country who are more likely to be influenced by religious motivations to take up social action.

Several rationalities were identified by ‘young people’ themselves who become both the subject and object of the government and other non-state actors. Paterson and Stripple (2010) acknowledged Foucault’s ‘care of the self’ where young people could constitute themselves as a governing subject who cares for themselves. It was evident by the research findings that young people are exploring environmental rationalities which form their own identity and subjectivity (Cudworth & Hobden, 2011; Conolly, 2011; Luisetti, 2018). In addition to environmental value orientations and concerns (Measham & Barnett, 2008), young people identified altruistic (*Noblesse oblige*), egoistic, and hedonic values they associate with volunteering and how they come together to form environmental volunteering rationalities for them (McDougle et al., 2015). This is also translated into communal rationalities for young people to engage directly into leading environmental action in their communities, mostly in absence of an external authority. Several young volunteers were willing to undertake individual and collective action through informal volunteering channels especially at the local level.

6.6 Chapter conclusion

The chapter provided an integrated perspective to identify different dimensions of reasons and motivations of the state, non-state organisations and young people for developing or undertaking youth environmental volunteering. These four broader categories of rationalities included: sovereignty and discipline, neoliberalism, truth, and communal rationales. These rationalities manifested themselves in multiple and complex ways across all geographical levels. While the state and non-state actors were reacting to an

increased global policy push and demand from young people to engage them in volunteering, the understanding of volunteering as an environmentality tool was limited and not fully contextualised for developing pro-environment behaviour or undertaking environmental action at different geographical levels. Young people themselves were able to identify diverse religious, social, and instrumental rationalities for volunteering for the environment. Besides their willingness, many young volunteers had limited understanding of the environment and their concern varied across different geographical levels. In Chapter 7, I will discuss the technologies or technics used by state and non-state actors, and young people themselves to translate their rationalities into environmental volunteering infrastructure, spaces, initiatives, and activities for young volunteers.

Chapter 7

Technics

CHAPTER 7: TECHNICS

In this chapter, I build on the rationales and ideologies identified in Chapter 6 and identify the technologies or technics employed by the state, non-state actors and youth (self) at multiple geographical levels to form 'youth environmental volunteering' subjectivity and practice. These technologies are "deployed in organisations, embedded in political regimes, and operated by governments and others who use them for a variety of purposes" (Marquez, 2007, p. 1). I have attempted to consider volunteering as a phenomenon or encounter which entails the "situational coming-together of different processes, practices, and ideologies, suggesting the non-fixity and openness of volunteering as a practice and as an experience" (Fleischer, 2011, p. 203). I also acknowledge environmental volunteering as a complex realm in which the relation between the state and the society (young people) is constantly negotiated through multiple environmentalities.

This approach allows us to look at 'how' of youth environmental volunteering as a non-unitary and incoherent process, where technologies of production and power employed by state and non-state actors do not neatly fit in with young people's technologies of resistance and self-transformation. The emerging, specific forms of volunteering are never alike and unique. The chapter delineates on the state policy delivery mechanisms, formal organisation and network structures, environmental volunteering avenues and modes for young people, and a critique on the implementation capacities of the formal structures to mainstream young people in multi-level environmental governance regimes.

7.1 State technologies: policy delivery mechanisms

In this section, I discuss the multiple state technologies at play, which comprised of both complementary and contesting technologies of power. These included amongst others command and control mechanisms like push for mandatory volunteering (sovereign), educational lessons on volunteering and environmental citizenship (disciplinary), inclusion of volunteering in madrassa/ religious education curriculum (according to divine truth) and skills development for better youth employment and individual recognition (neo-liberal), and community-driven environmental action programmes (communal). These technologies are discussed as follows:

7.1.1 Sovereign technologies

Centralisation through Green Youth Movement

The National Youth Development Framework 2019, discussed in Chapter 6, promoted the institutionalisation of a national level 'Green Youth Movement' where university students would be provided with opportunities to participate in various environmental protection and climate change adaptation activities at college/ university, and community levels. The Framework was released during my data collection phase

and several state representatives made references to the centralisation attempt being made by the federal government to mainstream youth engagement activities for environmental action across the country:

> For the first time, environment is recognised as a key pillar for youth engagement in Pakistan. (PP-I: Minister of Youth Affairs and Sports, Government of Punjab, Pakistan)

The Green Youth Movement was in process of being rolled out by the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan in partnership with the Ministry of Climate Change. Environmental protection and conservation, climate change adaptation, access to clean drinking water and water conservation, food security and green initiatives were identified as key focus areas for youth's health and social well-being under the mandate of the Movement. Several research participants appreciated the policy instrument for moving beyond 'environmental awareness amongst youth' and identifying a need for practical youth engagement activities on and off university campus. On campus activities included green innovation clubs at public and private universities, green sports competitions, exposure visits, and community projects sponsored by the Higher Education Commission.

'Grow as you grow' initiative was proposed under the Movement to ensure that university students would be required to plant one to ten trees after getting admission in the university and care for the tree(s) over the entire period of their study in return for credit hours or other incentives like ambassador badge/ shield and recognition certificate from the Prime Minister. This was criticised by some non-state actors for being discriminatory against some youth groups who could not afford buying, planting, or caring for the trees due to various reasons: one's gender, income status, disability, or limited space and time, or interest in such an activity:

> Unless the university is providing seeds and space for students to plant these, this is quite an ambitious and not so well thought out plan. (LCS-I: Youth Leadership Program Coordinator, Lahore Conservation Society)

Regulation through Boy Scouts and Girl Guides

There are only two state-administered formal volunteering structures in Pakistan at both national and provincial levels, i.e., Boy Scouts and Girl Guide Associations, engaging young people between the ages of 6 and 25. These are endorsed in legislation and are a means for federal and provincial governments to regulate 'youth volunteerism'. Several policy instruments made direct references to scouts and guides and their role in promoting environmental action, volunteerism and leading action at school and community levels. The Punjab Youth Policy 2012 referred to scouting being made compulsory in schools across the country in 2007 and the need to re-activate this at school level in the province to promote community service and disaster management. Similarly, the Balochistan Youth Policy 2015 called for special initiatives for boy scouts and girl guides to implement public campaigns on environment and manage extra-curricular events as government ambassadors at all geographical levels including in their communities. The UN Volunteers

Coordinator for Balochistan listed a few examples of environmental volunteering activities for scouts and guides:

> Opportunities such as climate change workshops/activities/seminars, tree plantation/walks for greener Pakistan with the collaboration of Environment/Forest Dept and engaging school/college/university students are kind of opportunities which can be incorporated into volunteerism. (NP-I: UNV Coordinator, Balochistan)

Several state and non-state actors called for overhauling the current administrative structure of these two national institutions. They identified both associations were managed by a national executive board/ council which had government representatives from different departments/ units as members who did not understand the potential of volunteering and youth engagement for community development and environmental protection. Besides being part of global networks of scout and guide associations, they had limited resources and vision to fully ‘regulate’ or ‘mainstream’ youth volunteering through scouts and guides. Some participants also identified the colonial roots of these traditional structures that may not be relevant in engaging young people in the current time and space, through uniforms and badges:

> Such a wasted potential. They are stuck in time. Not many young people relate to the uniform and badges anymore. They need to do more to remain relevant. (PCS-I: Program Manager, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

Compulsory volunteering for students

For most policies and regulatory frameworks in Pakistan, a commitment was demonstrated to mandatory or compulsory notions of volunteering at all education levels. The draft national volunteering policy (2010) called for introducing mandatory community volunteering for at least 40 hours for college and university students to become eligible for graduation. This was to be done through district level volunteering centers and/or in partnership with designated non-state / civil organisations. It also recommended formation of youth volunteer clubs in schools which would award 10 additional marks in annual examination to those who would actively volunteer throughout the year. The provincial youth policies exhibited use of similar technologies. For example, Balochistan Youth Policy 2015 recommended initiation of volunteer programmes and youth internship programmes for partial fulfilment of university degrees.

The disbanded national volunteering policy also called for development of a National Volunteer Corp with at 100,000 volunteers who would provide mandatory support during disasters and national emergencies. In addition to this, 25,000 volunteers would provide ‘mass awareness’ around issues like health and environment as identified by the national, provincial and district governments. Similarly, the Sindh Youth Policy 2016 aimed to engage 20,000 youth in community service with 2% quota reserved for minority, differently abled and other vulnerable youth groups.

Some non-state actors and young volunteers exhibited resistance to this sovereign power and criticised compulsory volunteering as an unpopular mode of engaging young people. This is in line with findings of Dean (2003) and Holdsworth & Brewis (2014) who acknowledge that the option to choose or freedom of choice remains an essential quality of how volunteering is valued by young people. They observed that commanding young people to take compulsory responsibility of their communities and the environment was ‘counter-productive’ and often would grow young people aversive to the idea of volunteering:

> For my university degree, I had to do 200 hours of community service. Most of my class fellows got fake certificates. I should have done that too. I worked so hard in the hot summer for this. I should not have. (FGD: Female non-environmental volunteer)

7.1.2 Disciplinary technologies

Normalisation through environmental education

In this research, environmental education surfaced as a key disciplinary practice being employed by the state as a manoeuvre for generating normativity of pro-environmental behaviour and action amongst young people (Gore, 1998). In table 12, I have attempted to identify environmental education focused policy actions at the national and provincial levels. Almost all environment-focused policies and frameworks in Pakistan stressed on the importance of institutionalising environmental education at all education levels:

Table 12 Mapping environmental education focused policy actions in Pakistan

Policy Level	Policy	Suggested Action	Education Level
National	National Environment Policy 2005 [Defunct]	Include gender and environment in the curricula of education programs on environment	All levels
		Environmental education integrated in curricula	All levels
		Establishment of environmental education and training institutions	-
		Establishment of environmental clubs at institutions	All levels
	National Climate Change Policy 2012	Curriculum on climate change and environmental planning	All levels (particularly higher education system)
		Climate change professionals through higher studies at abroad	Higher education system
		SAARC Student exchange programs in climate change discipline	Higher education system
	National Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) Policy 2013	Integration of DRR in the syllabus at all levels (Self/mutual help capacities)	All levels (including private and religious schools)

	National Sanitation Policy 2015	Sanitation clubs established at educational institutions	All levels
	National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan 2015	Issue of biodiversity loss highlighted in education	All levels for youth
Provincial	Punjab Environmental Policy 2015	Development of Environmentally Friendly Schools Policy	All levels
		Incorporate the subject of environmental science	All levels
		Induction of environmental teachers	School and college levels
		PhD and M.Phil programmes in environment related fields	Public universities
		Short courses/ diplomas in environment related fields	Public and private universities
		Environment Clubs established at educational institutions	All levels
		Capacity building of teachers in environmental management	All levels

Most policy instruments identified the need for integrating environmental education in existing academic and co-curricular regimes. These included the design of lesson plans, formation of environmental protection and sanitation clubs at schools and the roll out of environmentally friendly school policies. At the university level, the state was pushing for introduction of specialised degree programmes and access to learning and professional development networks abroad in the fields related to environment. The National Climate Change Policy 2012 also highlighted the role of South-South cooperation through roll out of exchange opportunities for university students amongst member states of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC).

Besides these continuous efforts, several state and non-state actors observed that efforts to date for institutionalising formal environmental education have been less effective. It was noted that since environmental movements were popularised globally in 1980s, several state functionaries including the then Ministry of Education in collaboration with the Environment and Urban Affairs Division (now Ministry of Environment), implemented the Coordinated Environmental Education Project (CEEP) from 1989-1992 under which some pilot-activities for curriculum development and teacher training were undertaken. Also, DEEP (Daudpota Environmental Education Program) Prize for outstanding work in environmental education was established. One of the participants noted the sporadic nature of these initiatives and the lack of coordination at the federal level:

> I remember a 16-week training course spread over a period of two years was run for government, NGOs, business, and military personnel under the LEAD program. Most of these activities were

> done after release of National Conservation Strategy in 1992. But these activities have been sporadic and local area specific so no major impact on national level has been observed. (NCS-I: Head of Green School Program, WWF Pakistan)

At the time of this research, the federal government was starting the process of designing a single national curriculum for all public and private institutions in Pakistan including for madarassa/ religious schools, and was consulting state and non-state stakeholders on introducing environment as a cross cutting subject to be included in the lesson planning exercise:

> The single national curriculum is aiming to include environmental education, not as a separate subject but part of social/ Pakistan studies and other subjects. (PP-I: Member, Social Infrastructure & Environment (Planning & Development Board, Government of Punjab))

Totalisation through national spirit

I identified another disciplinary technology used by the state to popularise the discourse of 'national spirit' amongst young people and form their collective identity as the demographic bulge. This totalisation of young people could be observed in the roll out of the Kamyab Jawan Programme by the federal and provincial governments across all geographical levels in Pakistan. The programme slogan was 'Kamyab Jawan, Kamyab Pakistan' which could be translated to 'successful young person, successful Pakistan'. The term successful was linked to the ability of young people to contribute to the development of Pakistan, fostering a nationalistic group identity. The programme included a range of activities and initiatives around education, employment, and civic engagement of young people across all geographical levels. It was criticised by some non-state actors as being political and used as a vehicle by the government to endorse its own political agenda, and incentivising young people to gain their trust and support and remain in power:

> The Kamyab Jawan Programme is highly political and a branding tactic for the government. They want to show this government cares the most for the young people. But do they? (PCS-I: Program Manager, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

7.1.3 Neoliberal technologies

Responsibilisation and active citizenship

Several state-led technologies were identified as part of my research through which individual responsibilisation and active citizenship were being inculcated amongst young environmental volunteers. I identified, in their vision/ objective, most government youth programmes referred to the active role young people could play in the development and economic growth of the country through their individual contribution as responsible citizens. At the national level, the Green Youth Movement had identified suitable environmental volunteering actions. Through an active choice, young people could undertake and potentially benefit, both themselves and the environment. As identified by Pick & Holmes (2010), this is an example of how the state wants to construct volunteering in a way to help young individuals respond to and

inculcate 'volunteering as active citizenship' as part of their identities. However, several non-state actors criticised the state for controlling the extent to which young people can or should be active as citizens. They noted that with blanket ban on student unions, strict disciplinary action against environmental protests and favouring representation of certain youth groups over others (e.g., youth workers from the ruling party or belonging to the majority religion), the state rather prefers passive young people who remain under the influence of state's power and showcase limited resistance in return. One of the non-state actors witnessed this power display was most apparent at the local level where young volunteers were often coerced into becoming responsible for only those environmental issues which favoured the local government and not vice versa:

> I remember the local commissioner only wanted the community members to protest about softer issues like garbage disposal, etc. When they started to raise voice around illegal logging in which some of local government officials were involved, there were arrests of many including some young people. (LCS-I: Youth Leadership Program Coordinator, Lahore Conservation Society)

Employment pathway through volunteering

Another key neoliberal technology highly popularised by the state was fostering desire amongst young people to develop technical and transferable skills through volunteering and unpaid experiences to gain decent employment. Several initiatives at the national level as part of the Kamyab Jawan Programme including 'Skills for All', 'Youth Entrepreneurship Scheme' and 'Internship Program' helped establish state's vision to work on civic engagement and youth employment simultaneously, to mainstream young human capital in productive economy and active society.

One example identified by the state actors was the Prime Minister's 10 billion Tree Tsunami project which would engage young people across Pakistan, particularly those from rural areas, in planting trees. This would engage them socially and build 'environmental concern' amongst them. It will also be a source of economic empowerment for them as the government will roll this out as a paid volunteering activity. This was criticised by some non-state actors for blurring the lines between volunteering and employment, and possibly leading to expectation amongst low income, rural youth to be paid for being engaged in social or environmental protection work in their communities:

> They did not have to club them both. They could have hired young people through another scheme to plant trees. This can raise expectations for such engagement in other state projects as well. (PCS-I: Program Manager, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

Partnership with non-state actors

I identified conducive legal structures (procurement processes for contracting private and non-governmental organisations) being put out by the federal and provincial governments to develop partnerships around youth engagement and environmental governance with non-state actors, including

non-governmental and civil society organisations, private firms, and academia at multiple geographical levels. This neoliberal shift of governing from the distance through non-state partners on the ground was identified by many actors as a positive reaction to the push by multilateral donors and funding agencies:

> Partnerships are important for the state to seek large sums of funds. They need to show stakeholder engagement of NGOs and local communities in most projects. (NCS-I: Youth Programme Officer, WWF Pakistan)

However, many respondents also expressed their concern around the growing scrutiny of the civil society sector by the state, particularly for international NGOs, some of which have previously been blacklisted for work with the government or have been asked to cease country operations on short notice. This hostile nature of the state towards some civil society actors was considered 'discouraging' by some non-state respondents:

> The state relation with the civil society sector is not the best right now. The trust needs to be repaired soon. (LCS-I: Youth Leadership Program Coordinator, Lahore Conservation Society)

7.1.4 Truth technologies

Religious environmental education and volunteering

As stated earlier, a single national curriculum was being developed for public, private and madarassa (seminary) schools by the state which included focus on environmental education. State actors noted that environmental themes were being incorporated in the Islamic studies curriculum from the elementary to higher secondary education levels:

> Some topics being added to Islamic studies are religious ethics about living with nature, consumption behaviour, and water stewardship. (PP-I: Member, Social Infrastructure & Environment (Planning & Development Board, Government of Punjab))

Similarly, a lesson or module on volunteering was recommended in the National Volunteering Policy (2010) to be introduced at all institutions including developing a Madrassa level course. Several non-state actors noted the potential of 2000 government registered madarassa schools in Pakistan and the ability of the state to engage over quarter of a million young people for environmental action through volunteering. These young people usually have more access to rural youth than their urban counterparts, and can help bridge the state engage marginalised youth in rural areas better:

> These seminaries are best placed and well equipped to generate environmental volunteering opportunities. They have all the welfare provision facilities in place and often have access to large volunteer banks too. I guess we need to address this issue at the core. I am sure it would not be easy, but there is no other way. These youth have access to rural youth more than urban youth,

> and real empowerment will only happen if all youth are informed and engaged. (NP-I: Outreach, Training and Placement Officer, UNDP Pakistan)

Environmental campaigning using religious discourse

Another truth technology I identified was the use of religious discourse in the state sponsored environmental campaigns. This included referencing of Islamic texts about tree plantation/ duty of care to encourage young people to participate in the 10 billion tree tsunami campaign and popularising the role of human as a vicegerent of God (Allah) on Earth, discouraging habitat destruction, illegal hunting, and waste of natural resources. The discourse was almost entirely based on Islamic literature as Islam remains the official religion of the state.

An interesting observation was that the use of religious statements was more apparent in outreach material targeted towards the local level particularly peri-urban and rural youth. The material was mostly available in the local language, Urdu. Some non-state actors identified the use of this technology as a suitable tool for some youth groups who could be religiously motivated to participate in environmental action, but this tool could not be applied to all youth groups, particularly the high-class urban youth, who are less influenced by religious motives to undertake community or environment action:

> Religion remains a popular tool for the state but in case of young people, we cannot assume it works for all. Some young people like high society urban youth are less inclined to religious reasons for volunteering or helping the environment. (LCS-I: Youth Leadership Program Coordinator, Lahore Conservation Society)

7.1.5 Communal technologies

Local government structures for community-based decision making

Although the local government structures vary across provinces in Pakistan, there were some technologies identified by the research participants which were being used by the state to engage community members, including young people, in local decision-making processes. They noted most district governments had positions for community members in committees for different governance issues ranging from district administration, water, and sewage to local environment. There were some all-community member committees like parents' council for the government schools in the area and the district and tehsil (sub-district) youth councils for voicing young people concerns to the district administration.

While these structures existed, their use and effectiveness were highly criticised by some non-state actors. They noted that youth councils either remained largely dormant or included young political workers from the ruling party as members who would only work on state-sponsored agenda. These spaces were marked as tokenistic in nature and called out for remaining closed to a large group of young people especially for those from the marginalised and vulnerable backgrounds, including young women in local communities.

The spaces also remain mostly closed for adolescents or younger youth, often leading councils to focus on issues of older youth only:

> District youth councils are political tools for the state to show concern for youth issues. Often the members are not even young anymore but continue to be on the council as they have support of local government officials. The voices of under 20s and young women, and others remain missing. (PCS-I: Program Manager, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

Community-led environmental action with state support

Several state actors highlighted the importance of using community as a tool for local environmental action. They provided examples of the Clean Green Pakistan Movement developed by the Ministry of Climate Change at the federal level which was in process of developing a Clean Green Pakistan Index and started to monitor the waste management and sanitation standards in 21 districts across Pakistan at the district, sub-district, and neighbourhood levels. The district government in each of the 21 districts were encouraged to develop community led waste management and safe sanitation projects, raising awareness amongst the community members, and contributing to improving the district's score on the Index. The incentives for engaged community members included appreciation by the Prime Minster through a letter and award, and inclusion in district government committees. To attract young community members, a mobile application was developed through which they would volunteer to monitor environmental situation in their respective communities against a set standard criterion by the government, and in doing so, receive points-based awards and incentives like discounts, certificates, and position on a ranking table. This was criticised to discriminate against those volunteers with no or limited access to smart phones and internet to access the application in real-time:

> They should have thought of a way to engage all types of young people, not only those who have smart phone or internet. They are trying to capture rural neighbourhoods as well in the district index. Not sure, if a mobile application with limited reach will give that sort of detail. (LCS-I: Assistant Manager, Communications, Al-Bayrak Pvt. Ltd (Lahore))

At the time of my research, more than 100,000 volunteers had registered, out of which it was anticipated that 60% and more were young volunteers. Several state actors reiterated the state's vision to involve young people for environmental action through such community engagement technologies. However, several non-state actors criticised the movement for focusing on environmental issues that only benefited the state agenda around tree plantation, water and sanitation, and solid waste management. There was absence of some key environmental issues like air and chemical pollution which would require harder actions like fines and arrests of polluters in the community:

> This Clean Green Pakistan Movement focuses more on clean than green. I am assuming it is a softer target than asking community to identify polluters and then they will have to deal with complex environmental problems. (NCS-I: Senior Youth Development Officer, WWF Pakistan)

7.2 Non-state technologies: formal volunteering structures and technologies

In this section, I build on the technologies of power identified for the state and discuss their utility by non-state actors, alongside the technologies of power and resistance employed to fill gaps left by the state in engaging young environmental volunteers across multiple geographical levels. In addition to sovereign and disciplinary technologies like normalisation of banal environmentalism and formalisation of volunteering structures/ programmes, many non-state actors were found to be responding to emerging neo-liberal market trends and develop newer sites and ways of volunteering for young people. I also discuss the use of truth and communal technologies by civil society organisations and other non-state actors for exploring environmental socialisation and engagement of volunteers not just as target beneficiaries but as active stakeholders in environmental management activities at multiple levels. These technologies are discussed as follows:

7.2.1 Sovereign technologies

Filling the state governance gap

Most study respondents believed that a wide structural gap existed within the federal, provincial, and local levels of the government for engaging young volunteers for environmental action. The provincial focal person on environmental protection in Punjab stated:

> I am not sure we have brought environment and youth volunteering fully together yet. (PP-I: Member, Social Infrastructure & Environment (Planning & Development Board, Government of Punjab))

Most non-governmental organisations were working at the grassroots levels and were in position of either running environmental programmes as part of a broader participatory development regime and focus entirely on environmental issues. Based on the participant responses, I developed an ideology spectrum for active environmental non-state organisations in Pakistan to understand the range of technologies employed by these. This ideology spectrum was based on the work of Kendell & Knapp (1996)21 ideology spectrum.

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21 Scholars typically distinguish between those towards the 'light green' end of the spectrum which are reasonably happy to work as 'conservationists', within existing social, political and economic systems. In contrast, 'dark green' groups are assumed to espouse a more fundamentalist 'ecological' version of anticapitalistic environmentalism, supposedly with a greater taste for drama, protest, and confrontation.

Most of the active environmental organisations were only on the light green end of spectrum and undertaking conservation work like WWF Pakistan, IUCN, Shirkat Gah, etc. The dark green end of spectrum with a more confrontational ecological approach was not yet visible. It is noteworthy that dark green spectrum international organisations like Friends of Earth and Greenpeace were not active in Pakistan besides several common agenda elements. This might be attributed to state's ever-changing policies regarding the voluntary sector and little tolerance for protest-based campaigns and programming:

> Greenpeace style organisations engaging young volunteers are missing because government strongly controls the civil society sector. (PCS-I: Program Manager, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

Most of the environmental organisations were found to be in the middle of the ideology continuum with work focusing on softer, social elements of environmental protection- education and community awareness. Examples included SCOPE, LEAD Pakistan, Baanhn Beli, Khwenda Kor, Sungi Development Foundation, etc. It is worth acknowledging that some organisations swung across the continuum and undertook a range of softer and harder environmental functions. Figure 8 shows the ideology continuum for environmental non-state organisations in Pakistan.

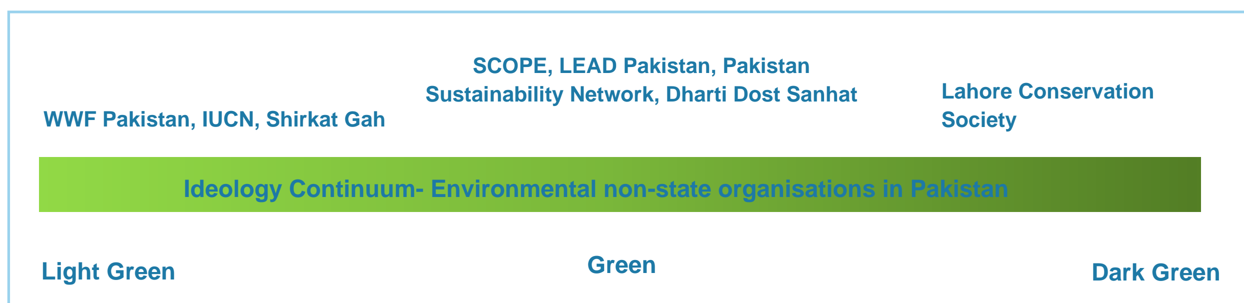

Figure 8 Ideology continuum for environmental non-state organisations in Pakistan (author's own elaboration)

Other non-state actors apart from the environment focused non-governmental and civil society organisations included: international, national, and local general volunteer involving organisations: e.g., Voluntary Services Overseas (VSO), Red Cross and Crescent (IFRC), Muslim Hands, Save the Children, intergovernmental organisations and development agencies: e.g., United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), United Nations Volunteers Programme (UNV), UNESCO, Asian Development Bank, and the World Bank, public and private academic institutions and think tanks, and private companies/ firms. These also included youth-focused/ led organisations working at multiple geographical levels in Pakistan.

It was noted by several research participants that non-state organisations were filling the youth environmental volunteering vacuum left by the state governance frameworks and structures:

> As you can see, the government is almost entirely missing from the picture. They like us to clean their mess. (LCS-I: Assistant Manager, Communications, Al-Bayrak Pvt. Ltd (Lahore))

7.2.2 Disciplinary technologies

Normalisation towards banal environmentalism

Several study respondents identified normalisation as a technology used by non-state actors in addition to the state for fostering pro-environment identity amongst young people through volunteering. They highlighted that in absence of hot nationalism or environmentalism[22] (Billig, 1995) and continuous scrutiny by the state, most non-state actors' resort to cold or banal environmentalism formation through environmental education, community awareness and some field experience of dealing with environmental issues.

Through the power of international and local expertise and knowledge, most non-state actors were found to normalise certain knowledge assumptions e.g., around sustainable consumption and individual green lifestyle, and role of young people in community mobilisation and advocacy, etc. and subsequently attempt to get these assumptions internalised by individuals as 'clockwork' (Keeley & Scoones, 2013). An example was the use of United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (Agenda 2030) as a blueprint for environmental action at multiple geographical levels by different UN agencies and civil society organisations who were engaging young volunteers around priority issues as identified in environment-related SDGs:

> UN Volunteers are engaged in different project activities, as well as different initiatives and activities towards the environment work as per the SDGs. (NP-I: UNV Coordinator, Balochistan)

Some actors noted that these continuous volunteering efforts towards environmental goals until 2030 and beyond would establish norms for environmental action and foster banal environmental identities of young subjects. However, some criticised that most non-state actors were following state-led technologies of power and not resisting the knowledge assumptions around some technologies e.g., the government push for tree plantation only, and exploring other areas of environmental action where young people could also play an active or passive role:

> All these organisations want to partner with the government on tree plantation. No one wants to create parallel much needed volunteer campaigns. (LCS-I: Youth Leadership Program Coordinator, Lahore Conservation Society)

[22] Billig distinguished between banal and 'hot' forms of nationalism, to argue for considering the taken-for-grantedness of nationalism and national symbols, to consider the 'banal reproduction' of nationalism in established nations (Billig 1995, p.38).

Formalisation of volunteering programmes and structures

Another technology being used by non-state actors was the formalisation of volunteering structures for youth environmental action. This was an example of technology of resistance in response to the lack of volunteering standards, structures, or networks available through the state machinery. The Program Manager of Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab) pointed out that in response to limited volunteering networks focusing on local level youth engagement, Bargad developed a sub-district/ tehsil level network of 35 volunteers in the Punjab province. She highlighted that through the network, they were able to identify a gap for environment focused programming in a few rural areas in the province and formalised a structure to engage young volunteers in this regard:

> Based on the recommendation of the volunteer network, we've started a project which is basically in Layyah because it's a climate affected area with droughts. The incubator there is basically encouraging young volunteer ideas for mitigation techniques for climate damage for instance, tunnel farming. (PCS-I: Program Manager, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

Besides some formalisation, several research participants believed that most non-state led volunteering programmes lacked clear vision and appropriate structures to engage or sustain youth environmental action. It was observed that the mandate or willingness of the organisations guided the use of formalisation as a technology for youth engagement:

> On ground, it really comes down to the organisation you are working with. For Punjab Rescue Service, volunteering is more like a response and rescue thing only. For Pakistan Red Crescent, they are working on multiple areas so often they have a vague plan of action. So, most organisations have their own agendas, and they do not see volunteering as an integral component which needs to be formalised as such. (NP-I: Country Coordinator, UN Volunteers Pakistan)

Some respondents noted that the potential of volunteer schemes could not be maximised without clarity in objectives and such clarity could be only attained when the schemes are properly structured and implemented. The Senior Youth Development Officer at WWF Pakistan called for sector wide consultations amongst state and non-state actors to design a framework and standards, articulating essential components of youth volunteer schemes and programmes.

Customisation for youth focused programmes

One of the less popular technology employed by non-state actors was the customisation of volunteering programmes and schemes according to the targeted young people at different geographical levels. Several respondents noted the limited vision and scope of existing non-state environmental volunteering programmes which focused on engaging young volunteers for disaster relief and response, tree plantation, advocacy walks on control of dengue fever, and occasional garbage picking exercises. The Chief Technical Advisor for Youth Empowerment at UNDP Pakistan observed:

> When we talk about volunteering in Pakistan, we end up talking about the disasters. We also need to explore technical areas like engineering, environment, medicine, social development, and other technical fields for volunteering to add value. (NCS-FG: Chief Technical Advisor, Youth Empowerment, UNDP Pakistan)

Others noted the ad hoc nature of environmental volunteering programmes without clear impact trajectory which often led to not utilising the full potential of young volunteers for environmental action. The Country Director for VSO Pakistan highlighted that youth volunteering was considered mostly as file organising (clerical) task by many organisations and for most young people, it has been engaging them for maintaining files and providing a certificate at the end of the experience. Lack of diversification and customisation of youth volunteering schemes to maximise use of young people's agency, creativity and willingness was identified by several participants as a key deterrent for expansion of youth environmental volunteering at multiple geographical levels in Pakistan. For volunteers at the local level, unique challenges were identified by some non-state actors which often are not considered when designing youth volunteering activities:

> At the local level, I have felt some issues with volunteering are unique. Often local volunteers are considered a free resource who will fill in the gaps of public offices' negligence or come together on ad hoc basis because no one else is there to address the problem. (LCS-I: Assistant Manager Communications, Al-Bayrak Pvt. Ltd. (Lahore))

The Chief for SDGs at the Ministry of Planning, Development and Reform recommended the need for profiling young volunteers in Pakistan and developing portfolios which could provide better insight into the interest areas of young people around environmental action and the challenges faced by them at the certain geographical level. The volunteer programmes should be customised and designed accordingly.

7.2.3 Neoliberal technologies

Onsite and online volunteering

In response to the emerging market trends and increased availability of internet and personal devices to many young people in Pakistan, several non-state actors were using both sites of volunteering; onsite and online, to engage youth environmental volunteers. However, most study respondents were aware of both sites and still preferred traditional, on-site youth and/or environmental volunteering opportunities. The most cited reason was the 'in-field' nature of most environmental actions e.g., one of the volunteer managers mentioned:

> You cannot pick litter online? You need to go on the streets and do it. (LCS-I: Assistant Manager, Communications, Al-Bayrak Pvt. Ltd (Lahore))

The coordinator at Lahore Conservation Society further encouraged young volunteers to remain physically active and interact with the natural environment through onsite volunteering, promoting use of healthism as

a technology. Very few non-state actors considered online volunteering site as a suitable space for engaging youth environmental volunteers. One of the non-state respondents highlighted the large unexplored potential of traditional on-site volunteering for environmental action, using spaces like mosques, playgrounds, beach, and river, etc.

Similarly, many policy respondents supported 'on-site' volunteering as the optimum environmental volunteering site highlighting the wide digital divide amongst rural and urban youth in Pakistan:

> Many young people have no internet access. We need to take such (environmental volunteering) work to rural youth as well. We cannot let them be physically and emotionally inactive. (PP-I: Minister of Youth Affairs and Sports, Government of Pakistan)

Another key challenge identified besides digital divide was the questionable authenticity of the information flow, limited exposure to field work and interpersonal interaction by several non-state actors:

> The scope of online volunteering is a little limited because someone will have to monitor the authentication of the flow of information. Plus, most of our work is field related and 20% is office work so it limits the use of online volunteering. (NCS-I: Manager Corporate Partnership & Fundraising, WWF Pakistan)

On the contrary, the aspect of 'accessibility' was highlighted by the Country Director for VSO Pakistan to make a case for online volunteering. He noted that while the on-site volunteering could reach out to majority of young people, it could not be equally accessible to diverse youth groups, particularly young women and people living with disabilities in Pakistan who face mobility constraints in undertaking on-site volunteer work. It was interesting to note that most state and non-state actors saw onsite and online volunteering as contesting spaces and a matter of choice for either one. As an UNESCO online and on-site volunteer, I observed:

> One site is not a replacement of another. They can work in tandem or in combination. It could be a win-win for all. (Diary Note: UNESCO Online/Onsite Volunteer (May 5, 2018))

Some respondents noted that volunteering needed to be accessible for all youth to be able to sign up easily and the framework should be designed to address financial and mobility constraints in the best possible way given the limited organisational resources of engaging all youth groups. Online volunteering could possibly address such constraints faced by both the volunteers as well as the volunteer managers. VSO Country Director elaborated:

> We have a component called e-volunteering. Again, if the level of job description demands that physical presence is not of great importance, then we engage through e-volunteering. (NP-I: Country Director, VSO Pakistan)

The Country Coordinator for UN Volunteers Pakistan highlighted the variety of tasks that could be undertaken by online volunteers including but not limited to desk research, communications, awareness and teaching, digital data monitoring, etc. However, he observed that online volunteering was mostly considered best suited for 'technical' volunteers and largely focused towards experienced late-youth and mid-career professionals:

> There is a need to open technical, online volunteering roles to younger people in Pakistan. (NP-I: Country Coordinator, UN Volunteers Pakistan)

Episodic/ micro-volunteering

Besides limited customisation of content and structure of volunteering programmes, some volunteer involving organisations, across all geographical levels, were found to be offering episodic or micro-volunteering opportunities to cater to young people with limited time and interest or wanting to gain one off experience:

> Many young people want to volunteer for one event or campaign or do it for few hours or days. (PCS-I: Program Manager, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

Several volunteer managers noted that they struggled with maintaining the interest levels of young volunteers as compared to older adults and had to develop volunteering activities that could be undertaken in a short time and not requiring extensive commitment from the young people. They noted this could be attributed to most young people who volunteered at these organisations were students or in employment and had limited time and energy available to commit for opportunities for a longer period. One of the non-state actors noted that the transitionary nature of being young led to many youth volunteers naturally not committing to specific tasks or organisations in the long term as their interests, motivations and experiences could potentially vary as time passes by:

> This suits many young people because there are no strings attached. They can easily move on with their life after the experience has benefited them enough. (LCS-I: Assistant Manager, Communications, Al-Bayrak Pvt. Ltd (Lahore))

However, it must be noted that most non-state actors were not able to explicitly identify episodic or micro volunteering as a new form of volunteering offered instead of traditional volunteering opportunities. For them, it was a continuum approach with one-time sudden acts of volunteerism on lower end of the spectrum as opposed to volunteering committing full-time at the high end of the spectrum (Cnann & Handy, 2005). In the absence of structured volunteering programmes, most organisations were moving between the

spectrum based on the task requirements and the availability and motivation of the young volunteers they were engaging in certain time and space.

Identity through expertise: expert/ professional volunteering schemes

Another neo-liberal technology found in use by non-state actors was expertise or skills development through youth volunteering experience. Some non-state organisations particularly at the international and national levels were engaging young volunteers through technical or expert environmental volunteering schemes, through which, volunteers could offer their professional skills and agency. In return, they could benefit from first-hand field experience, networking and/ or exposure to the environment related sector(s) in which they might be interested to pursue a career. The Country Director at VSO Pakistan noted that expert or professional volunteering was getting popular in response to young people's willingness to 'not volunteer for the sake of volunteering only' and form 'expert identities' through engagement in activities that build on/ enhance their skills set or increase their decent employment chances:

> Young people want to do volunteer work with a job description, one that is based on their skillset. Traditionally, we would bring senior or older experts for such schemes, but we now value the energy and passion, and willingness to learn that young people can offer to such a programme. (NP-I: Country Director, VSO Pakistan)

However, some non-state actors criticised expert volunteering schemes or opportunities to be exploitative in nature and often paying an inconvenience or living allowance to young people with 1-2 years of professional experience who could instead be in proper employment. They attributed this to the limited employment opportunities for young people which often push them to seek such professional volunteering schemes:

> Although such programmes are useful, they can benefit from free labour as well. Often young people are asked to work on core functions or tasks for the organisation which some others in the team would be paid a lot more for. It is about consciously drawing a line between experience provision and full-on job tasks for young volunteers without taking advantage of them. (NCS-I: Manager Corporate Partnership & Fundraising, WWF Pakistan)

International volunteering programmes

A less popular technology in use by non-state actors within Pakistan was the opportunity to engage young environmental volunteers in international exchange/ volunteering programmes. There was dearth of volunteering opportunities for international or diaspora youth volunteers in Pakistan. The only programme identified through my research was VSO Pakistan's international volunteering programme where diaspora Pakistanis from the UK were encouraged to volunteer full time in a professional role for a certain duration in Pakistan. This was usually targeted towards older adults aged 25 and above. VSO was covering the

volunteer's travel, vaccinations, accommodation, and medical insurance costs, along with a local living allowance paid in local currency per month:

> Our international volunteer programme is quite popular in Pakistan attracting experts and professionals from the UK to help with local development (NP-I: Country Director, VSO Pakistan)

On the contrary, there was no similar programme for young Pakistani experts and professionals to offer their skills and expertise in the UK, leading to one way exchange of support from North to the South. This was criticised by some respondents to be an example of 'voluntourism' or unidirectional programming which places young people from high-income contexts in low-income contexts to provide them recreational and field experiences "that can be bought and sold" (McGloin & Georgeou, 2016, p.406):

> VSO is a classic example of selling the gap year dream of traveling South for doing good. (IP-I: Project Information and Community Officer, UNESCO Bangkok)

This commodification and privatisation of development by a UK based organisation in Pakistan was questioned by some non-state actors as being "co-opted in practice by neoliberal hegemony" (Lough & Allum, 2013, p.913), scrutinised by government funding and tightly aligned to government aid priorities for developing countries like Pakistan. They observed that neo-liberal interpretations of partnership often meant lesser willingness of such organisations to foster equal partnerships and local ownership, reducing volunteering to one-sided 'technical skills transfer':

> Although VSO does some good work, but we cannot deny it is feeding into this one-way voluntourism problem. Ideally, they should have a same programme with same perks in the UK for youth from Pakistan as well. (NP-I: Country Coordinator, UN Volunteers Pakistan)

Most national, provincial, and local volunteering opportunities were open to young Pakistani nationals from across the world. These opportunities were limited in nature as most organisations were not able to provide any logistical or immigration related support to the young volunteers. Majority of the diaspora youth who volunteered with these organisations were already in Pakistan, wanting to use their leisure time during their stay/ vacation in the country.

There were some travel abroad volunteer schemes for young people in Pakistan (e.g., AIESEC) but these were fee-based, and all expenses were to be borne by the volunteer themselves. This was highly critiqued by many non-state actors as being 'discriminatory' to a large, low-medium income youth population group and favours high class, urban youth who can afford such experiences. They indicated the general lack of such programmes in Pakistan was the limited affordability issue:

> Proper international volunteering would open so many avenues, but we cannot deny the fact that we have limited resources and people cannot pay for it. So, someone needs to find a way to fund this. (NCS-I: Assistant Manager Sustainability 1, Bulleh Shah Packaging Pvt. Ltd. (TetraPak))

Some participants gave examples of south-south volunteering opportunities for young people through bilateral or regional volunteering schemes which could be state sponsored and implemented through non-state organisations. They highlighted how such an opportunity could help improve cultural relations between countries with similar socio-economic contexts but also allow young people to contribute to regional development:

> China-Pakistan Economic Corridor is a good platform to start such exchange and volunteering programmes. They could start around green and renewable energy, a common interest area for both countries and the region. (IP-I: Programme Specialist, UN Volunteers Asia Pacific)

In addition to travel based international volunteering programmes, some non-state organisations particularly UN agencies were offering global online volunteering opportunities. As an online volunteer with UNESCO Bangkok, I noted in my diary the potential of online volunteering as a technology for international volunteering experience with limited resources and funding:

> There is so much potential to engage expertise from all over the world to solve many of Pakistan's problems. And it is extremely cost effective too. Like literally no spending on resource attainment, free online consultations, or work. It is a win-win situation. I understand it cannot be done for all kinds of tasks, but it can help countries like Pakistan which lack technical expertise and international engagement of experts can really help. (Diary Note: UNESCO Online Volunteer (March 3, 2018))

Environmental volunteering schemes as corporate social responsibility

Another less popular technology in use by private firms/ companies within Pakistan was the opportunity to engage young environmental volunteers as part of company's corporate social responsibility (CSR) or Environmental, Social and Corporate Governance (ESG) initiatives. There were a few national community engagement programmes which indirectly engaged young community members being run by multi-national companies with global and national commitments to environmental protection and sustainability agendas (e.g., UN Sustainable Development Goals 2030, ISO 9001 and 14001 standards, Global Standards for Sustainability Reporting, etc.) or pledges to sustainable and transparent supply chain processes (e.g., fair trade, anti-slavery, and cruelty free, etc.).

Examples of private firms offering such national level programmes through their corporate social responsibility work included Nestle, Unilever, Coca Cola, Pepsi, Telenor, and Jazz/Mobilink. While most of these programmes broadly focused on sustainability commitments of the organisations, there were a few which made direct commitments to youth engagement or environment-related community mobilisation:

> For companies like Coca Cola and Telenor whose main audience is young people, they target their CSR work towards them. For others, it is mostly just communities, especially those from where they source the raw materials. (PCS-I: Program Manager, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

There were a few private firms identified at the local level (mostly in cities) who were involved in engaging young people, particularly students, in environment-specific community engagement and advocacy activities. These mostly included firms that focused on environment-related products and services e.g., urban waste management, recyclable packaging, food products, etc. Some of these firms were running community-based environmental campaigns (e.g., Al-Bayrak), while others were offering unpaid internships and placement opportunities to university level students (e.g., Teta Pak Bulleh Shah Packaging). Most of the private sector respondents participating in the research recognised the potential role of international and national private firms in promoting youth environmental volunteerism as they had access to sufficient resources and budget. However, they noted that most of these firms lacked in vision for youth volunteering as a technology for organisation's commitment towards environment and sustainability agendas:

> Many firms are opening to the idea of greening their business and show commitment to engaging community members due to international pressure. But they have not really thought about environmental volunteering as such in the national or local context. (NCS-I: Assistant Manager Sustainability 1, Bulleh Shah Packaging Pvt. Ltd. (TetraPak))

Some respondents observed the reasons for this limited use of youth environmental volunteering. Firstly, it was pointed out that there was a general lack of demand from young people to be engaged as volunteers by the private firms as they sought direct employment opportunities instead. Secondly, it was noted that some private sector firms were wary of engaging young volunteers directly in organisational tasks as there was a sense of mistrust. Most firms either did not consider young people as serious labour/ volunteer group or were not comfortable in sharing organisational/ confidential information with volunteers who could not show long-term commitment to the firm. However, one of the respondents stated that a possible remedy to this limited trust was volunteer engagement through academia-industry partnership. This would make private firms more trusting of the student volunteers and at the same time would enable young volunteers to showcase their agency and creativity to the organisation:

> By building industry-academia liaison where university students can directly approach industries for their innovative ideas and industries can also trust students and volunteers while sharing their confidential information and data. (NCS-I: Assistant Manager Sustainability 2, Bulleh Shah Packaging Pvt. Ltd. (TetraPak))

It is worth noting that most of the private sector respondents considered only students or urban educated youth as a possible volunteer group which could be engaged. This was criticised for discriminating against young community members (mostly rural) who were often seen as direct beneficiaries of these CSR/

community engagement programmes but not as an active stakeholder group which could lead environmental action at multiple geographical levels. The Assistant Manager at Al-Bayrak Pvt. Ltd. noted that this reliance on educated, upper class youth was due to the limited interest of private firms in capacity building of volunteers to undertake the activities or tasks assigned to them:

> They prefer English speaking, upper class boys and girls to roam around in corridors writing field stories about young poor guy who got a job after his family was given cash award by the company. Nobody will want to invest in that young poor guy as the one writing the field story. (LCS-I: Assistant Manager, Communications, Al-Bayrak Pvt. Ltd (Lahore))

Desire: youth-targeted marketing

Desire formation through targeted marketing emerged as another neo-liberal technology that was employed by non-state actors. Most of the marketing tactics and incentives complemented the volunteering discourse popularised by the state and were using traditional platforms and tools for engaging young environmental volunteers. The common platforms for reaching young people included newspaper advertisements, bulk messaging, and emails, and more recently, sponsored advertisements on social media pages of the organisation. Some of the volunteer managers observed the non-creative and repetitive nature of these tools and attributed these to the limited planning or clarity about objectives of the volunteering schemes and programmes:

> From federal government to local NGO, all want to leverage the potential of the population bulge. We really need to think beyond this statement and identify how what we are offering speaks to the young volunteers. (LCS-I: Youth Leadership Program Coordinator, Lahore Conservation Society)

There were only some international and national non-state organisations that had the resources, dedicated teams, or strategies in place to target young people through conventional and unconventional means or develop incentives for them accordingly. The Project Information and Communication Officer, UNDP Indonesia provided an example of UNICEF youth report, a tool developed by UNICEF to engage young people as citizen scientists through social media and build their interest in social and environmental action. The Head of Youth Policy Toolbox at UN ESCAP also noted the usefulness of international communication tools like U-report but accepted their limitedness in reaching out to some youth groups at the local level:

> We are only able to reach out to urban or educated youth easily, but we say our focus is on underprivileged youth, but it is very limited. We are exposed to them, but language and internet access are great barriers. We need local leadership for such international marketing channels to work. (IP-I: Head of Youth Policy Toolbox, UN ESCAP)

Several respondents highlighted a certificate, and a letter of recognition were the most sought out benefits or incentives. Hence, they were not tempted to explore other incentives or benefits like discounts, time banks, alumni engagement events, etc.:

> Certificates are the most important reason especially for students wishing to apply abroad for higher studies. Once they get the certificate, they do not remain much interested. So, we offer them a certificate and some organisation souvenirs like hat and diary, etc. It is usually enough. (NCS-I: Senior Youth Development Officer, WWF Pakistan)

This limited desire of young people was attributed by the Country Director of VSO Pakistan as a 'branding' problem and stressed upon that youth environmental volunteering should be rebranded at the national and local levels in Pakistan, focusing on a range of material incentives and self-transformation abilities for young people. He also suggested that public dialogues and conferences focused on volunteerism, news stories and social media campaigns could help form further aspiration in young people to take up environmental volunteering at the multiple geographical levels.

Measurement of volunteering

Another less popular neo-liberal technology was the measurementality of volunteering by non-state actors to inform organisational planning or policy considerations of its direct and indirect contribution to the economy and youth development as an active stakeholder group in the society. This was only observed at the international level where volunteer hours and activities were formally monitored and reported.

At the national level, volunteer manager at WWF Pakistan noted that the monitoring indicator for youth programme was the number of young people engaged hence, there were no procedures in place to measure the quality of volunteer experience alongside the frequency. She noted this had the tendency of making the youth programme tokenistic in nature and focusing less on quality provision of services to young people:

> We only must report the number of young people we engaged. This is a bad indicator for quality of the programme. (NCS-I: Senior Youth Development Officer, WWF Pakistan)

In absence of a monitoring system or facility, several respondents noted the lack of standardised tools or procedures developed by the state which could guide non-state organisations to report their volunteering contributions effectively. During the national policy focus group, the Assistant Professor at COMSATS noted that several global tools were available including International Labour Organisation (ILO)'s Manual on Measurement of Volunteer Work which could be localised in the context of national and local level volunteering structures. He pointed out some indicators which could be measured through ILO's manual were number of volunteers, hours volunteered, and the economic value of volunteerism.

The Country Coordinator for UN Volunteers Pakistan highlighted that some efforts were being made to in this regard to standardise volunteer measurement protocol through the Federal Ministry of Social Welfare, but limited success was achieved to date owing to the poorly structured volunteering programmes and limited organisational capacities to institutionalise monitoring and evaluation processes.

Inter-sectoral Partnerships

Partnerships and collaborations with the state and amongst non-state actors from different sectors were found to be common but the use of this technology for youth environmental volunteering programmes or activities was highly limited at all geographical levels. The absence of a coordinating body or framework for youth engagement or volunteerism in the country was identified as the key deterrent to inter-sectoral coordination. Some respondents provided examples of possible arrangements through which coordination could be strengthened. The Country Coordinator for UN Volunteers Pakistan suggested formation of a holistic, provincial level project where multiple state and non-state actors including corporate firms could develop a coordination model for environmental action in certain communities, and establish a common volunteering scheme to engage young people:

> We could work with a mix of government and corporate set-up to develop this provincial model that could later be replicated in other provinces. (NP-I: Country Coordinator, UN Volunteers Pakistan)

At the international level, WWF International's Global Youth Volunteer Program was one example provided by the Senior Youth Development Officer at the WWF Pakistan which could be used to gain access to a global youth network. She noted that Pakistan was not part of the global program as their national volunteer network was not well established, and the country office did not have resources to formulate partnerships with networks from other countries:

> We wanted to collaborate with Nepal on this and set up an exchange of students but because of the resources we could not go through with it. (NCS-I: Senior Youth Development Officer, WWF Pakistan)

Funding and Sponsorship

Due to limited funding available through the state, funding youth volunteering programmes or projects through different sources was an essential technology identified by several non-state actors. Most respondents identified internal funding, donations, and aid as major sources of financing for volunteering programmes. Internal funding was identified mostly by private firms participating in the research, owing to more financial resources available to them as compared to non-governmental or civil society organisations:

> Most of our volunteer projects are supported by the company, they are internally funded. (NCS-I: Assistant Manager Sustainability 1, Bulleh Shah Packaging Pvt. Ltd. (TetraPak))

The civil society respondents highlighted the reliance of non-state organisations on philanthropic donations, aid or grants received from multiple international, national, and local donors and agencies. Some respondents highlighted the continuous need for fundraising through direct or competitive grants, brand deals and sponsorships, and/ or seeking donations from donors' group or past alumni of volunteering programmes. If teams were not able to financially sustain the initiative(s), they noted that organisations had less interest in continuing such programming:

> If we do not bring in funding, they might as well just close the volunteering scheme in a day. (PCS-I: Program Manager, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

The Senior Youth Development Officer at WWF Pakistan pointed out the limited sources of funding available to directly sponsor youth development/ volunteering programmes as the private companies or firms want flashy opportunities that would promote their image and volunteering was not considered 'cool enough' for such investments:

> We do not get sponsorships for Youth Development Program easily. Because industries want something flashy and that promotes their image. (NCS-I: Senior Youth Development Officer, WWF Pakistan)

Several respondents showcased their frustration in limited funding sources and pointed out subsequent reliance on fee-based volunteering as another funding mechanism. This was commonly applied by renowned national level organisations like WWF Pakistan for which young people were willing to pay to gain experience or affiliation with the organisation:

> We charge for activities so we can raise funds. Our internship programme was for 3 days initially but since we started charging young people, we had to increase the number of days to 1 week, so the cost is justified. (NCS-I: Manager Corporate Partnership & Fundraising, WWF Pakistan)

Some other organisations, particularly at the local level, were found to rely on collecting funds and donations from interested citizens. They were either focusing on local environmental issues which may only be of interest to local citizens and did not garner interest of other donor groups, or these organisations did not have proper formal structures or processes in place to seek funding from formal channels. One of the case study organisations, Lahore Conservation Society, did not consciously seek any funding except from citizen owing to their willingness to remain non-representative of any stakeholder group other than the citizens of Lahore city.

> Because the core principles are that they do not want to ask for money from any non-profit organisations, they only rely on the funding and donations from the citizens of Lahore. We do not

> take any funding from any international organisation, multinational or the government. (LCS-I: Youth Leadership Program Coordinator, Lahore Conservation Society)

Funding also remained a key challenge at the international level. During my volunteer work at UNESCO Bangkok, I noted that most environmental volunteering projects had no, or very limited budget allocated to them by the Head Office, because of other priority agendas, and that led to these being not recognised as projects requiring much attention:

> It is frustrating to see such valuable work be underappreciated because of conflicting agendas or resource allocations, especially funding. (Diary Note: UNESCO Online/Onsite Volunteer (May 2, 2018))

7.2.4 Truth technologies

Philanthropy through faith based organisations

Although I did not engage directly with faith-based organisations, several non-state actors who participated in the research identified religious technologies being used by faith-based and secular organisations. They noted that faith-based organisations had wide networks across national, provincial, and local levels, and engage young people mostly in philanthropy and service delivery related activities. For most conservative faith-based organisations, often low-income youth groups in rural and urban areas were engaged in annual charity collection drives for zakat (almsgiving) during the holy month of Ramadan. Outreach Officer at UNDP Pakistan noted that most of the funding raised by these organisations went to provide basic health, education, and food to low-income population in less privileged areas, acknowledging their critical role in maintaining country's social safety net (Kirmani, 2010). Another volunteer manager at the local level observed that although faith-based organisations did not engage volunteers in environment related activities, they played an active role in disaster relief and rehabilitation work in several areas across the country:

> A lot of zakat funds go in disaster management particularly for communities affected by flash floods in Punjab and Sindh. (PCS-I: Program Manager, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

Most participants observed the potential of faith-based organisations to drive youth environmental volunteerism given their networks and reach in often hard to reach areas of the country. However, they noted that most faith-based organisations were exclusionary and divisive, and unlikely to work collectively on environmental protection agenda. They suggested that the state should involve these organisations further and encourage them to develop environmental volunteering schemes for young people in their networks.

7.2.5 Communal technologies

Focus on community engagement

I found that non-state organisations were exhibiting their technology of power by using community engagement as a tool, at the local level, for the management of natural resources, providing environmental protection services, and fostering collective responsibility through participatory decision making. Most non-state participants reiterated the importance of community engagement and provided examples of how young volunteers were being engaged to either undertake the environment-related activities or encourage other community members to participate. These were often presented as 'bottom-up' technologies of resistance against the state-led 'top-down' approach where young people were mostly considered target beneficiaries.

One of the volunteer managers noted that young people were engaged in volunteering programmes as direct beneficiary and as an active stakeholder who can lead and sustain community-based environmental management. She gave an example of youth-led community volunteering projects which were designed and implemented by young volunteers themselves:

> From kitchen garden in local government school to encouraging families to use alum powder (locally known as phitkari) to clean water before drinking, several local volunteers in some of the districts, as part of the Bargad Network, were bringing positive change. (PCS-I: Program Manager, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

Besides acknowledging the positive role of young volunteers in community engagement, some respondents also noted the risk of exploitation by state and non-state actors of different vulnerable youth groups through volunteering work. They observed that for several young people belonging to low power status in a community (e.g., ethnic, or religious minorities, poor and unemployed youth) could be forced to take up local community volunteering as a desire to survive, not necessarily driven by 'free will' as they could be paid some allowances or receive some benefits in return for their commitment (Vrasiti, 2013):

> I know some poor volunteers in the Kasur area we often engage who are easily available because they can use the travel and food allowance we pay during the trip. (LCS-I: Youth Leadership Program Coordinator, Lahore Conservation Society)

7.3 Technologies of self

In this section, I discuss the technologies of self-transformation for young environmental volunteers identified by the state and non-state actors. These include: sovereign technologies of rejecting existing state and non-state organisational hierarchies and formalising their own environmental action through youth-led organisations, disciplinary technologies of self-understanding environmental problems and self-regulating through individual and collective volunteering and pro-environmental behaviour, neo-liberal technologies of self-esteem and self-identity formation through volunteering and environmental action, truth

technologies of philanthropy and mutual aid work, and communal technologies of youth-led community volunteering. These technologies are discussed as follows:

7.3.1 Sovereign technologies

Formalisation of youth-led organisational structures

Although not explored in my research, many young people were found to be engaged in informal environmental volunteering particularly at the local level. It was noted by several respondents that the frustration of young people in the lack of focus on environmental issues by formal state and non-state organisations was increasing and they were progressively rejecting the existing state and non-state hierarchical structures for environmental action at different geographical levels. One such technologies of resistance was the push for formalisation of youth-led organisations and initiatives:

> Many young people are making their own NGOs to work on environmental issues. They are filling the gap left by others. (PCS-I: Program Manager, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

Several respondents described the current organisational structures for most state and non-state organisations as not ‘youth-friendly’. Many young people faced multiple challenges like limited access to individual or project-based funding, inability to gain necessary administrative permissions from bureaucratic units/ departments, and risk of being not considered serious about their work. These challenges were largely attributed to the ‘not legal’ status of these youth-led initiatives or organisations. This led to some young people developing organisational structures and seeking legal registration of their social enterprises or non-governmental organisations, so they could gain sovereign status to access resources, networks, and activity spaces:

> They (young people) just do not want to work for government and NGOs, they want to work with them. They want to be taken more seriously. (NP-I: UNV Coordinator, Balochistan)

However, it was noted some non-state actors that this shift was not ‘problem-free’ and the stringent company registration rules set by the state particularly for non-profit organisations remain a key deterrent for young people to seek legal registration for their organisations. Through my experience as UN Volunteer at UNESCO Bangkok, I mapped the youth-led organisations in Pakistan and found only 40% of them were registered, and out of these only 30% were active after 1 year of operation. The Chief Technical Advisor for Youth Programme at UNDP Pakistan noted that besides a formalisation attempt to open up spaces for young people to lead environmental action, the systemic barriers remained and required immediate attention of both state and non-state actors. She also pointed out that some marginalised youth groups particularly young women from rural communities and low-income youth faced further discrimination as the support infrastructure was either missing or favouring a few privileged youth groups only.

7.3.2 Disciplinary technologies

Self-understanding and self-regulation

One of the technologies used by young volunteers for self-transformation was an attempt to self-understand environmental problems and contextualise them in different spaces and time. Several non-state actors observed that young volunteers who were engaged in various environmental volunteering programmes and schemes were not just passive recipients of environmental learning and were actively using their agency to make sense of environmental concerns and the role different societal groups could play in dealing with these problems:

> You cannot make a general statement about environmental problems like water pollution and leave it around young people. You need to be ready to give answers mostly for our incompetence in dealing with the problem so far. (NCS-I: Senior Youth Development Officer, WWF Pakistan)

Some respondents felt that young volunteers were able to construct their own definitions and scope of 'pro-environmental behaviour' at different geographical levels, and often required localised examples and field exposure to understand environmental context better. The Program Coordinator at Lahore Conservation Society observed that young people were constantly making sense of the environment around them through both, lens of others and their own. For example, when he arranged for a local protest about a proposed tramline project and highlighted the environmental damage it was going to do to local flora and fauna, many volunteers were able to identify direct and indirect impacts of such a project on human health, and developed their own justification for participating in the protest campaign:

> This is an example of their own understanding of environmental problems around them. (LCS-I: Youth Leadership Program Coordinator, Lahore Conservation Society)

7.3.3 Neoliberal technologies

Individualisation and self-esteem

Most respondents identified individualisation as a popular neo-liberal technology employed by young volunteers for self-transforming themselves into 'desirable' young citizen or environmental subjects. Most young people were identified to go through an 'individual enlightenment' experience by volunteering, and through this gained specialised knowledge/ sense for disciplining or judging themselves as environmental subjects and objects:

> First-hand experience of doing environmental work really helps young people appreciate their potential in helping protect the environment in the short and long term. (NCS-I: Manager Corporate Partnership & Fundraising, WWF Pakistan)

The Assistant Manager at Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign noted that after participation in the waste collection activities, many young volunteers felt empowered to improve their local environment and were

claiming this self-esteem through use of ‘I’ statements like, “I picked up all this garbage” and “I made the park look greener today”. These individualising practices were described by many state and non-state actors as a useful technology for young people at different geographical levels. The ownership of actions they self-develop or undertake enhances their willingness to continue fostering either pro-environmental behaviour amongst themselves or take up more environmental action at different geographical levels:

> Once young people get exposure to environmental action around them, they will lead it themselves. (IP-I: Programme Coordinator, Restless Development, Nepal)

Self-identity through volunteering

While most state and non-state actors focused on the responsibilisation and identity formation of young volunteers as active environmental citizens, some were able to identify ‘self-identity’ as another neo-liberal technology employed by the young people. They emphasised that young people could be seen as autonomous actors and they had the potential to transform and transcend between set imaginaries of them as young volunteer subjects (Griffiths & Brown, 2016):

> Many organisations think of youth as impressionable beings who can be moulded into whatever they want. But it is not that easy. Young people think and reflect and make sense of their own experiences accordingly. (IP-I: Member, UNESCO Youth Advisory Group Asia Pacific)

One of the volunteer managers at the national level provided an example of technology of identity through the experience of volunteering. She recalled that some volunteers at WWF Pakistan who worked on a climate resilient agriculture project started to develop a strong aspiration for environmental justice and lobbied to start a local farmers protest in this regard. She noted that this was not an expected outcome for the volunteer engagement and put WWF Pakistan in a difficult situation with the local government:

> We had to convince the local government that these young people did not have any bad intention and were only trying to help the farmers. (NCS-I: Senior Youth Development Officer, WWF Pakistan)

This showed that most young people were first-hand sensing the environmental concerns and having these embodied encounters which could challenge the existing volunteer-host binaries and neoliberal imaginaries of them as young environmental subjects (Griffiths, 2015).

7.3.4 Truth technologies

Philanthropy and mutual aid

Many study respondents highlighted the popular use of truth technologies (cultural norms, religious discourse, and traditional/ intergenerational practices) by young volunteers themselves to undertake philanthropy and mutual aid work across different geographical levels. They noted that young people particularly middle-income youth groups in urban areas were engaged in informal volunteering activities

like fundraising for community initiatives, organisations, and schools/ universities. On the other hand, low-income rural youth were found to be doing similar tasks for faith-based organisations or religious schools. These forms of environmental volunteering are further discussed in Section. 7.4.2.

7.3.5 Communal technologies

Youth-led community level volunteering

Although not many communal technologies of self-transformation were identified by state and non-state actors, youth-led community participation or volunteering for environmental action was recognised as an emerging technology. Some non-state actors, particularly at the international level, highlighted the potential of young people to self-group themselves and produce collective responsibility towards the environment at all geographical levels. They could also develop sense of care and affective relations with the environment and the communities they work in, especially at the local level:

> Young volunteers can socialise to produce communal relations with the environment and people they work with or support. This relationship can be independent of the government or any other organisation in the area. (IP-I: Head of Youth Policy Toolbox, UN ESCAP)

Another example of youth-led volunteering was provided by the Program Coordinator at the Lahore Conservation Society. He recalled many young volunteers once sensitised to a certain community's environmental challenges, tried to organise their energy, time and resources to lead further action in the community. He recounted that such exposure often led to unexpected positive outcomes beyond the initial objectives of engaging young people in the first place:

> Many young people do not rely on us to take them to the community where they can help. Once they know the local people and the problems occurring there, they often respond in unexpected ways of doing more than expected. (LCS-I: Youth Leadership Program Coordinator, Lahore Conservation Society)

7.4 Technologies at work together

7.4.1 Linkage between technologies

In the previous sections, I attempted to identify multiple technologies of production and power employed by state and non-state actors. Where possible I recognised that these technologies of power were often met by resistance and young people showcased their own technologies of self-transformation. These technologies are summarised in table 13.

Table 13 Technologies employed by state and non-state actors (including young people) for multiple environmentalities

Environmentalities	Technologies of state actors	Technologies of non-state actors	Technologies of self (young people)
Sovereignty (command and control)	• Federal and provincial legislation • Mandatory volunteering	• Structured environmental volunteering programmes and schemes	• Youth-led environmental CSOs/ NGOs legal registration and organisational structures
Discipline (ethical injunction)	• Environmental education • National citizenship skills	• Normalisation/ banal environmentalism • Formalisation of volunteering structures and networks • Youth-driven or focused programmes • Traditional and new volunteering forms and modes	• Self-understanding of environmental socialisation • Individual and collective environmental volunteering (formal or informal)
Neoliberalism (incentives)	• Responsibilisation and active citizenship skills • Desire: decent employment pathway through volunteering • Partnership with non-state actors	• Onsite and online volunteering • Episodic/ micro-volunteering • Identity through expertise: expert/ professional volunteering schemes • Desire: youth-targeted marketing (incentives, skills, resources) • International volunteering programmes (North-South, South-South Cooperation) • Examination/ Measurement of volunteering and/or youth engagement • Partnership with state and non-state actors	• Self-esteem/ self-growth • Self-identity through volunteering • Pushing for neo-volunteering forms (online/ episodic) • Spending time and financial resources on volunteering (e.g., international volunteering programmes)
Truth (the order of things)	• Religious education • Environmental campaigning using religious discourse	• Philanthropy • Environmental campaigning using religious discourse • Madrassa-targeted volunteering schemes	• Philanthropy • Mutual aid

Communal (socialist, participatory)	• Local government structures for community-based decision making	• Focus on grassroots/ community engagement • Youth-led community volunteering projects	• Youth-led volunteering groups and projects • Community/ grassroots focus volunteering

It is worth acknowledging that these technologies do not occur in silos and interact with each other, negotiated through incoherent process of continuous conflict or complementation. These may appear in combination that is simultaneously diffused and emanating from multiple sites or in a field of ordering forces (Foucault, 1977). To understand these complex combinations better, I have attempted to discuss the various forms and modes of environmental volunteering being undertaken by young people at different geographical levels. In these discussions, I provide a snapshot of range of environmental activities in which young volunteers were found to be engaged by the participating case study organisations. Where possible, I have teased out the use of multiple technologies to help the reader contextualise their user better in youth environmental volunteering context.

7.4.2 Forms of environmental volunteering

Through my research, I identified that the five forms of environmental volunteering being undertaken across multiple geographical levels in Pakistan included: mutual aid, philanthropy/ service, campaigning, participation, and leisure. These were in line with the typologies of volunteering forms as identified by Smith (2000) and Millora (2020) (Figure 9).

Figure 9 Forms of environmental volunteering (Millora, 2020)

Mutual Aid

Although this form of environmental volunteering was not captured as part of this research, there appeared to be a range of informal, individual, and collective activities for environmental protection and youth

engagement undertaken embodied in diverse community and cultural practices. These were mostly done through informal youth groups and networks, community groups and youth clubs at different schools and universities which were involved in self-help initiatives in their communities and areas. Examples included creating sun sheds in rural farms to provide shade to livestock, installing water purification system in local slum settlement, designing art and craft products using waste material, and mobilising community members for solar panel installation at the local mosque. Although great in its scope and contribution, this form of informal volunteering has not been particularly landscaped in Pakistan. It occurred mostly at the local, grassroots level and engaged diverse youth groups including those with limited access to formal volunteering spaces, i.e., rural youth, low-income status youth, etc:

> All my cousins and friends back in my village volunteer to clear weeds off our farm fields after the harvest season. It is a community thing, and we look forward to it. (PCS-I: Male Volunteer 2, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

Communal technologies of power including community-based youth action were at play in this form of environmental volunteering alongside technologies of self where young people acquiesced or resisted state/ non-state technologies through self-understanding and growth as environmental objects and subjects in their respective communities.

Service/ Philanthropy

Service volunteering and philanthropy was a common form of environmental volunteering occurring across national and local levels in Pakistan. It included large number of young people volunteering each year to generate funds for environmental projects and campaigns like for wildlife conservation, disaster relief and rehabilitation, safe drinking water and food provision, etc. One of the case study organisations, WWF Pakistan, had developed a formal individual membership programme for young people to generate funds for wildlife and environmental protection projects in return for incentives and branded stationery, etc, applied as a neo-liberal technology. The philanthropic form of environmental volunteering was criticised by several volunteers as the default form of engagement, and being tokenistic in nature:

> My father tells me to wary of these NGOs, they are always asking for money, and now they want me to ask on their behalf too. (NCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 2, WWF Pakistan)

Most of the service volunteering or fund raising for environmental management was done at community/ local levels and through informal structures, e.g., community clubs, youth networks or groups. It was also a common technology used by religious/ faith-based organisations to generate funds through seminary students or local young community members. This was less focused on specific environmental issues but mostly done for infrastructure support (e.g., raising funds for water plant installation for mosque visitors), tree plantation for shade area in the local mosque garden, disaster relief and rehabilitation work, etc.

Campaigning

Campaigning was another common form of environmental volunteering undertaken by young people mostly through events and advocacy campaigns arranged by formal organisations (state and non-state). At the national and local levels, governmental and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) were usually active in arranging different events and campaigns which were environment-specific and involved youth volunteers particularly students from different educational institutions. These included advocacy walks around water and sanitation, climate change, air pollution and smog episodes, waste management and infection control. Most of these campaigns were 'awareness' focused and less on specific issues faced by certain youth groups or calling for particular actions by the state and non-state actors:

> General awareness campaigns on environmental issues involve a lot of young volunteers. They hardly result in any action on ground besides some community members. (LCS-FGD: Female environmental volunteer 4, Lahore Conservation Society)

While some campaigning activities used technologies of resistance for young people to voice their concern on issues and actions but most of these were used as a softer 'disciplinary technology' for environmental education and community awareness. These are mostly arranged by or for universities, schools, and colleges.

Participation

The most common form of youth environmental volunteering across multiple levels in Pakistan was participation. Young volunteers gave their time and effort to engage with environmental governance and decision-making mechanisms at different levels. Participation ranged from desk-based tasks to field volunteer work, engagement in national policy consultations to implementing youth-led environmental volunteering projects in local communities:

> Young environmental volunteers offer so many avenues and areas for engaging them meaningfully for environmental protection and management at all levels. (IP-I: Program Coordinator, Restless Development, Asia Pacific)

The modes of environmental volunteering discussed in the next section further identify the range of such tasks. It is worth noting that besides increased occurrence as compared to other formal volunteering forms, the scope and quality of volunteer engagement for environmental governance remained limited and was highlighted by several study respondents:

> Not sure if the potential of volunteering for environmental governance is being leveraged, we are hardly scratching the surface. (PCS-I: Program Manager, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

Leisure
This form of informal volunteering where young people volunteer in activities that express personal interests or passions such as in the arts, culture, and sports was not captured as part of this research. But its role was widely accepted in the fragmented social well-being and community cohesion (Gallant et al., 2013). Some urban youth participating in the research highlighted how self-interest in the environment and availability of free time led them to volunteer their effort for environmental protection in the first place often in individual capacity or through informal channels:

> I helped my friend install a solar panel at the local library. Since then, I am looking for proper opportunities to help the environment. (LCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 3, Al-Bayrak Clean Campaign)

This was criticised by some volunteer managers to favour young people who are not 'time poor', can afford a gap year from studies or work, can fund traveling abroad to explore cultures, or belong to a certain social/income class in a community:

> Doing this for leisure only is a privilege a lot of young people in Pakistan cannot afford. We try to develop volunteer programmes targeted all sorts of youth groups. (LCS-I: Assistant Manager, Communications, Al-Bayrak Pvt. Ltd (Lahore))

7.4.3 Modes of environmental volunteering

In this section, I identified the modes of environmental volunteering undertaken by the case study organisations. The five principal modes identified by Measham and Barnett (2007) were in use by state and non-state actors, including young people themselves, to engage young environmental volunteers. These included activism, education, monitoring, restoration and (promoting) sustainable living. In addition to these, disaster management emerged to be another mode of youth environmental volunteering in Pakistan. I have attempted to capture the modes used by case study organisations which participated in the research (Table 14).

Table 14 Modes of environmental volunteering used by case study organisations

	Activism	Education	Monitoring	Restoration	Sustainable Living	Disaster Management
UNESCO Asia Pacific		✓			✓	
WWF Pakistan	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Bargad Youth Foundation		✓				✓

Lahore Conservation Society		✓	✓	✓		
Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign	✓	✓		✓	✓	
Bulleh Shah TetraPak (Pvt. Ltd.)		✓			✓	

Activism

Activism surfaced to be one of the least popular modes of youth environmental volunteering. At its most political, this mode of environmental volunteering could even take the form of aggressive activity (Marris 2006). However, it appeared to be a softer or dutiful form of dissent (O'Brien at al., 2018) exhibited mostly at the local, community level in Pakistan. This complemented the use of sovereign and disciplinary technologies of power to form 'state-friendly' youth subjects. The eco-internship programme at WWF Pakistan encouraged young volunteers to engage local community leaders, politicians, or influencers to voice concerns about environmental issues but in a non-confrontational manner. This was ensured through adult/ professional supervision of community campaign projects and review of campaign material developed by the volunteers to be 'less political'. The Senior Youth Development Officer at WWF Pakistan noted:

> We want them to speak truth to power but we must be politically correct as well, organisation's image matters too. (NCS-I: Senior Youth Development Officer, WWF Pakistan)

Similarly, Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign pushed for 'buy in' or 'appreciation' of the local government departments for environmental protection efforts by young people. Since it was a private waste management company sponsored campaign, the campaign material was heavily branded to market it as a socially and environmentally responsible organisation. The effectiveness of these advocacy walks, or campaigns was questioned by several volunteers who found these tokenistic in nature:

> They just make us stand with dengue awareness banner to make the local Commissioner happy. It looks cool. Why isn't the Commissioner here himself? (LCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 3, Al-Bayrak Clean Campaign)

It is important to acknowledge by the time this research was commissioned, environmental and climate activism movements were taking root across the world, and young volunteers started to indicate their growing frustration in the existing environmental protection measures by both state and non-state actors, and indicated the predisposition to oppositional politics to eventually develop their own environmental identity, and influence on community, participation and responsibility (Coleman, 2010):

> We want to make our own organisation to work on air pollution. The city government and WWF have done nothing about this. Even if we do not make an organisation, we can start a proper campaign, may be? (NCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 2, WWF Pakistan)

This is in line with Norris (2004)'s observation of the younger generation to be at the forefront of those who have adapted to the newer forms of political expression, mobilisation and engagement, developing their own technologies of power and resistance.

However, the limited encouragement by adults and organisations to exhibit technologies of resistance has also resulted in many young people not engaging with the environment as an active decisionmaker to express dissent from prevailing unjust norms, policy processes, or the status quo. This is particularly true for the vulnerable youth groups whose power relations in the community push them to remain subservient or complacent to the adult-led technologies of power:

> Madarassa youth on streets chanting slogans for climate will not be appreciated the same way as high-class school students with banners and cameras (LCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 4, Lahore Conservation Society)

Education

Environmental education appeared to be the most popular mode of engaging young environmental volunteers across all the case study organisations. Several disciplinary technologies were employed to conform young people into 'pro-environmental' subjects. The Social and Human Sciences Unit at UNESCO Asia Pacific worked in tandem with Education and Science Units at the global, regional, and national offices to develop educational resources and programmes on active citizenship, education for sustainable development and environmental stewardship. When I volunteered at UNESCO Bangkok Office, I observed mass production of such knowledge products and tools which often did not seem to reach its intended audience due to various resource constraints and the traditional or often dubbed as 'academic' way of UNESCO branding its educational material as compared to other IGOs/ UN agencies:

> We have a pile of books and amazing content for environmental education lying in the cabinets. It is a shame most of these products I never saw being used in Pakistan when UNESCO has a big country office in Islamabad, and they never were able to localise them or just use them to inform voluntary education programmes. It is an internal joke at UNESCO that they love producing large books and then do not know how to sell them. (Diary Note: UNESCO In-person Volunteer (April 16, 2018))

At the national level, WWF Pakistan appeared to lead environmental education programming through its green school programme (schools voluntary sign up to incorporate environmental education curriculum in teaching and learning), and youth development programme for young people between the ages of 15 and

30. The youth development programme could be broken down into 3 sub-programmes: eco-internship, outdoor education, and student ambassador programmes. The eco-internship was a fee-based 6-8 weeks structured volunteer programme which engaged two groups of young people: college/ high school students, and university students and young professionals. The student alumni of the internship programme were engaged as student ambassadors to recruit interns and volunteers for different departments and programmes at WWF. The outdoor education programme remained the least active amongst the three as it was not structured and ran-on ad-hoc basis. Environmental education and youth development programmes at WWF Pakistan were highly criticised for being 'elitist' in nature, as they favoured urban young students and professionals belonging to middle or high class who could afford to pay the participation fee of Rs 2000 (USD 20-25):

> The problem upfront is the positioning of youth development programme in the philanthropy unit at WWF Pakistan. Our key performance indicator is 'how much funds did we generate by engaging young people?' It automatically discriminates against the large chunk of youth population in the country. We really need to think about re-positioning the programme as a priority project which requires core/ internal funding to widen its scope and reach. (NCS-I: Youth Development Officer, WWF Pakistan)

At the provincial level, both Bargad Youth Foundation and Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign seemed to use young people as facilitators of community environmental awareness and education through advocacy and community-based projects. Since environment or climate was not a priority area for Bargad Youth Foundation but was emerging as a rising concern for several young people they work with, at the time of this study, the organisation was beginning to consider developing an environmental awareness scheme particularly for rural youth through its existing volunteer network:

> I am convincing the board members to add environment/ climate as the fourth pillar to our organisation's mandate/ vision. (PCS-I: Program Manager, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

The private firm, Bulleh Shah Tetra Pak, only focused on localised awareness of young volunteers or unpaid interns on factory design, company's contributions to greenhouse gas emission reduction, and its different community mobilisation projects through its corporate social responsibility office. Since the volunteer/ internship programme was not structured, the self-learning and awareness of technical and field knowledge around environmental engineering and waste management depended solely on the will and interest of units offering these voluntary positions:

> I try my best to share as much information we can with the volunteers, but not many do. (NCS-I: Assistant Manager Sustainability 1, Bulleh Shah Packaging Pvt. Ltd. (TetraPak))

At the local level, Lahore Conservation Society used outdoor education through seasonal tree plantation campaigns in which young people were educated on indigenous plants, seed sowing and germination process, and first-hand experience of planting and caring for the plants in the nursery and then at the plantation locations within the city and its surroundings. The focus of environmental education at the Society remained on urban green spaces and restoration of natural forest cover in some areas of the city. The Society appeared to be the only case study organisation to explicitly employ religious technologies to recruit volunteers and encourage them to plan more trees as it was *Sunnah* (ritual) performed by Prophet Muhammad (PBUH):

> Planting trees can be such a wholesome experience, it just not only can teach you about local flora but is a great way to earn good deeds as well. (LCS-I: Youth Leadership Program Coordinator, Lahore Conservation Society)

Monitoring

Only the case study organisations with environment-focused mandate appeared to use monitoring as a mode of youth environmental volunteering. However, the scope and reach of this mode was limited. The youth development programme at WWF Pakistan provided limited opportunities for short-term environmental monitoring of plant and animal species particularly for those on endangered list through structured learning and exposure activities. For example, the volunteers were asked to monitor the growth of invasive alien plants in their neighbourhood to understand loss of indigenous biodiversity or monitor air temperature inversion on roads with roadside trees to acknowledge the urban heat effects. However, limited direct contribution to monitoring activities as part of WWF Pakistan's existing projects was highlighted:

> I cannot recall right now but we know some projects like our Snow Leopard conservation project in Northern Areas engage young community volunteers for monitoring and protection of the Khunjerab National Park. But it is not done through the youth development programme. (NCS-I: Youth Development Officer, WWF Pakistan)

The Lahore Conservation Society engaged young volunteers in monitoring the growth and protection of planted trees. However, this was entirely optional, and most volunteers depend upon the Society itself to undertake the monitoring process as they lose interest or get busy with other life activities:

> We want them to monitor the full growth cycle but realistically, for most young people, it is a one visit and max, three visits. They are proud of the trees, but they cannot care for them always. (LCS-I: Youth Leadership Program Coordinator, Lahore Conservation Society)

In a policy interview, there was a mention of Volunteer Internet-based Environmental Watch (VIEW) project rolled out by Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS) to measure air quality of Lahore city through citizen-led monitoring sensors and database. The project was commenced in 2011 but was later

disbanded (date unknown). By the time this study was conducted, transboundary air pollution and smog episodes were rampant in Lahore, and its rank as one of the top polluting cities in the world was raising concerns:

> Such a shame we could not continue with projects like VIEW. So much potential here for citizens particularly young students to lead environmental action to fight issues like smog. (PP-I: Member, Social Infrastructure & Environment (Planning & Development Board, Government of Punjab))

Besides the importance of volunteers as a human capital for carrying out environmental monitoring has been recognised in literature (Jacoby et al. 1997; Carr 2004), there appears to be a significant gap in acknowledging its potential for short and long-term monitoring, and its role in ecological research and environmental subject formation at all levels in Pakistan.

Restoration

Ecological rehabilitation emerged to be another less popular mode of youth environmental volunteering. The localised nature of the volunteering mode was observed in its absence at the international or national level, and most restoration activity undertaken was at the local community or habitat level. The Lahore Conservation Society and Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign engaged young volunteers for local ecological restoration, and installation of urban infrastructure for waste management, respectively.

Besides being a national case study organisation, WWF Pakistan was contributing to local environmental care and restoration through engaging young volunteers in awareness and restoration tasks e.g., as part of the eco-internship programme in Karachi, it arranges an exposure trip for volunteers to the local mangroves forest and turtle conservation centre where they contribute to regular/ day-to-day restoration tasks. Similarly, in Lahore, it arranges an exposure trip to local vulture conservation centre and provide volunteers with a first-hand exposure to conservation and habitat restoration activities. However, structured, or long-term engagement of young volunteers for ecological restoration projects at WWF was missing and appeared to be an underappreciated area for youth engagement:

> Young people can do so much more than what we ask them to do right now. From restoring degraded habitats to installing sea walls to help mangroves and local fishing grounds, sky is the limit here. But nobody is really thinking that big. (NCS-I: Youth Development Officer, WWF Pakistan)

This absence could be attributed to the lack of evaluation of improvements in the environmental quality and the contributions made by volunteers to this process (Fine & Skoein, 2002).

Sustainable Living

Another popular mode I identified of youth environmental volunteering was promotion of sustainable living. The disciplinary and liberal technologies for ‘normalisation’ of ‘pro-environment behaviour’ and

‘responsibilisation’ of young citizens were employed by several case study organisations. At the international level, UNESCO launched a young ‘citizen passport’ with structured activities for young people to voluntary participate in and develop their identities as local and global active citizens. At the time of this research, it was also developing a Youth-Climate Action Network (You-CAN) which was aimed to design youth-led community projects for climate change adaptation through adoption of sustainable lifestyles.

At the national level, WWF Pakistan had embedded inspiration and examples for individual and collective environmental protection through reduced consumption, energy use and waste production in its structured curriculum for the youth development programme. It also celebrated Earth Hour to appreciate the global and local energy use and the need to reduce our contribution to the greenhouse gas emissions. The Earth Hour event was criticised by several volunteers for pushing them to focus on climate change mitigation than adaptation:

> It’s a branding tactic only. We produce less than 1% global carbon emissions. Why don’t we focus more on protecting our environment and adapting to climate risks? We learnt about so many environmental problems during this internship that require immediate attention. (NCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 2, WWF Pakistan)

At the local level, there was a greater appreciation amongst both young volunteers and volunteer managers for rethinking sustainable living in a ‘localised’ sense and not in its traditional western definition. One of the volunteer managers noted that some sustainable living discourse is redundant in case of local communities in Pakistan who do not actively contribute to creating environmental problems but face them:

> I cannot tell the local community to use less water when they get water for 2-3 hours max per day and that too is not clean. We cannot deflect responsibilities of the state on to people and blame them for all environmental damage. (LCS-I: Youth Leadership Program Coordinator, Lahore Conservation Society)

While promotion of sustainable living is emerging as a popular mode of environmental volunteering (Hobson, 2006), the definitions of the term and its use in local context of ‘good’ environmental behaviour is not problem free and has ‘epistemological and ontological discrepancies’ (Mawdsley, 2009). It can be safely said that one person’s definition of good environment or sustainable lifestyle may differ entirely from someone else’s, and it is a result of varying socio-economic contexts (e.g., geographical location, income class, gender) and environmental realities (e.g., habitat condition, consumption behaviour, climate risk). This has ramifications on to what extent can young volunteers act as ‘ideal’ promoters and ambassadors for environmental changes in their communities which can ‘coerce’ them in forming a certain type of environmental identity and/or ‘overburden’ them with responsibilities of other state and non-state actors in relation to the environment.

Disaster Management

Another mode of environmental volunteering common in Pakistan was disaster management and for many research participants, ‘natural disaster’ and ‘environment’ were interchangeable concepts. This is in line with the popularisation of disaster management and role of volunteers in this regard by the state. In a policy interview with the UN Volunteers Country Coordinator, it was highlighted that an international conference on volunteering was held in 2004 in Islamabad (Pakistan) where state-backed agenda on the role of volunteers in disaster risk management was highlighted. He said:

> The conference emphasised on the link between volunteerism and environmental sustainability in water and sanitation projects, forestry, and natural resource management. (NP-I: Country Coordinator, UN Volunteers Pakistan)

The non-state actors or most of the case study organisations were quick to respond to this state push and engaged volunteers, including young people, in providing disaster rescue, relief and rehabilitation services during natural disaster events e.g., earthquakes, flash floods, droughts and storms, etc. Bargad Youth Foundation through its youth volunteer network seemed to be most active in disaster management work in both urban and rural areas across the Punjab province. WWF Pakistan did not provide direct rescue or relief support but was undertaking ecological research and community mobilisation projects to increase disaster risk resilience. Some examples include engaging young farmers to learn climate smart agriculture methods considering increased droughts and encouraging local disaster female survivors in Northern mountains to seek alternate livelihood opportunities through cottage industry products like local honey, traditional silk, and embroidery products.

The role of young people as first responders to disasters and building community resilience in this regard has been discussed by several authors (Akeyo, 2010; Brennan et al., 2005). In the national policy focus group, the following examples of environmental volunteer engagement in Pakistan were provided, majorly engaging young volunteers as first responders for disaster response and management:

> The Pakistan Red Crescent Society (PRCS) claims to have an active database of 1.7 million volunteers and runs a youth & volunteer programme where it trains youth volunteers for community engagement and disaster response. PRCS runs 100 youth clubs all over Pakistan and it also announces annual volunteer award.
>
> National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA) recently launched its National Roster on Emergency Response (SERT) where it maintains a database of qualified volunteers as first responders to disasters and emergencies. (NCS-FG: multiple respondents)

7.5 Discussion

Technologies of power and resistance

In this chapter, I discussed in detail the technics or technologies used by the state, non-state actors and young people themselves at multiple geographical levels to form 'youth environmental volunteering' subjectivity and practice. This is based on Foucault's own differentiation between main type of technologies: technologies of power which determine the conduct of individuals and submitting them to certain ends or domination, and technologies of self through which individuals' affect, by their own means or with the help of others, their own bodies, and souls.

Another key technology identified throughout the chapter is 'resistance'. Although Foucault has resisted to use resistance as an analytical category because of it being tagged with rebelliousness (Legg, 2019), Foucault has acknowledged its inseparability to power. This was apparent in my research that technologies of power were met by technologies of resistance to form complex nature of youth subjectivities towards environmental volunteering. Some technologies of power used by the state, for example, the command-and-control mechanisms such as the push for mandatory volunteering, were met by technologies of resistance shown by young people calling out mandatory volunteering for being 'forceful' (Holdsworth & Brewis, 2014). The technologies of power in use by both state and non-state actors indicated the overrepresentation of more affluent volunteers across all formal environmental volunteering spaces. This highlights the limited ability of actors to consider young people as a heterogeneous group which includes vulnerable and marginalised youths such as those belonging to rural and low socio-economic backgrounds who may not be able to access volunteering opportunities in the first place (McBridge et al., 2011).

The social class difference manifested in young people's experiences of volunteering across all geographical levels. The non-state organisations were found to resort to urban high/middle income class young people whose habitus would allow them to fit into volunteering structures and projects instantly (Dean, 2016). Urban youths from low-income groups and rural areas were more likely to not participate in environmental volunteering for various reasons, including time poverty, financial constraints, geographical location, and access to technology. They were also found to be less likely to have a positive volunteering experience as the power dynamics at play would make them more susceptible to exploitation as free labour or force them to stay in the vicious cycle of welfare/ waithood (constant volunteering) until they land a decent job or improve their social status (Kitgawa, 2001). Several volunteers who participated in the research did not want to identify with the term volunteer and preferred alternative job titles noted by Jackson (2019) as typical for communities with high youth unemployment rates.

The use of neo-liberal processes of responsibilisation, normalisation of banal environmentalism and introduction of newer sites and ways of volunteering for young people, including online and episodic volunteering, were coupled with traditional neo-conservative authoritarian strategies which created multiple localised translations of state and non-state technologies for youth environmental volunteering. This is in

line with Elizabeth & Larner's (2009) contention that these paradoxes and ironies do not simply lead to the emergence of new institutional forms but also new modes of governing, assembled in contradictory and complex ways. For example, the neo-liberal push for investing in human capital through volunteering and developing employment pathways was seen by many research participants as redefining volunteering as unpaid work. This has led to a reconceptualisation of individual youth engagement in environmental volunteering schemes in a broader political-economic structure, identifying its economic potential.

Technologies like unpaid internships, placements, exchange programmes, international community volunteering schemes were noted as attempts of commodification and privatisation of environmental volunteering 'co-opted in practice by neoliberal hegemony'. The spatial imaginaries underpinned through these experiences manifested the inclusion and exclusion of various youth groups across all geographical levels. For instance, private firms participating in the research were wary of engaging young volunteers directly in organisational tasks as there was a sense of mistrust. Most firms either considered young people as recalcitrant to volunteering or were not comfortable sharing organisational/ confidential information with volunteers who could not show long-term commitment to the firm (also shown by Dean, 2015).

Many young volunteers reported their agency and talent being underutilised and the limited nature of environmental volunteering activities they were engaged in. Most case study organisations engaged young volunteers in awareness-raising for sustainable living, environmental education, and disaster management related tasks. Only the case study organisations with an environment-focused mandate appeared to use monitoring and citizen science as a mode of youth environmental volunteering. Several non-state actors and volunteers felt that the limited focus of environmental volunteering on softer modes stemmed from the popularised environmental discourse by the state. Mawdsley (2009) argues that notions of desirable or good environmental behaviour can be deeply contested between different actors. There is a need to acknowledge the epistemological and ontological discrepancies in defining individual and collective environmental good for young people across different socio-economic and geographical contexts.

Several non-state actors observed that young volunteers who were engaged in various environmental volunteering programmes and schemes were not passive recipients of environmental learning and were actively using their agency to make sense of environmental concerns and the role different societal groups could play in dealing with these problems. This is in line with Griffiths' (2015) observation that young people have embodied encounters which challenge the existing volunteer-host binaries and neoliberal imaginaries of them as young environmental subjects. They could develop a sense of care and affective relations with the environment (Foster, 2018) and the communities they work in, especially at the local level.

Volunteering practice

While technologies allow us to appreciate the range of tools and methods used by state, non-state actors and young people to practice environmental volunteering, it makes it is difficult to holistically capture the complexity of volunteering as a practice and its interactions in a certain space and time. Through my

research, I attempted to contextualise environmental volunteering practice at the case study organisations in a multiple environmentalities framework.

In the past, some authors have attempted to ‘understand’ volunteering practice through formulation of a typology for volunteering including Smith (2000) who identified mutual aid/ self-help, civic participation, philanthropy, or service to others and, campaigning/ advocacy as the broad categories of volunteering. This framework was based primarily on ‘rewards, free-will, and beneficiaries and commitments’; dominant understanding of volunteering emerging from experiences in the global North only (Burns & Howard, 2015). Millora (2020) attempted to contextualise broader socio-political, economic, and technological landscapes of volunteering in both North and South and expand on the typology by adding another category of volunteering as a ‘leisure’ or ‘serious leisure’ where volunteering is motivated by a personal interest to obtain human, social, and cultural capital. Other authors including Measham, and Barnett (2007) have attempted to build on these broader categories to identify different modes of environmental volunteering (i.e., activism, education, monitoring, restoration, and sustainable living).

Based on these existing typologies and frameworks to understand ‘volunteering practice’, I have developed an environmental volunteering practice wheel (Figure 10) which encapsulates the overlapping, contesting formation of volunteering as an encounter, acknowledging its complex use of different technologies, configurations, and intensities in a multiple environmentalities context.

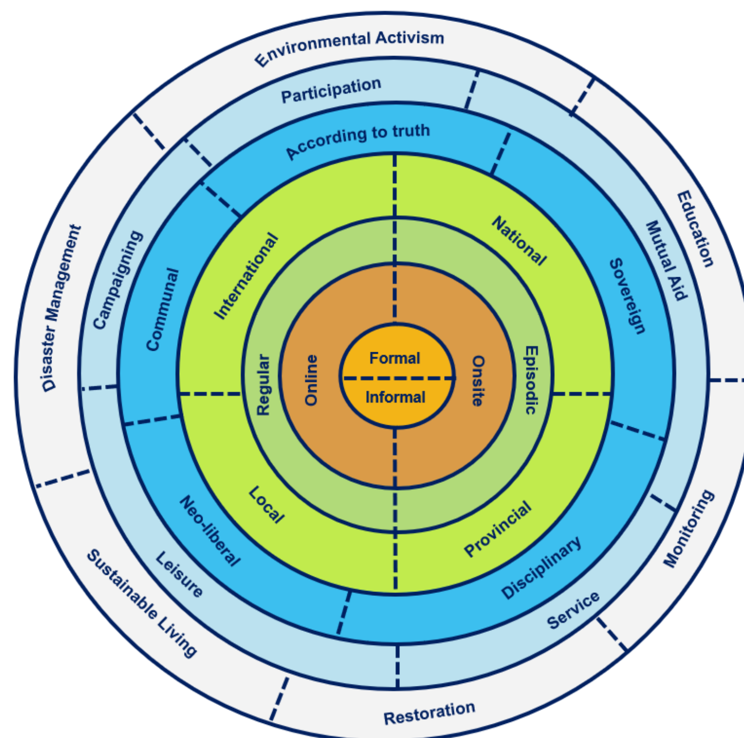

Figure 10 Environmental volunteering practice wheel (Author’s own elaboration based on research findings, and works of Smith (2000), Millora (2020) and Measham & Barnett (2007))

The wheel could broadly be divided into seven rings. It is important to acknowledge that each ring is considered not as binary but as a spectrum, where environmental volunteering practice could occur in several dimensions/ rings in a particular space and time:

The first ring represents the structure of the environmental volunteering activity. While my research focused on formal environmental volunteering structures, it acknowledged that a large share of volunteering was done informally and through everyday activities of young people. The formal volunteering was done through state and non-state organisations, community groups or platforms that allocated support and resources at different geographical levels.

The second ring refers to the site of environmental volunteering activity, it could be online, on-site or a combination of both. My research highlighted that young people were increasingly exploring both online and offline/on-site spaces for undertaking volunteering in their communities, at national or international levels.

The third ring refers to the intensity of volunteer engagement. Social technologies employed through neo-liberal governmentality had popularised episodic or sporadic volunteering amongst young people as opposed to traditional regular and long-term volunteering at certain organisations or with specific groups.

The fourth ring represents the geographical sphere or level in which certain environmental volunteering activity takes place. In case of Pakistan, I was able to identify four key geographical levels of volunteer engagement: local, provincial, national, and international. It is worth noting that these levels were not mutually exclusive, and the engagement lines were blurry and messy for most young volunteers (discussed in Chapter 8.1.1).

The fifth ring identifies the types of environmentality technologies through which these forms and modes of environmental volunteering were negotiated across different geographical levels in Pakistan. These included sovereign, disciplinary, neoliberal, truth and communal technologies.

The sixth ring represents the five categories of volunteering as identified by Smith (2000) and Millora (2020). All five categories of youth volunteering were observed across multiple geographical levels in Pakistan.

The seventh ring identifies the modes of youth environmental volunteering in Pakistan. The five modes identified by Measham and Barnett (2007) were in use by state and non-state actors, including young people themselves, to engage young environmental volunteers. In addition to these, disaster management emerged to be another mode of youth environmental volunteering in Pakistan.

The wheel provides a fine-grained framework for analysing how different dimensions of environmental volunteering interact with one another, articulating or competing within complex socio-political and economic constellations.

7.6 Chapter conclusion

The Chapter discussed the technologies of power, resistance and self-transformation used to form young environmental volunteers as subjects and objects. I highlighted how the interplay of these technologies was complex and unique. I identified the state policy delivery mechanisms, formal organisation and network structures, environmental volunteering avenues and modes for young people through which subject formation of environmental volunteers was done. I also presented a wheel model for volunteering practice to make better sense of the different sites, configuration, levels, and technologies of environmental volunteering. In Chapter 8, I capture the lived experiences of young male and female environmental volunteers of these technologies and activities across all geographical levels. I also highlight the key challenges identified by young volunteers themselves in their current and potential contribution to multi-level environmental governance.

Subject Experiences

CHAPTER 8: SUBJECT EXPERIENCES

In this chapter, I capture the lived experiences of formal environmental volunteers and attempt to identify "what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived" (Lefebvre, 1991, p.38). Fletcher & Cartes-Vazquez (2020, p.293) note a limitation of the environmentalities framework often highlighted in the use of this frame which tends to "neglect the process analysis by which subjection formation is actually achieved (or is not) via the governance techniques intended to effect this". Nenga (2012) argues that there is a lack of understanding about how young people experience volunteering or the meaning of those experiences for young people. With my research approach, I was able to appreciate the complex picture of actions and beliefs maintaining an inextricable recursive relation and evolving together through everyday practices or experiences of young volunteers as governed and self-governing subjects. This goes with critique of works like Agrawal (2005) showing that beliefs and technologies may not follow action by default.

Keeping in view that volunteering is a gendered experience, I attempted to capture male and female experiences of volunteering and critically assesses how they are framed through spaces and processes of environmental governance at multiple geographical levels. I also identified the key perceptions, challenges, and opportunities for young people to engage with environmental governance through volunteering practices at multiple governance levels. It is worth noting that while the chapter provides an account of experiences in relation to the technologies and structures for subject formation, these practices often do not have direct and straightforward relation to the environmentalities producing them. It should be acknowledged that many elements such as interests, affects, past experiences, and complex form of human-environment engagements also mediate these experiences.

8.1 Experiences

I have broken this section into 3 elements of youth environmental volunteering experiences I was able to capture through my study. I begin with analysing how young environmental volunteers navigate multiple geographical levels of doing volunteering, and how this mobility influences their volunteering experiences. Then, I provide accounts of the activities and tasks performed by young environmental volunteer, their interaction with the environment and other actors particularly from the case study organisations. Finally, I tease out the gendered experiences of environmental volunteering and their relationship with the wider gender roles and norms.

8.1.1 Volunteering spaces

Geographical levels of volunteering are interconnected

Young environmental volunteers navigated through multiple geographical levels making complex transitions and blurring the lines between distinct geographical boundaries. Often young volunteers were seen making transition from local to international spaces of volunteering or vice versa as they skipped provincial or national opportunities because of limited interest or access to them:

> In an international conference which was held in Romania, I worked with an NGO called GEAA which worked on green urban development. That experience really helped me understand how global this issue is, but equally so local. Since my return, I joined the Al-Bayrak campaign. (LCS-I: Male environmental volunteer, Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign)

This ‘interconnectedness’ of multiple geographical levels gets further complicated when we factor in the site (online/onsite) and the nature of environmental volunteering (formal/ informal), forming complex volunteer configurations as shown in the Figure 11.

	Geographical Level				Site		Type	
	International	National	Provincial	Local	Online	Onsite	Formal	Informal
Volunteer A								
Volunteer B								
Volunteer C								
Volunteer D								

Figure 11 Volunteer configurations at multiple geographical levels and volunteering sites (author’s own elaboration)

There is limited scholarship which highlights these varied interactions. When assessing the role of ‘young volunteers’ in multi-level environmental governance processes, it is important to acknowledge the simultaneity and complexity of diverse involvements of young environmental volunteers as they form their volunteer identities and experiences of these spaces. Young people appeared to be constantly using their knowledge, power, and agency, implicitly or explicitly, to traverse through both open and closed volunteering spaces:

> I just wanted to make sure that I participate in every opportunity that comes my way. For example, I was an online volunteer for GO UNESCO that is based in India where I cannot go in person because of visa restrictions. Being a university student, I cannot take part in field activities. With remote work I ensure that I make myself engaged in global opportunities other than studies. (NCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 3 , WWF Pakistan)

Volunteering remains urban focused

It was evident that formal volunteering was predominantly urban focused and targeted the urban youth population. This rural-urban divide in volunteerism was quite prominent and there emerged a need to bridge

this gap, especially considering that a higher percentage of population belongs to the rural areas in Pakistan:

> When do we take volunteering to rural areas of Pakistan which form a major chunk of the Pakistani population? (PCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 2, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

A few environmental volunteers who participated in the research were students who belonged to rural communities and were completing their studies in urban universities. This allowed them to gain first-hand experience of environmental volunteering through formal organisations and informal university clubs and groups:

> I recently moved to Lahore from my village near Multan and have been associated with Bargad ever since as I enjoyed working on projects with them the most. (PCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 2, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

One of the volunteers at the local level unpacked the reasons for limited rural environmental volunteering opportunities and identified the lack of organisational focus, limited financial and social capital, and low literacy rates in rural areas. She also noted the complex cultural and social norms that restrict volunteer engagement of young people, particularly young women, in some traditional areas:

> In the rural places, local men aren't comfortable with men dealing with their daughters or sisters even in volunteer work. (FGD: Female non-environmental volunteer 5)

Besides limited formal environmental volunteering, there remains a high probability of rural communities engaging in traditional, informal practices of self-help and mutual aid, fostering community resilience to environmental risks (Lendvay, 2018). One of the volunteers noted:

> I used to help our local schoolteacher in my village to maintain a food bank for those affected by floods near the embankment area. (LCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 1, Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign)

Volunteers draw comparison between spaces

Several volunteers were found making constant comparison between different experiences of volunteering in multiple socio-economic contexts, particularly between global North and South. This was in line with the observation by Smith et al. (2010) that individual and collective experiences of volunteering form practices of placemaking, geographically informed social norms, and expectations and modes of participation in these spaces. One volunteer noted how culture of volunteering in Pakistan was different from that in Canada and he faced constant opposition from his family in Pakistan, showing no appreciation to his willingness to volunteer locally. Another volunteer highlighted how the structure of volunteer programmes was entirely different abroad with set job description or terms of reference for the volunteer work:

> It is like an unpaid work contract. In Canada or other developed countries, they treat it like that. (FGD: Male non-environmental volunteer 2)

Other volunteers further identified ‘enjoyment’, ‘field visits/voluntourism’ and ‘more options’ as additional reasons for them to remain motivated to volunteer abroad and not in Pakistan:

> These volunteer trips people make through AIESEC and all to other countries, we need more such trips internally in Pakistan to enjoy and remain motivated. (LCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 3, Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign)

It is interesting to note that many young volunteers had a collective perception of volunteering at home and abroad: the latter being better. However, several volunteers were quick to rationalise this ‘limitedness’ of volunteering in Pakistan. Some highlighted how voluntourism was not that common in Pakistan because of travel related security concerns and low purchasing power of middle- and low-income youth across the country:

> I cannot afford paying fees to travel to remote village in Northern areas to help the community. Also, my parents will not allow, it is not that safe. (NCS-I: female environmental volunteer 2, WWF Pakistan)

One of the local volunteers further compared income parity and time poverty for many young people in developing and developed countries and how that affected the volunteering experience at all levels:

> The people in the developed countries have a lot of time because they are financially stable, and they know that they are getting the minimum wage by working every day so they can take out a day or two for the volunteer work which is not the case in developing countries like ours. (LCS-I: female volunteer 2, Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign).

8.1.2 Volunteering activities

In this section, I captured the lived experiences of youth volunteers of ‘doing’ environmental volunteering at the case study organisations. Most volunteers provided accounts of the tasks they performed as a volunteer, their interaction with the environment and other people, including peer volunteers and the management staff. Some volunteers shared their enlivened experiences through photographs, which have also been discussed in this section.

‘On ground’ volunteering tasks

Environmental volunteering tasks performed by formal youth volunteers were as diverse as the term ‘environment’. From designing and implementing clean environment campaign to installing mini- water purification plant in the local community, most young volunteers described environmental volunteering tasks

as more ‘on ground’ requiring physical interaction with the environment and people as compared to some other ‘desk-based’ volunteering tasks:

> I think environmental volunteering is different from other types of volunteering because volunteers do very different work, mostly ‘on ground’ work. (LCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 1, Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign)

One volunteer described his environmental volunteering experience as ‘love getting my hands dirty’ and preferring physical tasks which would foster his connection with the environment:

> I love to get my hands dirty. I would always volunteer to plant trees as I love the feeling… it is an amazing feeling. I can feel the connection to the Earth. (LCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 2, Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign)

A young female volunteer at Al-Bayrak Clean Campaign (shown in Figure 12) described her experience as ‘therapeutic’ and how her interaction with damp soil rekindled her connection with the mother Earth:

Figure 12 Young female volunteers participating in tree plantation at Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign (Photo shared by the volunteer)

> You can see I am touching the soil. I took my gloves off. Feeling the damp soil on my hand felt so therapeutic. I also talked to the plant when my friends left. (LCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 1, Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign)

A volunteer manager noted how these first experiences of young volunteers foster environmental concern amongst them and they feel connected to it beyond that task or activity:

> They ask us periodically how is that plant, is it growing, etc. It feels good to know how concerned they are. I think that is a new meaning they have associated with just a 10-minute activity. (LCS-I: Youth Leadership Program Coordinator, Lahore Conservation Society)

Another group of youth volunteers at WWF Pakistan planted around 150 trees around a main highway in their area. They explained how 'tree plantation' was much more than just the physical act of 'planting' the tree in the soil and included multiple technical knowledge and managerial tasks including research about appropriate indigenous tree species that would survive in the natural environment, how to source these saplings, how deep to plant the trees, and put together a plan to monitor their growth. One of the volunteers noted:

> We did some homework and decided to plant guava trees which are native to Islamabad. When they grow, they will give fruit to people alongside shade. (NCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 2, WWF Pakistan)

They shared a photograph describing their experience. Figure 13 shows the youth volunteers posing with the tree they had just planted. They appear to be pleased with their work and some of them were 'smiling' at the camera.

Figure 13 Young male volunteers planting trees as part of Eco-internship Programme at WWF Pakistan (Photo shared by the volunteer)

When asked how this photograph best captured their experience, one of the youth volunteers said:

> It is awesome to see the tree standing and it is almost our height. One day it is going to outgrow us all. I think I will bring my kids here one day. (NCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 2, WWF Pakistan)

Similarly, for young volunteers who participated in the Clean Green Campaign, picking garbage from local heritage site was a physical and emotional encounter with their environment and led them to appreciate/ care for it more beyond the volunteering experience.

Figure 14 Young volunteers picking garbage in a local park as part of Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign (Photo shared by the volunteer)

As shown in Figure 14, volunteers can be seen diligently picking up waste which one of the volunteers described as an eye-opener:

> As we picked litter under the sun, we realised how much waste we all generate. And I was so tempted to go home and tell my family to reduce our waste production. (LCS-I, Female environmental volunteer 2, Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign)

The Assistant Manager at Al-Bayrak Pvt. Ltd. who coordinated this campaign stated:

> It is funny how such common-sense stuff becomes so visible to them, and they want to carry the message forward as ambassadors. (LCS-I: Assistant Manager, Communications, Al Bayrak Pvt. Ltd (Lahore))

It can be seen in Figure 15 that young volunteers, sanitary workers, and managerial staff are posing next to seven large blue bags of 'garbage' they collected from the local heritage garden. The sentimental value of environmental protection is evident in the photograph.

Figure 15 Young volunteers, managerial staff and sanitary workers posing with garbage collected at a local park as part of Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign (Photo shared by the volunteer)

An interesting perspective about this photograph by the volunteer was how it appreciated the work of sanitary workers which is often considered ‘menial’ and only the responsibility of people belonging to a certain class (lower class workers or religious minority Christian workers who are majorly involved in sanitary work across urban centres). Many young volunteers initially resisted litter picking and waste management tasks but through provision of adequate personal protection equipment (PPE) including masks and gloves agreed to do it. She also noted that young people remain relatively easier to convince as compared to upper class elder people who are culturally disgusted by such work and largely remain unaware of their bias:

> It was eye-opening to see how many young volunteers initially resisted litter picking and waste management work. It might be beyond them or considered a menial task. It is sad though. Culturally, these activities have always been done by low castes or poor people. It has taken our campaign time to ask people to do these tasks. But it is relatively easier with young people as they don’t judge as much as their elders do. (LCS-I, Female environmental volunteer 2, Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign)

Another volunteer also noted this collective hesitation and hoped for an ideological shift through encouraging more volunteer tasks around ‘cleaning’ and young people breaking through such pre-existing norms of disgust and classism.

Several volunteers engaged with ‘awareness raising’ related tasks at the national, provincial, and local levels. One volunteer group at WWF Pakistan engaged students at different national universities to devise a plan and then run a campaign to ‘clean up’ a section of one of the largest national parks in Pakistan, Ayubia National Park. They described the experience as it contributed to them gaining transferable skills like team management, time management, project tasking and learn multi-tasking. Another volunteer group which identified itself as ‘Team Green’ at WWF Pakistan also highlighted how the tasks helped them make

new friends. Figure 16 shows a photograph captured by Team Green who conducted an awareness session on safe drinking water and sanitation at a local orphanage:

Figure 16 Young volunteers conducting awareness session at a local orphanage as part of eco-internship programme at WWF Pakistan (Photo shared by the volunteer)

> We came together around a common cause and became friends in the process. It was such a wholesome experience. (NCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 3, WWF Pakistan)

Many young volunteers described 'on ground' awareness and knowledge generation volunteer work as 'challenging' as it required them to develop audience appropriate awareness material, reach out to target population and communicate their message effectively to them. Young volunteers felt it was easy to raise awareness amongst their younger counterparts/ children as compared to older adults, owing to the power and respect dynamics between young and adult, and high likelihood of not being taking seriously by the adults:

> We decided to work with children in the orphanage instead of distributing pamphlets to uncles and aunties on the street, who will most likely not even read them. (NCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 1, WWF Pakistan)

One volunteer recognised that it was difficult to grab attention of public to issues of concern to them and they needed to learn tactics to deal with range of people from different cultures and places when undertaking mass environmental awareness tasks:

> You learn that creating awareness in people is not that easy as when they are in hurry which they usually are, they do not stop to listen to what you must stay. Therefore, gaining their attention is quite difficult. (PCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 1, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

At the international level, as a volunteer at UNESCO in Bangkok, there were few ‘on ground’/ physical activities for me to participate in. While I experienced applying a ‘international/regional’ knowledge into design of strategies and plans for meaningful youth engagement in climate smart agriculture and climate-induced migration, I did not get many opportunities to interact with these environments and most of my experience was secondary, based of facts and figures about deteriorating environmental conditions from the technical reports and work done by the field teams. However, I did get an opportunity to travel to Vietnam, after several security clearances through UNESCO’s bureaucratic processes, and lead youth consultations for the design of country’s first national youth policy. I led consultation with diverse group of young Vietnamese on local environmental solutions. The photograph in Figure 17 best describes my experience as an ‘on ground’ international volunteer.

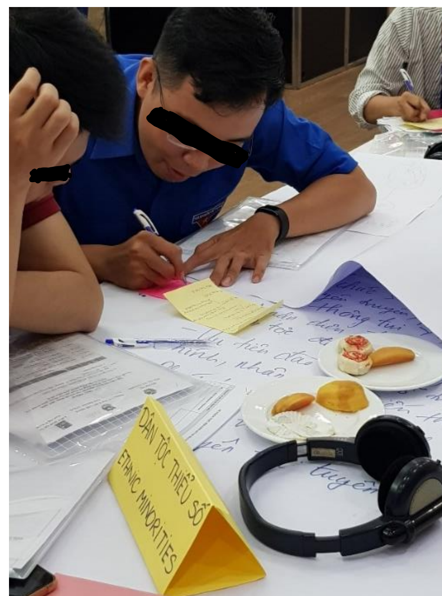

Figure 17 Young representatives of ethnic minorities identifying environmental issues in Vietnam as I moderated the discussion (Photo taken by the author)

In my diary, I pointed out that how that experience shaped my global environmental subject identity. My engagement as an international volunteer requiring continuous translation service, interacting with young representatives of ethnic minorities in Vietnam, discussing possible solutions for local environmental issues faced by them, while eating traditional moon cakes could be best defined as peculiar and enlightening:

> The environmental issues they were discussing were so familiar. With half things lost in translation, I still could help them think differently about approaching environmental action in their communities.

> Since then, I am not just a Pakistani professional moderating the discussion, I am also an active global environmental citizen who has experienced many of these common environmental problems. (Diary Note: UNESCO Online/Onsite Volunteer (May 3, 2018))

'At desk' volunteering tasks

There were few youth volunteers engaged in the desk-based environmental volunteering tasks at the local and national levels. The limited desk work included design of campaign material (e.g., content development, translation/ localisation of awareness content, graphic designing, printing), volunteer coordination (e.g., supporting volunteer induction/ registration and making fundraising calls) and social media management for the organisation/ group or for the volunteer project/ campaign. Some volunteers highlighted the 'additional' nature of desk-based tasks that they were allocated and wanting their abilities to be taken more seriously:

> They think of us as extra resource persons here to run a one-off campaign type thing. We cannot help with the core stuff. (PCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 2, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

It appeared that mostly young people were not considered 'professional' enough or 'not of the age' to undertake 'brain' activities like strategic thinking, and design/ lead implementation of actual programmes and projects for the organisation(s):

> I asked the manager of water stewardship programme if I could help write a critical review on WWF's wetlands programme in southern Punjab, they instead told me to literally make a short presentation on the water cycle. I could have done that at school if I wanted to. (NCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 1, WWF Pakistan)

Only certain youth groups usually belonging to the upper class, English speaking communities end up taking these 'special/ distinguished' volunteer assignments where they get to move beyond traditional expectations of basic writing, printing, organising files, just brainstorming ideas to sophisticated, tailored tasks like advanced research, content writing, programmatic work, strategy design, etc.:

> They only hire international graduates as interns who work on projects, we are just local volunteers helping for the summer. (NCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 2, WWF Pakistan)

I had a different experience to this while volunteering both as an online and onsite international volunteer at UNESCO in Bangkok. Since I was recruited as a volunteer through a competitive process which required the volunteer to have at least 2 years of professional experience in the field of interest, I was automatically claiming a space which was closed to most of the young people owing to their lack of job experience or being still in education/ training. For those still in undergraduate education, there was a separate unpaid

internship scheme. I felt ‘adult enough’ and was ‘celebrated’ as a professional, given the same UN staff badge as a ‘consultant’, as shown in Figure 18.

Figure 18 UN Staff badge I received as volunteer at UNESCO Bangkok (Photo taken by the author)

This experience could be understood through acknowledging my positionality as an international, fluent English-speaking graduate with some experience in the field, and my ability to afford a GBP 1000 living expense per month in Thailand, and my privilege as a young man to travel abroad alone and commute to UNESCO office daily:

> One part was my ability, three parts was my privilege. (Diary Note: UNESCO Online/Onsite Volunteer (April 10, 2018))

The nature and quality of allocated volunteer tasks varied extensively in online and onsite volunteering spaces. While basic tasks remained the same as desk-based literature review, writing, preparing concept notes for possible strategies, projects and programmes, the onsite volunteering also included in-person internal and external meetings, making live presentations to different audiences, attending workshops and conferences, and managing other team members as per the guidance of my supervisor. The interactions with line manager/ supervisor were limited during online volunteer work and minimal feedback or communication was received. At some instances, it felt like a waste of time and energy:

> They never reply. I must constantly follow up with David. It is like I do not matter to them. (Diary Note: UNESCO Online/Onsite Volunteer (March 25, 2018))

But the onsite volunteering experience turned out be more rewarding besides my limited expectations based on the online work. My experience as an international online and onsite volunteer could be best

captured in Figure 19. I was able to fill in the ‘colours’ of knowledge, skills and networks in my understanding of Asia Pacific as a region and shape my identity as a ‘Pakistani young professional’ and a ‘global citizen’ working with diverse stakeholder groups to make the world environment better.

Figure 19 Front cover of UNESCO-branded colouring book with line drawings from across the Asia Pacific region (Photo taken by the author)

Volunteers prefer structured volunteering

Most of the youth volunteers felt the volunteer programmes at the case study organisations were largely unstructured. The only programme that was fully structured was the Youth Internship Programme at WWF Pakistan for which volunteers were charged a registration fee:

> They know we would ask for our money back if they did not engage us enough. (NCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 3, WWF Pakistan)

Another somewhat structured programme was being run at Bargad Youth Foundation where volunteers were recruited against set roles:

> We have a structured program in which everyone has their roles defined. I coordinate the media relations, writing blog posts, taking photos of the event, and sharing on all social media channels of Bargad. I also manage a Facebook group for the volunteer network. (PCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 2, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

For others like the Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign, the volunteer tasks were ad hoc in nature and the intensity of work done depended upon the individual youth volunteers signing up for them. The work gaps

were filled by managerial staff at the organisation. The volunteer manager noted this happened because of simplified volunteer registration process, recruiting general volunteers, and not listing down particular volunteer roles and their descriptions that were required for the campaign:

> We should have done our homework better. Now we have some volunteers whom we do not know what task to allocate. (LCS-I: Assistant Manager, Communications, Al Bayrak Pvt. Ltd (Lahore))

Some volunteers indicated this frustration of not being engaged enough or as per their expectations:

> I have been asking my supervisor what I can do after transcribing these forms. I do not think he has any more work for me today. (PCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 1, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

> I wanted to do nature photography, but they are making us sit through 3 hours of learning sessions about stuff we have studied in our geography class. They lied on the advertisement about nature photography opportunities. (NCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 3, WWF Pakistan).

On expectations, one of the managers at WWF Pakistan blamed generation gap in youth volunteer's inability to understand and appreciate the volunteer programme. She stated:

> It could be generation gap but there is a difference in understanding of the program. We are not teaching students anything. We are just guiding them and then expecting them to take initiatives on their own. However, I guess students expect that it is going to be course where they would have teachers teaching them a module. That is not our job. (NCS-I: Manager Corporate Partnership & Fundraising, WWF Pakistan)

This example clearly highlights the communication gap between volunteers and the managers who designed these programme structures. Youth volunteers wanted structured volunteering programmes designed in consultation with them or based on previous experiences of their peers, and building some freedom/ space for young people to showcase their agency and abilities through these programmes:

> It is a waste of our time if they do not engage us effectively. They should plan before asking for our help or ask us for help in designing this task. (LCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 2, Lahore Conservation Society)

This highlights the contestations/ tensions between the experiences of volunteers and the complex, often unwritten practices and structures of programmes that guide the pace, extent, and nature of volunteering tasks for young people (Smith et al., 2010). One of the volunteers asked for better communication between the volunteers and organisers, and the latter acknowledging the time and effort put up by the volunteers:

> Yes, there is room for improvement; better communication amongst the organisers and the volunteers would be great. Sometimes, the organisers think they know what is best for us (volunteers) and they 'adult' us around. I do not like it. They need to acknowledge we are the one is giving our time and energy to this campaign; they should start trusting us a little bit more. (LCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 1, Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign)

One size fit volunteering doesn't work for all youth groups

Most formal youth volunteering programmes engaged young people between the ages of 15 and 35. The age requirements and aspirations of a 15-year-old differed greatly from a 35-year-old, but volunteer activities broadly remained the same and were only differentiated based on their gender and ability. Many youth volunteers felt they were not fully understood by these formal volunteering organisations, and they were trying to sell them a 'tested formula that doesn't work for everyone':

> Age-appropriate volunteering is almost missing within youth volunteering. You cannot incentivise a university student in the same way as a high school student. I do not care much about making friends at this age. For me, it is about external interactions and networking which is sort of missing here. (PCS-I: Female environmental volunteer, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

Others noted the discrimination of most environmental volunteering programmes against young people living with disabilities, rural youth groups, poor youth with limited affordability, madarassa/ religious education youth and young people in NEET (not in education and training):

> It is only targeting urban, rich young people now who want to look cool or middle-class youth who need this experience to land up at a better university or workplace. (N-FGD: Female non-environmental volunteer 4)

> I am sure this programme was designed focusing only on physically fit young people. They are reluctant to include disabled volunteers. It means more cost and resource requirements. (NCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 3, WWF Pakistan)

Some volunteers who were interested in short-term or micro volunteering as opposed to longer volunteering work, sometimes felt that the way most volunteering programmes were structured, it forced them to continue with volunteer work, costing more effort than might be rational for them, because of the norms and expectations of the peers, community, or the organisation:

> I signed up for 2 weeks only. This is 4th week of helping them with tree plantation now. I am struggling to say no but I have other commitments. (LCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 2, Lahore Conservation Society).

8.1.3 Gendered experience

In this section I describe the gendered experience of youth environmental volunteers in terms of access, task division and their relationship with the wider gender roles and norms. I also critique on to what extent environmental volunteering experience was able to address the gender needs of young women in Pakistan at multiple geographical levels.

Gendered access to environmental volunteering

The research showcased that gaining access to environmental volunteering spaces and activities was a highly gendered experience, often exacerbating existing gender inequalities present at the different geographical levels:

> Naturally, gender does have an impact on one's choices and especially in Pakistan it does have a big impact. (PCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 1, Bargad Youth Foundation)

Mobility and safety were identified as key deterrents to equal access to volunteer opportunities by several female volunteers at all geographical levels. They pointed out how the patriarchal society hindered females from taking up opportunities freely. Their safety remained questionable, therefore their participation in work that involves excessive mobility was low. They observed that parents played a key role in their choice and access to most environmental volunteering spaces and activities:

> I used to feel unnecessary pressure in selecting places to volunteer as my parents always deterred me from going to slum areas as they are not deemed safe for young girls. (PCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 2, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

> I think that parents do not allow their girls to work outside alone and this kind of (field) work has security concerns. (NCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 2, WWF Pakistan)

One of the male volunteers recounted how his sister was only allowed to volunteer at Bargad Youth Foundation if he volunteered alongside her at the same organisation:

> My sister also volunteers with me in Bargad, but she can only go to the events to which I am going. We are concerned about her safety. (PCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 1, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

Some female volunteers who were able to move around with relatively more ease also pointed out that they had to plan their volunteer work/ projects keeping in these cultural expectations in mind:

> I only had to come one day and the volunteering site I selected was an hour away from my place, so it was not a big deal for me. (NCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 2, WWF Pakistan)

Although the organisations did not discourage females from applying, there were instances when they were unable to provide the extra support that could ease the safety concern for female volunteers and their families. This was particularly noted for female volunteers at the local level who usually belonged to conservative, male dominant households who would monitor their mobility and access to such opportunities. One of the volunteer managers at Bargad Youth Foundation noted that this gender imbalance was highly prominent at the sub-district/ tehsil level where in some cases they had to accommodate for guardians/ parents accompanying female volunteers to ensure their participation:

> On one instance we had to call a female volunteer from Banu (remote area in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province), and she said she must be accompanied by her uncle and her mother, both. So, we ended up having to provide accommodation for all three of them (PCS-I, Program Manager, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

Another geographical level where young female volunteer's participation was limited was the international volunteering which involved traveling and short/ long term outstation stay. Several male volunteers admitted their privilege as men and recognised that volunteering spaces were closed for most young women in the country, apart from affordability and skills required for these roles. One of the local volunteers who also completed a volunteer exchange programme in Romania noted that many of his female friends, besides being able to pay for the experience, did not get the necessary permission from their parents to take up this opportunity. Another young female volunteer who had previously volunteered in the UK compared it to her experience in Pakistan and noted:

> In the UK, it was straightforward. Here in Pakistan, people think that with me being a young woman, I am more of a delicate flower that needs protection. (LCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 3, Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign)

However, some relatively older female youth volunteers participating in the research exhibited use of resistance and opened spaces for themselves through self-growth and autonomy sought as they grew older. One of the youth volunteers stated that as she grew up and entered in her professional life, she gained more autonomy over her decisions and the ability to make choices around her civic participation became relatively easier for her. Another volunteer explained that she faced extensive scrutiny in her initial engagements, but she showcased the significance of her work to change the traditional mindset of her parents and others:

> I used to get questioned a lot as to where I was going and why I would also be told not to do it a lot. But all of that changed gradually as I was to convince them with my work (N-FGD: Female non-environmental volunteer 2)

One of the environmental volunteers noted that she was provided a laptop through the provincial government's education for all program and that allowed her to participate in online volunteering opportunities. Other female volunteers felt that the availability of internet was an essential resource for them to explore online volunteering. They noted that with internet availability in place, they could volunteer from the safety of their home or desk.

> It is more feasible for girls especially in Pakistan, given the cultural limitations, to take part in online volunteering projects. (PCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 2, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

However, several volunteers noted limited availability of online environmental volunteering tasks as most of the environmental volunteering activities involved physical presence or interaction with the environment and other people in certain time and space:

> I think WWF is all about working out in the field with communities, so I would prefer field related work with WWF. What could I possibly do just online? (NCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 1, WWF Pakistan)

For those who participated as online volunteers, mostly at the international level, they noted that it was a restricted space available to those who could afford access to high-speed internet, personal computer/ laptop, uninterrupted access to personal and professional social networks (WhatsApp and LinkedIn) and could speak and write in fluent English. One of the female volunteers observed that online volunteering still occurs in the same gender unequal world as does the physical volunteering hence, apart from safety and mobility issues, other experiences remain gendered:

> My elder brother sometimes would check my web search history when I was working for long hours on the online youth organisation mapping project for GO UNESCO just to make sure I was not chatting with boys while pretending to do volunteer task. (NCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 3, WWF Pakistan)

Gendered division of tasks

The research showed that young men and women were performing different tasks during environmental volunteering work and in most contexts, the work undertaken by both genders corresponded to wider attitudes at multiple geographical levels that were deemed appropriate for each. This was reflected in the type of organisations and activities they commit their time to, and the nature of tasks that were assigned by other adults/ organisations.

Most volunteers associated certain tasks with masculinity and rationalised the need for young men to take these up. For example, physical tasks like logging, clearing, plantation, cycling and lifting material which require bodily strength should be performed by men only. While other tasks associated with femininity e.g.,

softer ‘caring’ roles, and tasks requiring less physical strength or mobility like desk-based content design, lecturing, awareness raising in closed/ safe spaces, etc. should mostly be taken up by young women:

> Girls usually take easy tasks like brochure distribution, catering, hand-washing awareness, etc. Boys would pick litter, prepare soil for plantation and even transport bin bags to collection point. (LCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 2, Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign)

Most young males participating in the research endorsed this argument and provided examples from their experiences, for example, a volunteer recalled that his peer female volunteers should have avoided tree plantation work on the roadside where there was a risk of being harassed by men as he had to provide them protection all the time. Another mentioned an instance where girls would pick up litter but not carry the garbage bags to the designated bin because these were too heavy and required men’s physical ability to do so.

Several young female volunteers were able to identify this gendered task division and called out the organisations or their volunteer managers reinforcing these gendered norms besides them showing willingness to take up all sorts of tasks, even those requiring physical strength or mobility to field work:

> We went to a school where we had to sprint and climb walls and we did not mind that. We were 6-7 girls, and we all knew what the role we are volunteering for holds. We all got covered in dirt and all and we were fine with it. Boys do not need to tell us what we can do or not. (LCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 3, Lahore Conservation Society)

Some female volunteers provided accounts of the instances where they felt they were given less opportunities as compared to their male counterparts based solely on their gender. They highlighted how the society ‘stereotyped’ them and worked on an assumption that women particularly young girls cannot do certain tasks and limit their abilities to deliver without giving them access in the first place. One volunteer noted how these limitations shaped her approach to volunteering and her navigating through this reality with her agency and power:

> As women we are aware of the limitations the society imposes on us and we try to work our way around it. (N-FGD: Female non-environmental volunteer 3)

Young female volunteers pointed out that they were attempting to claim these spaces and voicing their concerns to be more involved and consulted on by organisation on what they can or cannot do as environmental volunteers:

> I think it is natural that in our culture we let boys do the physical tasks. I do however want to do those as well. There should be some balance in the quality of these tasks. I am tempted to tell my

> supervisor to let me decide what I want to do or not. (LCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 2, Lahore Conservation Society)

Environmental volunteering addresses some gender needs

Besides young female volunteers facing gender discrimination in the tasks or activities they were assigned to or encouraged to take up, there was a growing appreciation amongst the female research participants that more young women were claiming spaces of environmental action. They were destabilising traditional gender norms through performing volunteering tasks traditionally done by men in addition to taking up their traditional, domestic caring roles:

> It is slow but happening, we can do both- the soft and hard work. (PCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 2, Bargad Youth Foundation)

Several young female volunteers believed that environmental volunteering surfaced as a positive avenue facilitating them in expressing their capacities, develop their skills and increase their chances of social participation. One of the national level volunteers highlighted how the restricted culture for young women often meant they lacked leadership skills or do not have the exposure to take up different types of volunteer tasks. But, through access to environmental volunteering activities, they were able to improve their communication skills, gain confidence and comprehend issues faced by people and come up with their solutions in their communities. She gave an example of her peer volunteer who generated an informal campaign based on her learning exposure to wastewater risks through her internship at WWF Pakistan:

> I have a colleague living in Wah Cantt who has grown particular interest in wastewater remediation and is campaigning about harmful impacts of untreated wastewater on local flora and fauna. (NCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 3, WWF Pakistan)

They also pointed out how their work was bringing environmental problems faced by women in the limelight. One volunteer observed that in the local community where she volunteered, the concept of 'purdah/ veil' pushed her to only interact with women and besides her initial willingness to interact with men as well, it worked out better as she found a new focus on female-focused environmental concerns and action:

> I made a community survey around energy use and conducted door to door surveys. Mostly females answered the door and were comfortable in talking to me. Then, I decided to focus on them only. (NCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 3, WWF Pakistan)

Another female volunteer recalled her participation in a water conservation project in a peri-urban area at the local level. A shown in Figure 20, she can be seen explaining the importance of saving water to the older lady. She recognised how her gender helped her gain access to these women in the community and she was able to engage with them in a safe and open manner.

Figure 20 Young female volunteer showing a video about water conservation to an older lady in her community as part of eco-internship programme at WWF Pakistan (Photo shared by the volunteer)

She also pointed that the experience helped her learn more about how to approach communities and how to communicate effectively with them. This is a good example of environmental volunteering enabling women empowerment and their inclusion in the public sphere of social interactions, besides cultural limitations, and barriers. It has the potential to contribute to greater gender equality, to increase the visibility of young women's potential to protect the environment better, and to reduce gender inequalities in the individual, institutional and policy spaces across different geographical levels.

8.2 Volunteering challenges

In this section, I have discussed the challenges identified by young environmental volunteers through their lived experiences at the case study organisations at multiple geographical levels. I have attempted to tease out individual and collective challenges faced by volunteers throughout their volunteering journey.

Non-inclusion in design of programme structures

Across all geographical levels, several youth volunteers indicated the limited or no inclusion of young people in the design of environmental volunteering programmes at the case study organisations. They felt they were on the 'target/ beneficiary' side only and not seen as an active stakeholder, by adults/ organisations, who can have a voice in the structures and activities being developed for them:

> They (adults) think they know what is best for us. Nobody bothers asking us. (LCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 2, Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign)

Some volunteers noted that all young people were often clubbed as a homogenous group and diverse needs of different youth groups particularly vulnerable and marginalised populations like those from the rural areas, gender minorities, low-income youth or young people with disabilities were either not considered or ignored when designing volunteering programmes. They noted that formal environmental structures were implicitly or explicitly only focusing on the affluent few who could afford to gain these experiences:

> The only people they listen to is the rich young kids as they have the money to get first class experience. (PCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 1, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

One volunteer at the national level shared her experience as an ethnic and religious minority who faced continuous discrimination in gaining these volunteering experiences as the programmes were dominated by popular discourses of the majority population e.g., the main content was in the English language she did not understand fluently, examples of good behaviour always made linkages to positive religious behaviour in context of Islam as opposed to Christianity or any other religion, and the volunteers were always grouped based on the provinces they belonged to. With she belonging to a small ethnic minority group residing in the Northern areas which are federally administered, she felt excluded by default. She noted that besides her continuous feedback to the organisation, it was less likely that these programmes would be made more inclusive and open to different types of youth groups:

> I am in the minority here. It is easy to brush my concerns off. I have been told we can't cater to needs of all young people. They need to work democratically and go with popular choices. (NCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 2, WWF Pakistan)

Furthermore, some volunteers were able to criticise the use of sovereign and disciplinary technologies by the case study organisations for example compulsory attendance of learning sessions, regular assignments and tests, and field projects, which made them feel that the experience was 'forceful' rather than 'liberating'. They highlighted that most case study organisations saw young people lacking the essential skills and knowledge about issues of concern to them and focused on skills building and knowledge transfer as part of the volunteering programmes, often compensating for the lack of field experience they could not provide to a large group of young people because of limited resources and funding:

> They make us sit in this hall for half day listening to presentations. This is not a school. I think they are limited in what they can offer to us. (NCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 2, WWF Pakistan)

At the international level, I observed as a UN volunteer that a bespoke volunteering plan was developed for me in consultation with my supervisor at UNESCO Bangkok. It allowed me to choose areas of interest and projects from a list of possible fields within the Social and Human Sciences Unit. It should be acknowledged here that I was the only youth volunteer working in the Unit at that time which gave the

organisation freedom, time, and resources to tailor the volunteering experience according to my needs. Also, the organisation had standard procedures in place to engage volunteers in this manner. For all other case study organisations at the national and local levels, it was pre-decided how the young volunteers would be engaged by them. These decisions were often made by senior management (chief executive/ board members) and translated into programme design by programme managers/ coordinators who were mostly mid-career managers with some experience of working with youth/ volunteers.

Conventional ways to capture volunteer interest

Another significant challenge identified by the youth volunteers was the limited number of environmental volunteering opportunities and the inability of case study organisations to capture interest of diverse groups of young people towards them:

> Enough opportunities are not available. If there are then they should be properly marketed. (LCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 1, Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign)

Several young volunteers highlighted that case study organisations were using traditional advertisement tools like bulk emails, mass messaging through WhatsApp and site pages on their respective websites. Most volunteers felt the tools and platforms failed to capture the interest of diverse groups of young people towards environmental volunteering. They quoted examples of standard language usage like 'gain experience for CV', 'help the community' and 'save the environment' which were repetitive and less exciting for many volunteers. They also pointed out the straightforward marketing tactics, that could capture interest of adults, have limited utility for young people who are accustomed to quick and innovative marketing in the information age:

> They need to think out of the box and use unconventional methods to make volunteering look more interesting. (PCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 1, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

They also pointed out the lack of youth or organisational networks and volunteering platforms through which environmental volunteering opportunities could be better advertised. Most volunteers cited their peers, school/ university teachers or parents as the main information sources for identifying potential volunteering work at the case study organisations. One of the volunteers suggested to develop a national level platform where organisations could post volunteering opportunities for young people to access easily and apply for.

Many young people were also able to identify neo-liberal technics of strategic marketing and tailored volunteering activities for diverse youth needs particularly for students at the national and local levels, so they feel attracted enough to join out of interest and not coerced into taking up volunteering work:

> There is a need to cater to a wider audience and make these programmes more interesting so that students opt for it by choice rather than compulsion. (NCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 3, WWF Pakistan)

Another volunteer from the Bargad Youth Foundation expressed similar thoughts and put emphasis on the fact that the opportunities needed to be presented in a clear and youth friendly manner:

> These activities can be designed and marketed in a different way where people could see a clear career trajectory that they could achieve while opting for these activities. (PCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 2, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

Limited volunteering incentives

Across all geographical levels, young environmental volunteers observed that limited incentives were available for them to take up or continue with volunteering work at the case study organisations. Common incentives which were provided by almost all case study organisations included a certificate and a letter of recognition/ completion of the volunteer assignment. Some also provided limited field exposure and access to training/ mentoring opportunities in the environment related sectors. However, many young volunteers were highly critical of these incentives and suggested that state and non-state organisations need to develop youth-targeted incentives which would capture the interest of diverse youth groups:

> Plain old certificates are so old fashioned now but they remain the go to 'big incentive'. I would rather think of creative ways to celebrate volunteer work for different young people. (PCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 2, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

For international environmental volunteering opportunities, most volunteers suggested that either program fees be waived off entirely for those young people who could not afford such experiences through their personal funds or sponsorships and travel grants be provided to make the experience as inclusive as possible for all youth groups. They also observed that existing international volunteering programmes were mostly targeting young people from the global North and richer countries, traveling to communities in developing countries like Pakistan for short term exposure to community life and issues faced by local people. For young volunteers from Pakistan, they wanted to explore travel to both, countries with similar socio-economic contexts and to more developed countries. They suggested that such exchange opportunities should be developed. These could be incentivised further by colleges/ universities who could accept exchange experience as credit hours counting towards degree completion:

> International volunteering and exchange opportunities through university would encourage more young people to take this seriously. (LCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 3, Lahore Conservation Society)

At the national and provincial levels, in addition to being recognised through certificates, many young volunteers asked for case study organisations to dedicate budget and resources for celebrating volunteer work through award ceremonies, exhibitions/ symposia for displaying their work or impact, and arrange closing days or exposure trips for their current and past volunteers. Some volunteers also called for organisations making brand deals to provide exclusive discounts to young volunteers. A volunteer from

WWF Pakistan provided an example of participating in a wetlands protection programme which was sponsored by some private companies, and they received discount coupons for food and beverage products at certain retail outlets:

> More and more discounts and vouchers in exchange of volunteer work would push me and my friends to take up more such activities. (LCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 2, WWF Pakistan)

There were a few environmental volunteers who wanted organisations to consider some volunteering leading to direct employment opportunities. This was more common amongst older youth volunteers who were seeking volunteer experiences to gain access to professional network, develop professional skills and add experience to their resumes. One of the volunteers at WWF Pakistan noted that she gave her best performance as a volunteer so the team could see her potential and possibly hire her for similar work. But this was not possible in case of some organisations particularly UNESCO Bangkok which had a non-negotiable clause barring volunteers from taking up any employment at UNESCO for at least 6 months duration. As an international UN volunteer, I found this highly discouraging to consider UNESCO as a workplace for me in the short term:

> When I was in Bangkok, I was exploring the new city and UNESCO's work culture and naturally during my work, there came many relevant consultant opportunities that I could apply to after my volunteering experience was over but being not allowed to apply for 6 months was such a disappointment. (Diary Note: UNESCO Online/Onsite Volunteer (April 21, 2018))

At the local level, rural-urban divide was more visible in young people's expectations of incentives for volunteer work. Most urban young volunteers identified free exposure trips to local communities as a key incentive for them to take up local volunteer opportunities. Many young volunteers belonging to rural backgrounds and currently residing in urban cities for education or work purposes identified travel and daily allowance as the most useful incentive. This would encourage young volunteers belonging to low-medium income groups to take up such volunteer activities who would otherwise be not able to afford the experience because of travel or other logistical costs involved.

Parents discourage volunteering

One of the unique challenges faced by several young volunteers across multiple geographical levels was the discouraging attitude of parents towards volunteering. They pointed out that the culture of volunteering was not common in their families and their parents/ guardians struggled to understand the significance of such an opportunity for their personal and professional growth, particularly in the low- and middle-income families:

> It was more difficult to convince my father to pay 2000 rupees for the internship experience then complete and submit the application form in person at the WWF office. (NCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 2, WWF Pakistan)

This was less common for some volunteers who recalled volunteering with their parents or siblings from early on in their lives. Their families were accustomed to the norms and expectations of using leisure time for volunteer work. Most volunteers believed that their parents' concerns were less to do with the purpose of volunteering but more to do with the system and spaces in which these experiences are undertaken. There was distrust amongst parents about state and non-state organisations which they did not consider safe spaces for young people to experience on their own. One of the female volunteers noted that this distrust was majorly gendered in nature and these places were not considered appropriate for 'young girls and women' as they had safety and mobility concerns:

> Most girls are hitting puberty in their teens and parents naturally have their guard up, so they question everything- where is it happening? how will you commute? will they pay something? This affects our choices of volunteering as well. (PCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 1, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

One of the local volunteers at Lahore Conservation Society appreciated the availability of pick and drop service to all volunteers which let her parents allow her to take up the opportunity in the first place. She pointed out how some incentives had to be gender-specific particularly around access and safety to young women:

> My mother was comfortable when there was female staff available with us volunteers all the time. She was happy that pick and drop service was available. If these were not there, as a single mother, she would not have been able to manage my time schedule for this work. (LCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 2, Lahore Conservation Society)

Other female volunteers noted that most parents were comfortable with them taking up volunteering work through formal channels like the school or university as it helped them trust the host organisation better. This was particularly common for less known environmental organisations like Bargad and Al-Bayrak who had to recruit volunteers through university's placement and social welfare departments.

Volunteers' burn out and retention problem

Another common challenge identified by many young volunteers was the burn out they faced while undertaking environmental volunteering activities. Across all geographical levels, several young volunteers indicated that the intensity of their participation was highly dependent upon their mood and willingness. A national level volunteer at Bargad Youth Foundation observed that young people were more likely to lose interest in a cause/ project as compared to adults as they are in a transitionary/ exploring phase of their lives and navigating their interests accordingly:

> For me, it was like hit and trial. I stuck to environmental volunteering as it spoke to my passion. Frankly, I have run away from previous volunteer work at some boring places. (PCS-I: Female environmental volunteer, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

An international volunteer as AIESEC noted that many of his peers who volunteered with him quickly lost interest in the programme activities. They were quick to join but then struggled to remain committed. He attempted to justify this quick depreciation of interest amongst young volunteers and pointed out that the programme did less to keep young people engaged or entertained enough to maintain their interest. Similarly, a volunteer at the national level noted that:

> If volunteer efforts are not balanced in their day-to-day routine, it often leads to volunteer burnout. (NCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 1, WWF Pakistan)

Some volunteers also pointed out being over worked or continuous expectations of being available for volunteer tasks beyond the original time commitment could lead to burnout especially amongst university students or young professionals who often face time constraints because of their routines. If they were unable to live upto the organisation's expectations, they were considered unprofessional, less driven, and poor time managers. Many volunteers indicated they felt pressured to act professional during their volunteer assignments otherwise organisations make them feel 'ungrateful' and as 'bad' examples of young citizens who could do much more for the society, country, or themselves:

> I was late once, and the supervisor made me feel so bad about it. As if, they were doing us young people a favour by providing this opportunity. (LCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 2, Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign)

One volunteer at the local level observed that most burn out could be attributed to poor communication and expectations management between the volunteer and the volunteer manager/ organisation. She noted:

> Sometimes, the organisers think they know what is best for us (volunteers) and they 'adult' us around. I do not like it. They need to acknowledge we are the one who are giving our time and energy to this campaign; they should start trusting us a little bit more. (LCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 3, Lahore Conservation Society)

Retention or re-engagement of young volunteers beyond initial participation was another challenge self-identified by the young people. There were a few volunteers who showed their willingness to re-join the volunteering programmes because of the pleasant exposure or overall experience they have had so far. One of the volunteers at Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign quoted Islamic references to justify the need to continue volunteering for certain causes:

> Somebody asked the Prophet what is the best thing you can do? The Prophet replied that something that you can do repeatedly. And I agree with this instead of doing something once a year and you feel very happy about it is doing maybe you should do things that you do repeatedly that make you feel better more often. (LCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 2, Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign)

However, most volunteers participating in the research seemed less willing to re-engage with the same organisations/ programmes. This was common across all geographical levels. This was in line with the challenges identified by several non-state actors who pointed out that they struggled to find and sustain active volunteers and often had to rely on personal networks to maintain the volunteer frequency. At the international level, the Program Coordinator at Restless Development noted re-engaging volunteers was a main challenge. She identified multiple reasons for this emerging as a challenge including internal organisational limitations to keep volunteers engaged and young people's own graduation from transitionary phase into adulthood:

> If we conduct any training for young volunteers, we were not able to mentor them in their post activities due to the limited budget. Second, it was difficult to reconnect with them as they migrated for further study and job. Retention of trained and empowered young people is another challenge since by nature young people is very dynamic and moveable. (IP-I: Programme Coordinator, Restless Development, Nepal)

Some volunteers pointed out that besides interest in re-engaging or remaining in touch with the volunteering programme team or the organisation, often the organisations were not able to maintain contact with most of the volunteers:

> After my previous internship at WWF, even though I asked them to let me know of any opportunities if they need me. They did not stay in touch and only emailed one of the guys from our group and we got to know through him about another program that required volunteers. (NCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 2, WWF Pakistan)

A few volunteers accepted that most organisations did not have their updated contact information and struggled to reach out to them. They observed that they were more likely to change their email ID to a professional one or use a different contact number as they grow up and not remember sharing these with organisations or teams they interacted with when they were younger:

> I changed my number last year and were not on the WhatsApp group where organisations share such opportunities. I have now updated my number in all such groups. (PCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 1, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

Financial constraints

One of the key deterrents identified by young volunteers was the financial constraints they faced in taking up environmental volunteering work. They observed that volunteering was not simply affordable for many of their peers at all geographical levels. Throughout different chapters, these youth groups with affordability issues have been identified particularly those belonging to low- and middle-income populations. One of the volunteers at Bargad Youth Foundation observed that many young people around him were not willing to work for free:

> I can afford it, but I know so many people around me who cannot give their time for free like this. We really need to think around this issue. (LCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 2, Bargad Youth Foundation)

Some older youth participating in the research considered volunteering and paid employment as two competing sources of professional development. They preferred paid work over volunteering or in case they had to volunteer, be paid some allowance or stipend to cover their basic expenses. One of the local volunteers noted that as a university student he struggled to meet daily expenses of his student life so incurring further expense for travel to/from volunteering site was not a suitable option for him:

> I am a working student, so my time and finances are challenged but I want to offer my skills. Something like very basic travel allowance could help a lot too. (LCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 3, Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign)

Another volunteer observed that young people unlike adults were not independent decision makers, and their finances were mostly controlled by their parents. With high inflation and poor economic growth conditions across the country, they noted that many families with average 4 and more children struggled to financially sponsor or compensate for volunteering experience of an individual person. This was particularly highlighted for low-income rural youth who could not participate in volunteering activities without financial support. A volunteer at Bargad Youth Foundation recalled a national conference which they arranged and invited volunteers from across the country to support it. However, many volunteers who applied from far flung, smaller cities and rural areas requested travel and lodging allowance to cover their expenses:

> It's hard for people to work for free hence Bargad should have a few initiatives where they cover the basic expenses of the volunteers to reach and operate at the volunteering site. (PCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 3, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

Unfortunately, the organisation did not have enough funds to sponsor these volunteers and the conference was ultimately arranged mostly by young volunteers from urban universities based in the capital city of Islamabad. This concern was in line with that raised by several non-state actors participating in the research. The Program Manager at Bargad noted:

> Budgetary concerns are also a major concern as our budget usually does not allow for us to fly all our volunteers in for a major engagement event, likewise the volunteers as students cannot afford to fly in for all our functions. (PCS-I: Program Manager, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

Underutilised youth talent

Another key challenge young volunteers identified was the limited utility of their talent and abilities in an individual and collective manner. Several volunteers indicated their frustration in them being considered less serious or less worthy of proper capacity building/ investment. One volunteer at Bargad Youth Foundation observed that her only task as a volunteer was fund collection for the organisation's youth programming and besides her willingness to do more, she felt the adult managers/ team members did not consider her responsible or serious enough to do other tasks:

> My first task was of fund collection and sometimes I would tell them I could do much more. I feel that they don't give us much responsibility because its volunteer work and they think we might not take it seriously enough. (PCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 2, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

Another volunteer at the local level described that when he was beginning to gain volunteer experience, he was fine with basic tasks if they were adding to his personal and professional skills portfolio. But as he continued to grow as a young person, he felt he could undertake advanced tasks and would not find that 'trust' as if he were either still too young or inexperienced:

> I am 20. They still put me with 17 and 18 years old who are gaining basic experience. I would rather work with older young people with whom I can do a bit more technical tasks like work on specific technical projects and design stuff. I need to prove to them I am old enough. (LCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 3, Lahore Conservation Society)

At the international level, as UN volunteer, I sensed similar frustration when I was asked to review idea submissions by young people for development of the national environment policy for Lao PDR. These strategy documents had some useful, youth-led ideas which were just skimmed through. The team at UNESCO did not have enough time or resources to go through these in detail or provide feedback to the young volunteers. I captured this in my diary:

> I feel frustrated to see how lack of human resource and time is always enough to close a youth project and move on. I told my colleague today that I expected IGOs like UNESCO to really think through projects well and see how the impact could be maximised. He told me that he felt the same frustration around youth programming in the region and sometimes want to not engage young people and give them false hope that their voice is being heard and actions will be taken accordingly. (Diary Note: UNESCO Online Volunteer (February 22, 2018))

Some young volunteers pointed out that besides being mostly underappreciated, they managed to make their volunteering experiences meaningful and enjoyable. They noted that none of the volunteer programmes at the case study organisations were well designed to capture range of interests and motivations of young people. But, through volunteering, they got an opportunity to make new friends, gain new memories and do good work for people around them. A local level volunteer at Lahore Conservation Society indicated that he remained positive and hopeful in his own ability to bring about positive change:

> I do not believe in cynicism. You can take the orange tramline demonstration as an example. I got engaged purely on my instinct to protect the city's heritage and urban landscape and was ready for any repercussions. The organisation helped to a certain point, but I was driven to take this problem to the court. (LCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 2, Lahore Conservation Society)

8.3 Governance challenges

In this section, I discuss some of the challenges identified by young people themselves about the role of multiple state and non-state actors in engaging young volunteers in environmental governance processes across multiple geographic levels. The young volunteers who participated in this research were self-aware of different attitudes of governments, civil society, and private organisations towards engaging young people, and the range of obstacles faced by them in using volunteering as a mode of governing the environment.

Lack of concrete government initiatives

Across all geographical levels, several young volunteers voiced their concern about the limited interest of governments (national and provincial) in appreciating environmental volunteering or developing initiatives/ structures to effectively engage young people for this. A female volunteer at Bargad Youth Foundation pointed out the need for the federal and provincial governments to first acknowledge volunteering as a formal channel of bringing social and environmental change in the country and then put together right structures in place to grow this channel. Others also noted that volunteering and environment related sectors particularly at the local level required immediate attention and a need for government-led volunteering schemes was highlighted:

> I think the culture of volunteering requires government's attention. The city's government must take a more active role and support campaigns like this Clean Green campaign. I am sure more volunteers would be willing to help. (LCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 3, Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign)

Another local level volunteer observed that the government, amongst all other stakeholders, had the right size and influence it could apply on developing environmental volunteering activities for young people. She

noted that the government could provide incentives to non-state organisations like tax deductions/ waive off, carbon offsetting, and ranking on a potential sustainability index:

> Because of its size and influence, anything the government pushes is taken seriously by others. So, the government should push this and give incentives to organisations for introducing environmental volunteering programmes. (LCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 3, Lahore Conservation Society)

At the international level, one of volunteers I interviewed observed that governments were still going through a learning process on how best to utilise youth talent for improving the environment. She called for governments to seek internal capacity building to be better able to involve young people in state affairs:

> They (governments) still need to learn a lot. They do not trust youth. I do not think this is because of my gender because usually government staff is female. More often, I understand that the government knows that millennials need to be included but do not know how to really do that. We need to train them on how best to approach and work with youth. (IP-I: Member, UNESCO Youth Advisory Group Asia Pacific)

Some volunteers, particularly at the provincial and local levels, also observed a general lack of trust and confidence in the government's ability to improve the environment and engage stakeholders like young people. One of the volunteers at Bargad Youth Foundation called for other actors like private sector organisations to fill this intergenerational trust deficit left by the government in engaging young volunteers for environmental action:

> I do not have faith in government. It is the private sector and other key stakeholders who need to play a better role to support volunteering activities in Pakistan. It might sound wrong but incentivising the volunteers/ young people to attract in these programs can be considered. (PCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 1, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

Limited access to the private sector

As indicated in the previous section, several young volunteers recognised the potential role of private sector in fostering a culture of youth environmental volunteerism across all geographical levels. This was observed mostly by volunteers who participated in Al-Bayrak Pvt. Ltd.'s Clean Green Campaign. As a private organisation with focus on urban solid waste management, many young people felt it was an appropriate channel for involving young people particularly at the local urban level to help reduce pollution through awareness and individual actions:

> I am glad a private company like Al Bayrak has taken such an initiative and given a platform to young people like us. (LCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 3, Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign)

Some volunteers highlighted the ability of large private companies to form environmental pressure groups with members from different sectors to advocate for environmental action through stakeholder groups like young people:

> We need to create pressure groups with help of private companies. They have the resources and money to sustain such activities. (LCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 2, Lahore Conservation Society)

However, few volunteers called out many private companies for ‘greenwashing’ youth engagement and considered them part of the problem than the solution. They indicated that some private companies who had previously come under scrutiny for their negative contributions to the environment were trying to engage young people through their community and corporate social responsibility initiatives. A national volunteer at WWF Pakistan gave example of a multinational firm which produced tonnes of plastic waste on daily basis but were showing their commitment by sponsoring the internship program she was participating in. She indicated that young people were not just a stakeholder group readily available to be engaged, they were consumers of services and products too, and as their own understanding of environmental issues increase, they might be less tempted to consider private sector firms as solution providers as compared to the government or other civil society organisations.

There were some volunteers who shared their experiences in which they felt private sector remained closed or not open enough to embrace young volunteers fully. One of the volunteers criticised private firms for offering unpaid internships which could pass for as volunteering experience but remained exploitative of the high unemployed youth population in the country:

> Unpaid internships are all they offer. That too is volunteering or not is questionable? Maybe they just exploit cheap young labour desperately looking for jobs or entry points. (PCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 2, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

A local volunteer who was starting her professional career feared that there were limited internal volunteering opportunities at the private firms for young employees. She gave an example of time banking and exemplified her willingness to volunteer for the company in exchange for some additional benefits.

Limited opportunities through civil society organisations

Throughout my research, several young volunteers pointed out the role of non-state actors particularly civil society organisations which remained the ‘go to place’ for formal environmental volunteering across all geographical levels. However, many volunteers pointed out the lack of environment and/or youth-focused organisations at the national and local levels in Pakistan. They observed that this dearth of formal channels often translated into limited opportunities with specific organisations. One of the national volunteers at WWF Pakistan noted that WWF was one of the first organisations to develop a chapter in Pakistan and since then has dominated the market for community mobilisation for environmental action. She stressed upon the

market privilege the organisation enjoys which translates into mediocre youth engagement due to limited competition:

> As an international organisation, it attracts a lot of young volunteers each year. I know the internship is just okay but what other option I must apply to for a certificate from a reputed organisation as I want to apply for master's next year. At least, WWF is known abroad. (NCS-I: Male environmental volunteer 2, WWF Pakistan)

At the local level, the volunteers noted that several small organisations and networks were active, but these efforts were mostly disjointed. They reported missing out on most of such local environmental volunteering opportunities because they were either not aware of their organisations or the opportunities they were offering. One of the local volunteers at Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign observed that he was only able to participate in the campaign because his university teacher was aware of this opportunity and pushed the whole class to volunteer as part of their class assignment.

Several volunteers pointed out the limited focus on civil society organisations on some specific environmental issues which may be popularised by the state, funding/ donor agencies and other key organisations in the sector. For instance, a volunteer at Bargad Youth Foundation noted that the organisation was attempting to consider climate change as a new focus area but was struggling to find its niche. This could potentially be attributed to the dearth of research and evidence available for environmental problems in specific contexts, e.g., for rural, adolescent girls, people living with disabilities, etc. One of the national volunteers at WWF Pakistan criticised civil society organisations for the limited role they had played in improving the policy context around environmental management:

> Environmental organisations must sensitise policymakers on right actions for the environment. But they themselves do not know what policies they want to see developed or implemented. (NCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 3, WWF Pakistan)

She suggested that civil society organisations were ideally positioned to interact with people at the grassroots level, including young people, who could help identify the research and action gaps around environmental issues.

The missing role of media

Many young volunteers emphasised upon the missing role of media (both traditional and social) in promoting environmental action and youth volunteering. They noted that state and non-state actors should use media to educate the masses, including young people, on environmental issues and individual and collective actions they can undertake to protect the environment. Some of the volunteers provided examples of youth-targeted public service messages, short videos and infotainment campaigns that could be incorporated in daily TV programming or through YouTube and other social media channels. Others noted the use of radio for far flung/ rural areas with limited electricity and internet access. A national level volunteer

noted that such messaging could also influence parents of many young people who will then be inspired to let their children volunteer more:

> Public service messages can easily serve the purpose and make use of daily programming to reach out parents and sensitise them as well alongside young people. (NCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 2, WWF Pakistan)

They particularly highlighted the role of celebrities and social media influencers who could influence their young followers and encourage them to take up volunteering for the environment. In addition to celebrities, one of the local level volunteers also suggested identifying young community leaders or ambassadors who could foster a culture of youth volunteering:

> We need to pick a few influential young people in our communities who can be leaders or ambassadors and influence others to take up volunteering. (LCS-I: Female environmental volunteer 3, Lahore Conservation Society)

A few volunteers provided accounts of instances where they used social media platforms themselves to encourage their peers and families to change their attitudes towards the environment or participate in a cause/ campaign. One of the local level volunteers at Al-Bayrak Clean Green Campaign indicated that young people had the creative freedom on social media to showcase their own interest and help build other's interest in environmental action too. He explained that as an amateur natural photographer, he was struggling to launch his work on the mainstream media but through Facebook and Instagram pages he was able to build interest in his work and awareness around biodiversity loss.

Need for systemwide capacity building

One of the key challenges identified by several young volunteers, across all geographical levels, was the limited capacity of young people themselves and the state and non-state organisations engaging them. They called out for young people being made more aware of their rights and responsibilities as national citizens. Many female young volunteers, at the national level, reported being not aware of the legal rules around their safety, harassment and wellbeing which made them susceptible to potential abuse. They suggested that safeguarding and wellbeing requirements of diverse youth groups, particularly for those facing high risk, should be identified and young people should be trained on these.

At the international level, young volunteers wanted capacity building opportunities around the emerging globalisation trends, technologies, and creative methods through which they could engage their peers, families, and policymakers in helping the environment. An international volunteer at UNESCO suggested roll out of a voluntary exposure programme which would help young people widen their understanding of environmental issues at the global level and contextualise this in national and local context:

> They need to be exposed to different countries to form their opinion regarding youth environmental action in Vietnam. For example, sending students to work in voluntary projects in Malaysia (host

> by Teach for Malaysia and AIESEC in Vietnam and AIESEC in Malaysia) with 10 different interns around the world for the spirit of 6 week to foster cultural dialogue. ((IP-I: Member, UNESCO Youth Advisory Group Asia Pacific)

Several volunteers, across all levels, pointed out the need to do capacity building of state and non-state actors particularly volunteer managers who work with young people. They noticed most of them were not aware of the unique challenges faced by young people and tried to 'adult' them around. One of the national level volunteers suggested development of a youth practitioners' development scheme through which organisations could train their staff on how to best work with young people. Another volunteer emphasised on developing youth leadership programmes to teach them required leadership and management skills so they can be made part of decision-making structures particularly at the national and local levels:

> Government can launch a leadership programme for us (young people) and train us on policy writing and project management. That will help us manage volunteer activities. (PCS-I: Male environmental volunteer, Bargad Youth Foundation (Punjab))

A few other volunteers also indicated their interest in working as partners with the government and other non-state stakeholders as opposed to target beneficiaries. One of the local level volunteers at Lahore Conservation Society recommended establishment of youth networks at the district level. This could help activate and strengthen district youth information centers at local level and help organise National Youth Assembly where young people can share and learn from each other's experiences. CSOs and private firms could then partner with these youth networks.

8.4 Discussion

Environmental volunteering experiences

My research shows that young environmental volunteers navigated through multiple geographical levels making complex transitions and blurring the lines between distinct geographical boundaries. They consistently made sense of spatial experiences and formed expectations and opinions about participation in these spaces (Smith et al., 2010). Through capturing these experiences, I have understood how individual and collective environmental identities were formed for urban male and female young volunteers participating through formal volunteering channels across multiple geographical levels. The volunteers observed a stark difference in the environmental tasks allocated to them based on their age, education level, language proficiency, income level and gender. In the absence of age-appropriate volunteering, many volunteers noted that most desk-based environmental volunteering opportunities were targeting older youth. Most young people were not considered 'professional' enough or 'not of the age' to undertake 'brain' activities like strategic thinking or design/ lead implementation of existing programmes and projects for the organisation(s) (Rochester et al., 2010). Others noted the discrimination of most environmental volunteering programmes against young people living with disabilities, rural youth groups, poor youth with limited affordability, madarassa/ religious education youth and young people NEET (not in education and training).

Some volunteers who were interested in short-term or micro volunteering as opposed to longer volunteering work, sometimes felt that the way most volunteering programmes were structured, forced them to continue with volunteer work, costing more effort than might be rational for them, because of the norms and expectations of the peers, community, or the organisation (Smith et al., 2010).

The nature and quality of allocated volunteer tasks also varied extensively in online and onsite volunteering spaces. Most young volunteers described environmental volunteering tasks as more 'on the ground' requiring physical interaction with the environment and people as compared to some other 'desk-based' volunteering tasks. Online volunteering spaces remained largely open for urban youth with unlimited access to high-speed internet, which many volunteers saw as discriminatory to rural and offline youth groups (Thompson & Atkins, 2010).

Gaining access to environmental volunteering spaces and activities was a highly gendered experience, often exacerbating existing gender inequalities at different geographical levels as also found by Cadesky et al. (2019). Mobility and safety were identified as key deterrents to equal access to volunteer opportunities by several female volunteers at all geographical levels. They pointed out how the patriarchal society hindered females from taking up opportunities freely (Einolf, 2011). Another geographical level where young female volunteers' participation was limited was international volunteering which involved traveling and short/ long term outstation stays. For those who participated as online volunteers, mostly at the international level, they noted that it was a restricted space available to those who could afford access to high-speed internet, personal computer/ laptop, uninterrupted access to personal and professional social networks (WhatsApp and LinkedIn) and could speak and write in fluent English. It was also observed that online volunteering still occurs in the same gender unequal world as does physical volunteering; hence, apart from safety and mobility issues, other experiences remain gendered.

Young men and women were also found to perform different tasks during environmental volunteering work. In most contexts, the work undertaken by both genders corresponded to broader attitudes towards gender roles at different geographical levels (Cadesky et al., 2019). This was reflected in the type of organisations and activities young people commit their time to, and the nature of tasks that were assigned by other adults/ organisations.

Most volunteers associated specific tasks with masculinity and rationalised the need for young men to take these up (Soderhielm, 2014). For example, physical tasks like logging, clearing, plantation, cycling and lifting material which require bodily strength should be performed by men only. While other tasks associated with femininity e.g., softer 'caring' roles, and tasks requiring less physical strength or mobility like desk-based content design, lecturing, awareness raising in closed/ safe spaces, etc. should mostly be taken up by young women. Young female volunteers pointed out that they were attempting to reclaim these spaces

and voicing their concerns to be more involved and consulted by the organisation on what they can or cannot do as environmental volunteers.

Besides young female volunteers facing gender discrimination in the tasks or activities they were assigned to or encouraged to take up, there was a growing appreciation amongst the female research participants that more young women were claiming spaces of environmental action. They were destabilising traditional gender norms through performing volunteering tasks traditionally done by men in addition to taking up their traditional, domestic caring roles. The research showed that environmental volunteering can be a positive avenue facilitating young female volunteers in expressing their capacities, developing their skills, and increasing their chances of social participation.

Mainstreaming youth volunteers in multi-level environmental governance

All actors, including young people, identified challenges and opportunities to use youth volunteering as a mode of environmental governance at multiple geographical levels. Young people were aware of their potential role and indicated their non-inclusion in the design of policy instruments, structures, and environmental volunteering programmes. They felt they were on the 'target/ beneficiary' side only and not seen as an active stakeholder, by adults/ organisations, who can voice their concerns about the structures and activities being developed for them. This was also expressed by Holdsworth (2010, p.7) who noted that "when we talk about volunteering, we strangely omit consideration of the voices of young people or their roles as active participants in decision-making about that service."

Several young volunteers and volunteer managers at non-state organisations felt that volunteering as an area was conventional or boring and poorly organised (Geale et al., 2010). Several state and non-state actors acknowledged that it was difficult for them to maintain the interest levels of young people as compared to other volunteer groups (Hankinson & Rochester, 2005). Many young people suggested neo-liberal technics of strategic marketing. They felt that organisations could tailor volunteering activities for diverse youth needs, particularly for students at the national and local levels. Hence, volunteers could feel attracted enough to join out of interest and not feel coerced into taking up volunteering work. However, the research showed that most new forms of youth volunteering, such as episodic, micro-, and online remained largely invisible and were not mapped or measured by the state or non-state actors (Walsh & Black, 2015). This suggests there is need for an 'image makeover' of environmental volunteering to increase the appeal for diverse youth groups (Adams, 2009).

Young volunteers were also critical of the limited incentives that were available through state and non-state organisations. They felt that youth-targeted incentives and programme structures should be developed to cater to the needs of multiple youth groups. Social class divisions and the increasingly pressurised lives of young people alongside evolving reasons, and challenges for youth as they grow out of the transitionary life phase into adulthood were identified by several research participants, who called for tailored, youth-

friendly volunteering opportunities. This bespoke tailoring has been recognised by Hustinx (2010) as ‘institutionally individualised volunteering’, re-structuring existing programmes and schemes to attract and provide flexible volunteering menus to potential volunteers.

Many young people self-identified the problems of burnout and retention. Some volunteers also pointed out being overworked or continuous expectations of being available for volunteer tasks beyond the original time commitment which could lead to burnout, especially amongst university students or young professionals who often face time constraints because of their routines. Ageism, discrimination, and disrespect were some of the reasons young volunteers identified for facing burn out or not being willing to continue volunteering at a certain organisation or with a group of volunteers/ staff members. The continuous feeling to prove their worth as serious volunteers was identified by several as a key challenge. This observation was also made by Harris (2013) who argued that a unique challenge for young people attempting to do things traditionally undertaken by adults was the fear expressed by most organisations that young people were unreliable volunteers who could not commit to regular volunteering.

Many young volunteers observed that volunteering was not an affordable experience for them at all geographical levels and pointed out how often they participated in such activities in the face of conflicting parental or social expectations, resource limitations, and personal and professional development. However, most volunteers felt frustrated in the experiences of environmental volunteering they had gained. They felt insufficiently utilised and underappreciated for the skills, creativity, and agency they could offer to most state and non-state organisations. Snyder & Omoto (2008) recognised this challenge and stressed creating meaningful and more positive volunteering experiences for young people. This has ripple impacts on their social participation as young people and then as adults.

Some volunteers, particularly at the provincial and local levels, also observed a general lack of trust and confidence in the government’s ability to improve the environment and engage stakeholders such as young people. They called for other actors including private sector organisations to fill this intergenerational trust deficit left by the government in engaging young volunteers for environmental action. However, private sector firms' engagement and interest levels in engaging young environmental volunteers were highly limited.

Several young volunteers called the engagement by some large firms under their corporate social responsibility initiatives tokenistic and an example of greenwashing. Many volunteers also pointed out the lack of environment and/or youth-focused organisations at the national and local levels in Pakistan. They observed that this absence of formal channels often translated into limited opportunities with specific organisations. This limited focus of these state and non-state organisations was considered by Adam (2009, p.2) as having the ability to “make or break the success of young volunteer involvement”. Young people appeared to be ready to undergo capacity building to understand their rights, roles, and responsibilities as national and global citizens, if their voice was respected and considered in the design of programmes and

opportunities for them. Fletcher (2012) pointed out how state and non-state actors focus on ‘convenient’ youth voices and ignore the inconvenient ones, but for meaningful youth engagement, it was critical to consider all their voices. This bias or prejudice has been recognised by Bessant (2003), who argued that many state and non-state actors continued to regard young people as primitive or lower forms of being, which had a conjoint effect on how these actors engage with the young people.

I have developed a framework model, shown in Figure 21, which can help contextualise the volunteering and governance related barriers identified by the young volunteers, and assess how these could be removed through the different facilitators, and state/ non-state actors across all geographical levels. The model outlines the facilitators identified by young research participants themselves, ranging from increased access to material resources and technologies, to developing a culture of creative freedom and leadership for young volunteers to lead their contribution in multi-level environmental governance processes across all geographical levels. The framework can be utilised by state and non-state actors to identify barriers for governance stakeholders and youth volunteers, and how these could be removed to seek benefits to the community and young people. These benefits include meaningful youth engagement for environmental action and decision-making through effective inclusion in governance processes.

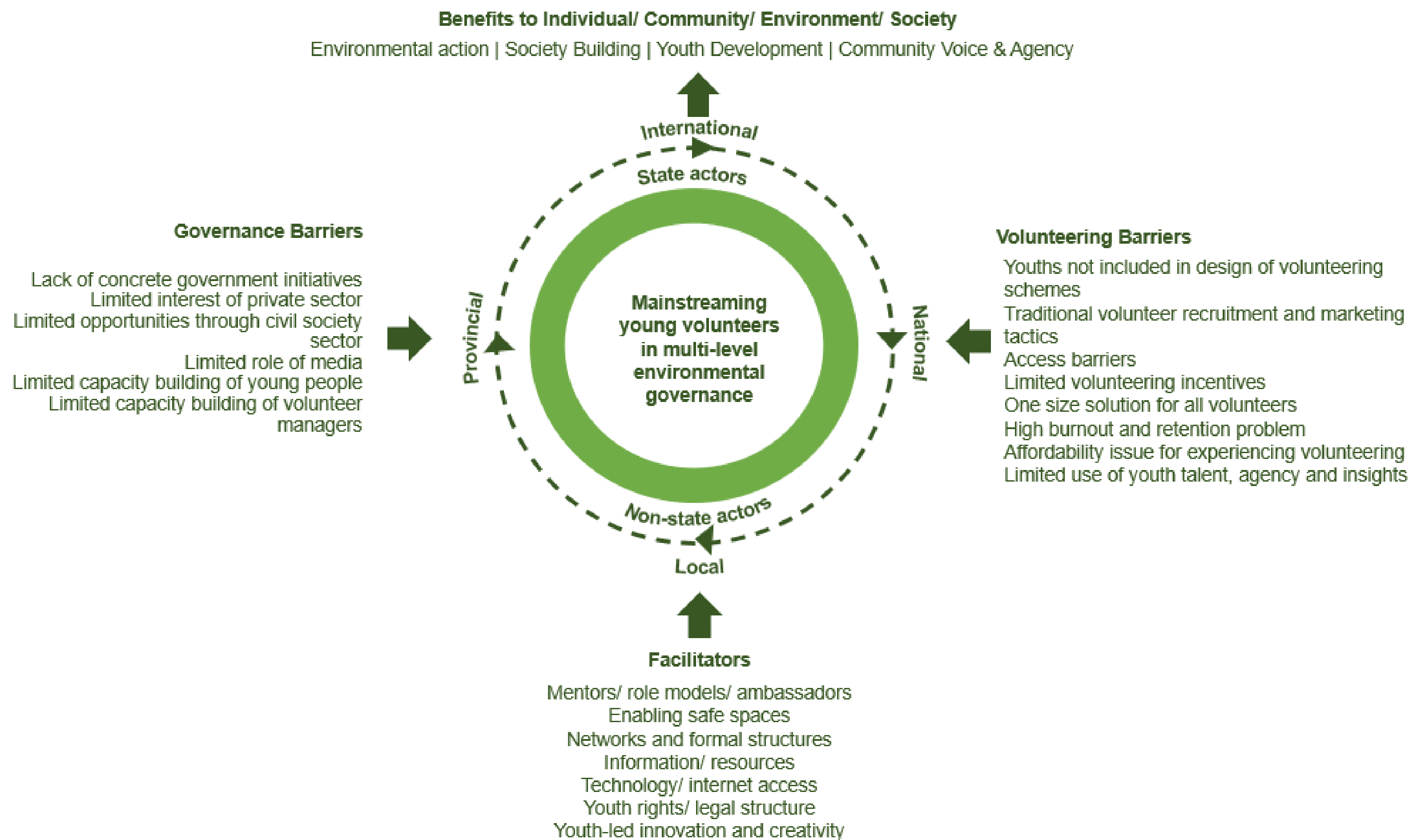

Figure 21 Framework model for understanding challenges/barriers and facilitators for mainstreaming youth volunteering in multi-level environmental governance (Author's own elaboration)

8.5 Chapter conclusion

The Chapter captured how the male and female experiences of formal environmental volunteering were framed through spaces and processes of environmental governance. I then showed how these formal environmental volunteering spaces were gendered in terms of scope and the activities. And I identified several challenges identified by young volunteers themselves as governed and governing subjects on their role in multi-level environmental governance in Pakistan. In Chapter 9, I present overall conclusions emerging from my research and the wider implications of this thesis on research and policy arenas of youth, volunteering, and environmental action.

Chapter 9

Conclusions and Discussion

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter reflects on the key issues that emerge from the findings and highlights the contribution that the thesis has made to the current research and approaches of youth environmental volunteering. Section 9.1 examines the current landscape of youth environmental volunteering across multiple governance levels as explored within the thesis. It also discusses the challenges and opportunities identified by state and non-state actors, including young people for mainstreaming youth volunteering in multi-level environmental governance in Pakistan. Both these sections directly deal with the aims and objectives of the study that are listed here:

The overall aim of the study was to critically analyse how volunteerism as a mode of youth engagement in environmental governance in Pakistan was shaped by geographical contexts, policy and governance frameworks, and volunteer engagement practices at multiple governance levels (international, national, provincial, and local levels).

- Objective 1: To map the current landscape of youth volunteering in multi-level environmental governance in Pakistan.
- Objective 2: To explore Pakistan-based youth volunteers' perceptions of effective environmental governance and how they engage with it through volunteering practices at multiple governance levels (international/ regional, national, provincial, and local levels).
- Objective 3: To explore the perceptions of state and non-state actors on youth volunteering in environmental governance in Pakistan at multiple governance levels (international/ regional, national, provincial, and local levels).

There were many ways this analysis could have been approached. I chose to use the concept of multiple environmentalities inspired by Michel Foucault's writings on techniques and rationalities involved in both governing the self and governing others (Fletchers, 2017; Cupers, 2008). I used the critical lens of identifying both complementing and conflicting environmentalities (sovereign, disciplinary, neo-liberal, according to truth and communal) coming together to form un-interrogated assumptions, taken-for-granted truths, rationales, and technologies that, in diffuse and complex ways, control mainstreaming of youth volunteerism in environmental governance structures across multiple geographical levels.

Section 9.2 explores the wider implications of the thesis on current research on youth volunteering, multi-environmentalities for youth engagement and the contributions to multi-level policy context in Pakistan. Finally, section 9.3 notes the methodological issues faced and section 9.4 discusses the future research potential for this topic/ theme.

9.1 Understanding formal youth environmental volunteering

In this thesis, I have highlighted the complex and constructed nature of environmental volunteering perceived and experienced by young people across different geographical levels. I have argued, following

Hustinx et al. (2010), that youth volunteering in Pakistan is not a fixed, unproblematic object but a phenomenon whose boundaries have been continuously managed and utilised by various actors (state and non-state). This approach has 'opened the black box of volunteering' to understand better the power struggles involved in producing volunteering discourse and practice in the real world (Shachar et al., 2019). In addition, from a policy perspective, I have outlined the current and potential role of youth volunteering in multi-level environmental governance processes in Pakistan.

The multiple environmentalities framework's utility in my work derives from the extent to which it helped provide a common foundation for discussion of the difference between environmentalities across multiple geographical levels, rather than whether its categories most accurately map the territory to which they refer (Fletcher, 2020). This framework acknowledges the complex ways, identified in the thesis, through which young people become both environmental volunteering subjects and objects. I now discuss the key insights from the empirical chapters of the thesis:

In Chapter 5, I constructed a brief genealogy of youth and environmental volunteering in Pakistan and their relationship to broader socio-economic discourses to better understand how these phenomena came to be produced in the contemporary period. Across the historical account, a multitude of complementing and contesting reasons and methods were identified which were employed by the state, non-state actors and young people themselves to take up volunteering or action for the environment. The historical development of the voluntary sector was closely related with the political environment, religious institutions, and the changing perceptions of social welfare and philanthropy. The influence of religious identity and social class system was visible throughout the history of subject formation for youth volunteering and environmental action. Politicisation of youth engagement by different political regimes in pre- and post- colonial periods impacted the state's attitude towards youth participation in the voluntary and environment-related sectors, which remained inconsistent. This historical understanding helped contextualise youth environmental volunteering as a Foucauldian problem and apply multiple environmentalities lens to identify the rationalities and technologies used for its present form.

In Chapter 6, I argued that the relationship between youth and volunteering cannot be considered positive and unequivocal by default as multiple factors, historical and current, come into play when forming this habitus. Only in recent decades has there been a global shift in policy rhetoric from disciplining at-risk youth population groups to empowering them. This global sovereign power has impacted national and local level processes in Pakistan, making policymakers feel obliged to embed these discourses in policy instruments (Keithowiwe, 2010). Several study respondents highlighted that both, state and non-state actors, struggled to define and bring together concepts of youth volunteering and environment, which led to their limited interest in developing formal environmental volunteering channels for young people across the national and sub-national levels (Cudworth & Hobden, 2011; Luisetti, 2018). In addition to environmental value orientations and concerns, young people identified altruistic, egoistic, and hedonic values they associate with volunteering and how they come together to form environmental volunteering rationalities for them

(McDougle et al., 2015; Schusler et al., 2010). In some instances, these self-rationales for young volunteers stood in opposition to the rationales of state and non-state actors. This highlights the complex interplay of multiple rationalities differing across geographical levels and between actors informing reasons for developing and doing environmental volunteering.

This constant negotiation of state, non-state, and young volunteers through multiple environmentalities is more apparent in Chapter 7 where I discussed the technologies of power, resistance and self-transformation employed to undertake youth environmental volunteering across different geographical levels. My research considers volunteering as the situational coming together of various processes, ideologies, and practices in a given space and time. While some generalisations can be drawn, it is essential to appreciate the non-fixity of these power relations, available technologies, and their experience by one or many actors involved (Fleischer, 2011).

The technologies of power used by the state, for example, the command-and-control mechanisms like the push for mandatory volunteering, were met by technologies of resistance shown by young people who called out mandatory volunteering for being 'forceful'. The technologies of power in use by both state and non-state actors indicated the overrepresentation of more affluent volunteers across all formal environmental volunteering spaces. The social class difference appeared to manifest in young people's experiences of volunteering across all geographical levels. The non-state organisations were found to resort to urban high/middle income class young people whose habitus would allow them to fit into volunteering structures and projects instantly. The use of neo-liberal processes of responsibilisation, normalisation of banal environmentalism and introduction of newer sites and ways of volunteering for young people, including online and episodic volunteering, were coupled with traditional neo-conservative authoritarian strategies which created multiple localised translations of state and non-state technologies in use for youth environmental volunteering. Several non-state actors observed that young volunteers who were engaged in various environmental volunteering programmes and schemes were not passive recipients of environmental learning and were actively using their agency to make sense of environmental concerns and the role different societal groups could play in dealing with these problems.

I developed an environmental volunteering practice wheel (Figure 10), a model which encapsulates the overlapping, contesting formation of volunteering as an encounter, acknowledging its complex use of different technologies, configurations, and intensities. The wheel considers volunteering practice not as binary but as a spectrum, where environmental volunteering practice could occur in several dimensions/ rings in a particular space and time. The wheel provides a fine-grained framework for analysing how different dimensions of environmental volunteering interact with one another, articulating or competing within complex socio-political and economic constellation.

In Chapter 8, I acknowledged that there was a lack of understanding about how young people experience volunteering through the combination of the identified rationales and technologies of power, resistance, and

self-transformation, all simultaneously diffused and emanating from multiple sites or in a field of ordering forces (Foucault, 1977). I highlighted multiple configurations of youth environment volunteering could exist and young volunteers were found to be navigating through multiple geographical levels at a given time. This indicated the blurriness of distinct geographical boundaries and ability of young volunteers to transcend multiple spaces of action and influence at the same time.

Through capturing the lived experiences of young environmental volunteers, I showed that they were constantly forming their own environmental identities by engaging with state and non-state technologies and through their own technologies of self-transformation. Many young volunteers reported their agency and talent being underutilised and the limited environmental volunteering activities they were engaged in. The volunteers observed a stark difference in the environmental tasks allocated to them based on their age, education level, language proficiency, income level and gender. Others noted the discrimination of most environmental volunteering programmes against young people living with disabilities, rural youth groups, poor youth with limited affordability, madarassa/ religious education youth and young people NEET (not in education and training). It was also noted that online volunteering spaces remained largely open for urban youth with unlimited access to high-speed internet, which many volunteers saw this as discriminatory to rural and offline youth groups (Thompson & Atkins, 2010).

The research showcased that gaining access to environmental volunteering spaces and activities was a highly gendered experience, often exacerbating existing gender inequalities at different geographical levels (Cadesky et al., 2019). Besides the challenges, it also showed that young female volunteers were claiming more spaces of environmental action and destabilising gender norms through their voice and action.

In Chapter 8, I also identified the challenges and opportunities to use youth volunteering as a mode of environmental governance at multiple geographical levels. Young people were aware of their potential role and indicated their non-inclusion in the design of policy instruments, structures, and environmental volunteering programmes. I captured these challenges/ barriers in a framework model (Figure 21) which identifies volunteering experience and governance related challenges. Some the volunteering challenges faced by young volunteers included limited incentives, non-inclusion in the design and delivery of volunteering programmes, high burn out, limited retention as long-term volunteers and discrimination against diverse youth groups. Young people were also able to self-diagnose several volunteering governance challenges including lack of appropriate government support structures, limited interest of the private sector, limited opportunities through civil society organisations. They also identified challenges faced in absence of systemwide capacity building of state and non-state actors in effectively engaging young people in formal environmental volunteering. A need for youth's own leadership development and skills building around their rights and responsibilities was also highlighted.

The model also outlines the facilitators identified by young research participants themselves, ranging from increased access to material resources and technologies, to developing a culture of creative freedom and

leadership for young volunteers to lead their contribution in multi-level environmental governance processes across all geographical levels.

9.2 Wider implications of the thesis

9.2.1 Multi-level youth volunteering configurations and complexities

This multi-level approach to understanding youth environmental volunteering in Pakistan has helped construct a non-Western geography of youth volunteering in a developing country. It has made visible how different state and non-state actors come to form different rhythms, routines, and structures of youth environmental volunteering at different geographical levels, particularly at the local level. To date, volunteering and youth development literature have been predominately Western focused with the 'global South' typically packaged together, highlighted as economically disadvantaged and requiring unidirectional support from volunteers and organisations from the global North. Through my research, I highlighted that a young Pakistani volunteer was operating at local and national levels in Pakistan. Through access to digital technologies and their self-understanding of global issues and regimes, they could navigate multiple geographical levels through formal and informal volunteering including at the international level. These 'blurred boundaries' have been acknowledged in Chapter 8.

Hustinx (2010) notes that many researchers attempt to 'purify' volunteering from its political and economic aspects, focusing on individual or internal factors or motivations. But doing so, raises questions regarding the identity of the actors engaged in forming the norms, attitudes, and motivations of volunteers. Through this thesis, I have made a case for embracing youth volunteering in its complex form, making sense of the complementing and conflicting discourses, practices and power struggles that form individual and collective experiences and identities of young volunteers.

The thesis presents youth engagement as a spectrum rather than a fixed point in space and time. Young people navigate between different spaces of environmental volunteering by themselves and through other actors. The engagement levels could vary from engaging young people as direct beneficiaries to them leading environmental action in their communities. Many young people were aware of these differentiated levels of engagement. Many highlighted that besides being aware of the limitations of different organisations, they were still actively gaining skills and experiences with them. But they were also able to self-organise and lead their own action if they wanted to. This self-transformation potential of young people as subject and object makes them an interesting community stakeholder to study further.

My research has drawn on and mobilised Foucault's ideas of environmentalities. There has been criticism of the use of Foucault's environmentalities as being very surface-oriented or only identifying state-level (top to bottom) reasons and technologies (Cepek, 2011). However, through my research, I attempted to capture all possible types of environmentalities and, through an ethnographic approach, consider rationales, technologies, and experiences of both organisations and young volunteers. This allowed me to represent the diversity of youth environmental volunteering in a certain space and time.

9.2.3 Contributing to the multi-level policy context in Pakistan

As indicated in Chapter One, I aimed to use the findings of this thesis to inform multi-level policy and programmatic recommendations for mainstreaming youth volunteering in environmental governance processes in Pakistan. The two models I developed as part of my research (technics model and framework for mainstreaming volunteers in environmental governance) could provide policy makers with a snapshot on understanding the complexities of developing youth environmental volunteering at multiple geographical levels.

An important aspect was research into the historical roots of youth volunteerism and environmental movement-building in the country and the sub-continent region before independence in 1947. This provides understanding of the context, which influenced developments of the present forms of youth environment volunteering in Pakistan. The genealogical findings helped set the context for the ongoing UNDP led youth volunteering policy design exercise (started in 2020) on which I have been made part of the technical team.

The national policy focus group which I conducted as part of my research data collection, helped steer this concern amongst high level policy leaders who decided then to support a national exercise on youth policy development. Another key contribution I made unconsciously was to the case study organisations. Apart from making contributions as an active UN volunteer at UNESCO Bangkok as part of my self-observation method, the case study organisations which participated in the research at the national and sub-national levels, started to consider some aspects of developing environmental volunteering programmes further, particularly when prompted with questions around co-designing these with the young people themselves. Some examples of the new developments are highlighted here. WWF Pakistan launched an online youth volunteering program with reduced fees to provide opportunity to young people with limited mobility or access issues. The Bargad Youth Foundation started a national youth-led consultation process on provincial youth policies and engaging diverse youth groups particularly from rural communities in these consultations.

Through the policy interviews with state actors at the national level, I shared some early insights on effective youth engagement in environmental action which later formed the structure of green youth movement design by the Government of Pakistan. I was asked to provide technical input to the planning document for the green youth movement in the fall of 2020, which was finalised in January 2021. The programme is being rolled through the federal Higher Education Commission. After my PhD is complete, I have been requested support roll out of the programme at the provincial level through provincial higher education boards.

At the international level, my research highlighted the missing experience of global South youth who often face a multitude of different challenges to their Northern counterparts. As a UN volunteer, I was able to experience this first-hand and share my experiences in real time with the UNESCO team. My reflections in the diary I kept really helped me reflect critically on the policy and programmatic elements of the tasks that were allocated to me. Now as an honorary member of the UNESCO Steering Committee on Youth

programming, I feel I have come full circle in being able to share my lived experience of designing and implementing these programmes on ground.

9.3 Methodological issues

The methodology I employed was both multi-scalar and involved multiple actors at these geographical levels. The inherent flexibility of the methodology made it difficult to limit the scope and depth of the research. At points in the research, I felt I was unable to capture the bigger picture and unable to keep up with the real-time policy changes happening to the process and changing dynamics between youth, state, and non-state actors. But I acknowledged that no research would be able to attain full knowledge and understanding of the problem. As Clark (1998) argued there exist multiple realities for multiple actors. My use of direct volunteer experience myself, interviews with policymakers and, case study organisations (managers and volunteers) and document analysis of multi-level youth environmental volunteering related texts offered opportunities to corroborate information where required and the chance to reveal and explore a range of issues and perspectives.

The advantage of such real-time ethnographic research was the involvement I secured with multiple organisations as part of policy and volunteer engagement processes. It helped me gain technical and specialist skills and exposure to these organisations and policy structures. And the nature of my topic and the contributions I made as a UN volunteer myself were highly rewarding. Keeping my thesis up to date was the single most frustrating consequence of real-time research, but I tried to acknowledge this limitation where possible.

9.4 Further research scope

My research approach was also limited as it focused on urban youth, formal environmental volunteering avenues, and did not consider disaggregation of youth participants on any other factor apart from their gender. Besides its limitation, my study showed that diverse rationalities, and technologies, particularly communal at the local level, highlight the use of multiple environmentalities in informal volunteering. As this is more difficult to capture than formal volunteering, it would likely require a longitudinal study spread across all geographical levels.

A key insight of the research was the social and income class-based differences in young people's ability to participate in formal environmental volunteering schemes and programmes. Further research on lived experiences of young people belonging to different social and income classes across different geographical levels. Similarly, rationales and experiences of diverse youth groups could allow further capture of complex interplay of power and resistance and, provide an insight into how environmental good or pro-environmental behaviour are defined by different actors. These groups could include marginalised youth such as youth living with disabilities, madarassa youth, uneducated youth, ethnic and gender minority youth, etc. An inter-provincial or cross-country comparison would also highlight new trends and disparities faced by multiple actors.

My research showed that international volunteering was mostly unidirectional but there was a need identified by several young people for exchange and capacity building opportunities between countries with similar socio-economic contexts. A study of the international volunteering experiences or potential schemes in the South-South context could help understand this trend/ demand further. It could also provide policymakers with an insight into developing inclusive international volunteering programmes with less resources for youth groups with limited affordability.

The disinterest of private sector in engaging youth volunteers in internal and external environment focused activities was highlighted in my research. But the limited number of private sector respondents in my study did not allow to further break down the reasons for this discrimination. A study focusing on youth volunteer engagement in private sector at multiple geographical levels, including focus on young employees undertaking corporate volunteering, could provide useful insights into the potential role of private sector in supporting environmental governance processes.

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ANNEXURE: RESEARCH TOOLS

Annex A Sample Interview Guides:

Tool 1: Semi-structured Interviews of National Policy Stakeholders

1. What is the national policy landscape of youth volunteering?
    A. How is youth defined?
    B. How do youth volunteers differ from each other (gender, religion, race, disability, nationality)?
    C. What are the different types of volunteering and activities undertaken by young people in the country?
        i. What are the existing avenues of formal environmental volunteering for young people aged between 16 and 29?
        ii. What is the estimated proportion of youth participation in formal environmental volunteering?
        iii. Are there, if any, gender differences in volunteering frequency, opportunities, and activities?
2. What is the current state of policy and governance frameworks available for formal youth environmental volunteering?
    A. Are there any current national policies or strategies guiding environmental volunteering in the country?
        i. If yes, describe the key elements of such policies/ strategies? What are the existing institutional arrangements or implementation mechanisms in place?

ii. If no, please identify other broader volunteering and environmental governance policies and strategies? Is there a need for a focused environmental volunteering policy?

3. Are youth a major target group of such policies/ strategies?
   A. If yes, why is youth considered a key stakeholder? What elements make policies/ strategies youth focused or friendly?
   B. If no, why is youth not considered a key stakeholder? How can these policies/ strategies include different types of youth groups?
   C. What are the initial and continuing reasons for young people to volunteer for the environment?
   D. What are initial and continuing reasons for young volunteers to get discouraged from volunteering for the environment?
4. What do you think is the impact of young environmental volunteers' work at international, national and local levels in the country?
5. How has 18th Constitutional Amendment or Dissolution of subjects like youth affairs and environment affected policy landscape for volunteering in Pakistan?

Tool 2: Semi-structured Interviews of Volunteer Managers (International/ National/ Local)

Job Description

1. In what capacity are you currently working at this organisation?
2. For how long, have you been working at this position?
3. Can you briefly describe your role and responsibilities?

Types of initiatives involved with

4. Does your volunteering programme in full or partially focus on environmental concerns and awareness?
5. Briefly describe the initiatives in place.
6. How wide is the scope of these initiatives in terms of scale and time?
7. What are the major sources of funding for these initiatives?

Types of volunteers involved with

8. What kind of environmental volunteers do you work with?
9. What is the general age group of volunteers you work with?
10. What is the gender balance in terms of females and males amongst the volunteers you work with?

Recruitment of Volunteers

11. Where do you get these volunteers from?
12. Is there an internal or external source bank of volunteers?

Views on youth volunteering initiatives

13. What are the key policy and governance drivers and barriers for youth/ environmental volunteering?
14. How do you describe the general quality of youth volunteering activities in your country?
15. What kind of environmental volunteering opportunities for youth in the country?
    A. Are environmental volunteering spaces gendered in terms of scope and activities?
16. What are the initial and continuing reasons for young people to volunteer for the environment?
17. What are initial and continuing reasons for young volunteers to get discouraged from volunteering for the environment?
18. What are the reasons for young volunteers who have never volunteered for an environmental cause?
19. How involvement in environmental volunteering constructs new meanings and attitudes of youth towards the environment?
20. How does your organisation perceive contributions or impact of young environmental volunteers' work at international, national and local levels in your country?

Views on youth volunteering potential

21. Is the full potential of youth environmental volunteers being harnessed in your country? Describe.
22. How can these youth volunteers be used to manage the environment further?

Annex B Sample Focus Group Schedule:

Non-environmental volunteers

Context Setting

1. Where do you live in Pakistan?
2. Do you volunteer? Can you recall when did you start volunteering work? What kind of volunteering work was that?
3. What kind of volunteering work do you undertake these days? Is there a preference? Please justify your choice.

Experiences & Impact

1. Why do you volunteer?
2. Do you think young people should volunteer more? If yes, why?
3. How do youth volunteers differ from each other (gender, religion, race, disability, nationality)?
4. What kind of problems young volunteers face in Pakistan?
5. What kind of volunteering opportunities are available for young people in Pakistan? (local, national and international levels)
6. Do you think sufficient volunteering opportunities are available for young boys and girls? Are you aware of any such opportunities or networks at international/ regional, national and local levels in Pakistan?
7. Do you think volunteers make a contribution to the society through such work? Is the full potential of youth volunteers reached?
8. Are there any benefits for young people to volunteer? Please explain. Who else benefits from this?

Environmental Volunteering Experience

1. Have you ever volunteered for an environmental cause? If yes, please describe your experience.
2. If not, what are the reasons for not volunteering for the environment?
3. Are you aware of any environmental volunteering programmes to participate in? If yes, why don't you opt for them?
4. What can be done to improve environmental volunteering opportunities for young people like you? What can the government or third sector do? What can young people do themselves?
5. How can environmental volunteering programmes be designed to capture your interest in participation?

Policy Frameworks

6. Are youth a major target group of key national and provincial policies/ strategies?
    A. If yes, why is youth considered a key stakeholder? What elements make policies/ strategies youth focused or friendly?
    B. If no, why is youth not considered a key stakeholder? How can these policies/ strategies include different types of youth groups?
7. Are there any current national policies or strategies guiding environmental volunteering in the country?
    B. If yes, describe the key elements of such policies/ strategies? What are the existing institutional arrangements or implementation mechanisms in place?
    C. If no, please identify other broader volunteering and environmental governance policies and strategies? Is there a need for a focused environmental volunteering policy?