

Volunteers and volunteering in Central and Eastern Europe¹

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Introduction

Post communist transformations simultaneous affect all the components of the social system. Economic and political changes are the most visible, but they are underlain by the changes of the social structure and of the social values, which prove to have a deeper and longer impact. (Sztompka 1999b; Illner 1999) The new political institutions (parties, parliament, elections, etc.) as well as the economic ones (private business, banks, markets, stock exchange, etc.) cannot work efficiently if they lack the support of, and they do not adequately express cultural patterns. Lack of participative values, mistrust in democracy and governments, as well as less-developed entrepreneurial values, self responsibility, autonomy, and individual planning were identified as being the main discontinuities between Western capitalism and the Eastern cultures. (Sztompka 1993, 1999b; Nodia 1996; Verdery 2003; Rose 2001; Voicu 2001)

This paper focuses on volunteering behaviour, as an expression of a participative culture. We are interested in the cultural and social determinants of volunteering, both at individual level, but mainly at the aggregate (country) level. We note that the phenomenon has a lower incidence in the ex-communist space than in the occidental democracies, and try to explain the discrepancies through cultural traditions, globalization and the economic background.

Volunteering and associative values (as well as other related concepts, such as community development – see Precupețu 2003) are quite new realities for

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the ex-communist societies. They did not exist, were underdeveloped, or even faked during communism: for instance, the ruling party used to organize associative movements, which were fully under authoritarian control, and even membership was compulsory. In almost all communist societies, there were such “associations”, including women movements, ecological associations, youth associations, etc. In societies like Romania, even sport clubs were under the party control, and members could develop only little or even no initiative at all. (Voicu – Voicu, 2003a; Voicu – Voicu, 2003b)

Democratic transition brought the revival of the associative life. It came as part of a globalizing Western culture. Presence of associations was frequently requested or stimulated by the projects implemented by international agencies such as the World Bank, or by the EU programs. Also, associative models were imported through the activity of transnational NGOs, like Soros’ Open Society Foundation, child care organizations such as World Vision, ecological organizations such as Green Peace, or professional organizations such as Médecins sans Frontières.

Such associations developed in a world without participative traditions. Communist rulers tended to dissolve civil society through a diversity of means: state control over any type of association, including, for example, labour unions, women’s associations, and even chess clubs; full control over media; short and unattractive opening hours for restaurants, pubs and any other place where people could meet and talk; state control over citizens’ time through mandatory, unpaid supplementary work (sometimes called voluntary or patriotic), through the obligation to participate in party ritual meetings (local party organization meetings, parades, etc.), and through the huge amount of time spent queuing etc. (Ekiert 1992; Rose 1999; Voicu – Voicu 2003a; Verdery 2003) Public space was perceived as the room of lies, of the official fake reality (Nodia 1996; Verdery 2003; Platonova 2003; etc.), with subsequent deep consequences including a post-communist lack of trust in any public activity. Adding the rather non-participative, pre-communist tradition, one might have the cultural explanation for the lower rate of volunteering in ex-communist countries.

At the individual level, the profile of the Eastern European volunteer is similar to the Western one. Volunteers have a dominant status³: they are younger, well educated, wealthier, and displaying higher levels of trust. (Voicu – Voicu 2003b) This is another argument for lower volunteering in the poorer East, also marked by higher mistrust. (Sztompka 1999a) Our analysis pays special attention to the relation between volunteering and social capital, and to the role played by social capital in increasing the level of volunteering in

³ Smith (1982) coined out the “dominant status” of (American) volunteers in terms of age (younger), education (better), wealth (richer).

Eastern Europe. In our analysis, we use data from WVS/EVS from the 1999 – 2001 wave.

The paper starts with a short review of the existing literature on volunteering. Then, analysis of the individual level determinants of volunteering precedes an investigation of the differences in volunteering between the European countries. Finally, we focus on explaining why the ex-communist countries see lower rates of volunteering.

The typical volunteer: theoretical background and main hypotheses

The term volunteerism is a complex one, and it is used with a variety of meanings. Different authors emphasize different characteristics and different meanings of volunteerism and of volunteer activity. Wuthnow (1991) points out that altruism is the main trait of volunteer work, while other authors stress the un-altruistic character. Wilson and Musick (1997) consider informal help a kind of volunteer work, while Shead (1995) emphasizes the formal character of volunteer activity. Tilly and Tilly (1994) stress the uncommodified character of volunteering, but other authors consider it to be commodified.

This chapter considers volunteer work as a formal, non-altruistic, and uncommodified activity. We define volunteering as an activity through which individuals spend a part of their time, without any wage, by free choice, in a formal way, within an organization, working for the benefit of others or of the entire community.

Social scientists have developed two main approaches in order to find the reasons for people's involvement in volunteer activity. The first is focused on individual and local resources and points out that people who have more resources (in terms of income, social and human capital) are more likely to perform volunteer work, since they have more things to share with others. Also, such people are more attractive for the volunteer organizations, and this increases the probability they will be attracted as volunteers. The second approach pays attention to the beliefs and values of the people who are volunteers, and points out that the cultural dimension is much more important for volunteer work.

The studies which can be included in the first approach have focused on several types of societal or individual resources, like social capital, human capital, incomes etc. Social capital is very important for volunteering because volunteering means participation and cooperation and requires trust in other people. Pearce (1993) indicates that voluntary organizations used to recruit new members through the social network of their members; therefore, people who have a large social network have a higher probability of being in contact with a voluntary organization and working for it. (Wilson 2000; Wilson – Musick 1997) On the other hand, participation in voluntary organizations contributes to

an increase in the social capital of the members, and increases the probability of contacting other voluntary organizations. (Smith 1994; Wilson – Musick 1997; Putnam 2001; Thoits – Hewitt 2001)

Several authors (see Smith 1994; Wilson 2000) emphasize the relationship between volunteering and human capital. Better educated persons are more likely to do volunteer work because their knowledge can be used to help the organization. On the other hand, a higher level of education is usually associated with increased aspirations and an interest in fulfilling superior needs like gratification from non-material rewards. In addition, quite a good level of health is required in order to be involved in volunteer work.

A positive relation between volunteering and income is also reported. (Smith 1994; Wilson 2000) Better off people find more time and display more willingness to perform voluntary activities. At a societal level, Inglehart (2003: 70) notes that “economic development tends to produce rising levels of volunteering.”

The relationship between volunteering and age is a controversial one. Some authors, like Wilson – Musick (1997) and Wilson (2000), show that women are much more involved in volunteer work because they score higher on altruism and empathy and are less involved in the labour market. Dekker and van den Broek (1996) and Pearce (1993) indicate that men are more inclined to volunteer because they are better educated and have more resources to share.

Some authors point out that the level of volunteering is higher among teenagers, others that it is actually decreasing among young people and is the highest for adults (40 – 55 years old). However, Wilson (2000) shows that “rational choice theory predicts an increase in volunteering at retirement age because more free time becomes available”. (p. 226)

Oesterle et al. (2004) show that volunteering in young adulthood determines higher levels of volunteering later on in life. Working at an early age decreases the probability of volunteering (no time to do it) as compared to schooling at the same ages. Parenting at early ages involves less time available for volunteering. Older parents tend to be better equipped for child rearing. They have more time to volunteer. From here we have induced the hypothesis that the lower the first marriage age, the lower is the incidence of volunteering in the respective society.

The social environment is another type of resource which can influence the level of involvement in volunteer activity. We have already discussed the impact of the level of education, of social capital and of the material capital in the area, on volunteering. However, there are other characteristics of town which can determine the level of volunteering in the area, size being one of them. Sundeen (1988) indicates that the level of volunteering is higher in smaller cities because they provide many opportunities for face-to-face

interaction and for finding mutual solutions for common problems. On the other hand, bigger cities have higher needs for public good and services, and, therefore, they offer many opportunities for volunteering. We also note that, the bigger a city is, the more resources the individuals are expected to have. Controlling for these resources, we expect that the impact of city size is not particularly clear. As Sundeen showed, it is probably the case that very small communities display lower levels of volunteering propensity, but at a certain point, size matters less, and there is no big difference between the social needs of a medium-sized and a larger town. Moreover, for certain larger urban area, more local/central government institutions are likely to exist, diminishing the area where NGOs, for instance, can develop.

Country-level resources may also be considered as affecting the cultures of volunteering. At this level, wealth, human capital, and sociability may determine a higher propensity towards volunteering. Two opposite views argue that the high support and high scope of the welfare state may destroy social capital (Boje 1996; Wolfe 1989; Zijderveld 1998; Etzioni 1995; etc.) or, conversely, may reinforce volunteering. (Giddens 1998; Kuhnle – Alestalo 2000; Rothstein 2001; van Oorschot – Arts 2006; van Oorshot – Arts – Halman, 2006; Kumlin – Rothstein 2005)

The second approach with respect to the motivation of volunteering emphasizes the role of values in determining participation in voluntary activity. Kendall and Knapp (1995) point out that the volunteer sector has an expressive function, mainly expressing the social, philosophical, moral and religious values of those who support the volunteer sector. The sociological literature on this (Wilson – Musick 1997; Wuthnow 1994) stresses the role of religious values in determining volunteerism. Other scholars (Inglehart 2003; Schofer – Fourcade-Gourinchas 2001) include post-materialism among the determinants of volunteering. This is consistent with the need for self-expression as a trigger for volunteerism.

Discussing the motivation of volunteerism, Pearce (1993), Cnaan and Amrofel (1994) emphasize the role of social connections opportunities, internal qualifications, or contextual rewards, and they completely reject the altruistic motivation as an incentive for volunteering. Ekstein (2001: 830) also shows that, as there is no free gift, “unequal exchanges contribute to and reinforce honour, prestige and authority.” Excluding the purely altruistic triggers of volunteering, the determinants of volunteerism can be reduced to a set of social resources and socio-economic status indicators as described in this section.

The literature dedicated to volunteering being focused on western societies, the above characteristics portray western volunteering. Our hypothesis is that the Eastern European picture is no different in its main features: well educated people, with large social networks, who have a good material position, and who

are seeking to fulfil some superior needs. In addition, we expect to find a higher level of volunteerism among younger people with a higher degree of religious practice, and who reside in urban areas. We do not expect further differences in volunteering either for men or women, or depending on locality size (apart from those between urban and rural areas). Due to data constraints, we opted for a resource oriented approach, and, following Pearce (1993), or Cnaan and Amrofel (1994), we do not pay much attention to the individual, cultural, or psychological factors determining volunteering behaviour. However, we show that there are important cultural traits that determine the country variation in the incidence of volunteering.

We focus on individual (factual) determinants of volunteering, but we also consider that bloc and national culture have a significant impact on the phenomenon. ^w follow in this respects, Sztompka's (1999b) argued that the ex-communist societies share two types of cultural sources: a bloc culture, determined by the common inclusion within the communist bloc, featuring command economy and state control over society and social thinking; a western (globalizing) cultural influence, due to contagion with the occidental societies, with which the respective countries share in different degrees a common history, common religious denominations, and common practices. In addition, the third important cultural source finds its roots within national traditions.

Data and Method

We employ data from the 1999 – 2002 wave of the values surveys. (European Values Survey and World Values Survey) The data set can be retrieved from the Zentral Archive for Empirische Sozialforschung at the University of Cologne, and includes information on social values, behaviours, and resources, of individuals from 82 national representative samples. Considering only those cases which provide data on the volunteering behaviour, there are 40 European societies (see Table 2 for their list), including 53.793 individual respondents.

The 1999 – 2002 wave of the value survey has the advantage to include most of the European countries. The 2005 – 2006 wave of the World Values Survey is more recent, but does include fewer European societies. We do refer this data in the conclusion part of the paper, when considering the long term trends. We also add, in context, information provided by the 1990 – 1993 wave of the EVS/WVS. However, we use these two waves only for briefly referring the most visible patterns.

We start the data analysis with logistic regressions on volunteering in each of the considered societies, looking for the existing differences across nations. Then we focus on the common European patterns, and we employ multilevel regression analysis. We also use a supplementary set of OLS models,

predicting incidence of volunteering at country level, and using an extended battery of independent variable.

In order to identify the volunteers, we have constructed two different indexes, each of them having two versions. Both are based on individual declarations of performing voluntary work in several types of organizations. (Table 1)

Table 1: The incidence of performing voluntary work for different types of organizations in Europe

<i>Do you work unpaid for...</i>	Western Europe	ex-communist				Turkey & Malta
		EU 2004	EU 2005 candidates	Other Balkan	Other soviet	
Religious organizations	6.7%	5.0%	3.5%	7.4%	1.7%	6.1%
Political parties and labour unions	4.1%	4.1%	2.7%	7.2%	1.3%	4.8%
New Social Movements (Women, Environmental, Peace, Third world-development/human rights)	5.9%	3.2%	2.4%	6.9%	1.4%	1.9%
Professional associations	2.4%	2.5%	4.3%	3.1%	4.1%	1.4%
Charity Associations	7.4%	4.5%	2.0%	7.1%	1.5%	2.8%
Other (Youth, Sports, Cultural activities)*	15.7%	11.7%	6.1%	11.1%	2.5%	5.8%
Volunteer in at least one type of organization	29%	23%	17%	28%	11%	16%
Volunteer in at least one type of organization except for political parties and trade unions	27%	20%	12%	24%	7%	13%
Volunteer in at least one type of organization except for political parties, labour unions and religious associations	24%	17%	10%	20%	5%	9%

Note: the figures are computed using the EVS/WVS 1999 – 2000 database, weighted according to the individual countries populations. EU 2005 candidates include Romania, Bulgaria (EU members starting 2007), and Croatia (still a candidate country), as opposed to the countries which become part of the EU in 2004 (Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia). The “other soviet” countries include Ukraine, Russia, Belarus, Moldova. The higher figures for the Balkans are due to unexpected high volunteering incidence reported by the Albanian dataset. We discuss latter this aspect.

* The EVS questionnaire included a category of voluntary association labelled “other”. Since the WVS questionnaire (applied in countries like Moldova, Albania, Serbia, and Macedonia) did not include this category, we were forced to exclude it from the analysis.

The first index taps performing voluntary activities in any kind of organization except for political parties and labour unions. Two different motives led to not including political parties and labour unions. In some

countries, in the sectors where there is a labour union, almost everyone belong to it as a matter of fact, not of choice; the meaning of voluntary work for labour unions became confusing, as many people tend to answer with 'yes' by the simple fact that they are a union member, pay contributions, and participate in strikes when they happen (or feign participation in order to gain extra free-time). For the political parties, the problems are more complex. It is difficult to define what the respondents defined as voluntary work in this case: simply chatting with others in the premises of the local organization, really doing unpaid work for the party (distributing promotional materials, posting posters, answering the phone etc.), or doing the same work, but for a modicum of money. The index could be computed in two different ways: as a continuous variable (the number of types of performed voluntary activities), or a dichotomous one (if the individual performs or not any volunteer activity).

The second index is identical with the first one, but we have excluded religious associations, too, in order to check if the effect of religious practice might have deeper roots on volunteering⁴.

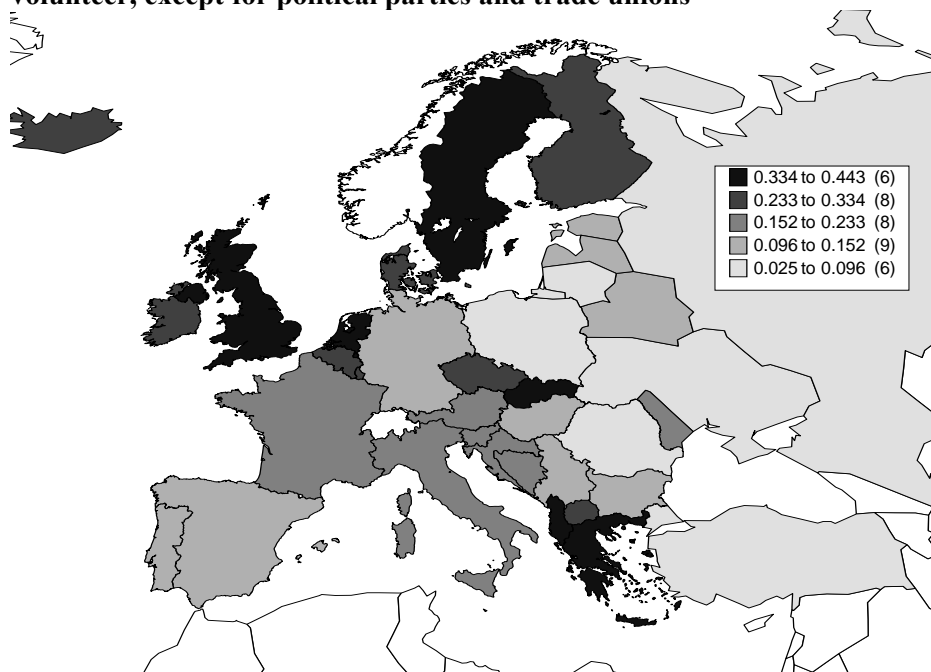
Among the determinants of volunteering, at individual level we have considered several indicators for resources and values: education (years of schooling), relative wealth (income deciles, computed at societal level), gender (man=1), age, postmaterial/mixed/materialist value orientations (based on Inglehart's four item scale), religious practice – measured as frequency of going to church (the classic EVS/WVS item: daily, few times a week, once a week, monthly, etc.), locality size (number of inhabitants). We have added bridging social capital indicators: social trust (dummy variable of trusting people), frequency of spending time with friends (not at all, a few times a year, once or twice a month, every week), importance of friends as compared to family (importance of friends, respectively family were separately recorded on 4-points scales; the indicator that we have use is a dummy variable, taking the value of 1 when the respondent indicated the same or higher importance of friends as compared to the family rating).

At country level, we have considered the percentage of people meeting friends weekly or more often, the average religious practice (mean for the indicator at individual level), the GDP/capita (USD PPP), the percentage of tertiary education graduates within 25-64 year old population, the percentage of individuals who trust the others, the percentage of people labelled as post-

⁴ The heterogeneity of the different types of membership in associations is noted by other scholars too. Schofer & Fourcade-Gourinchas (2001), using EVS-WVS 1990 – 1993 data, distinguish two important groups: "old social movements" (trade unions, political parties, professional associations), and "new social movements" (women's organizations, environmental associations, third world development associations, peace organizations etc.). Welzel et al. (2004), working on EVS-WVS 1999 – 2000 data, distinguish four categories: charity and environmental associations; educational and professional; labour unions and political parties; church and religious associations. Curtis, Grabb, Baer (1992), working on EVS/WVS 1990 – 1993 data, count membership in associations except for labour unions and religious groups.

materialist, the average age at first marriage for women, the average positioning on the state-individual axe of providing welfare (10 points scale, opposing individual to government responsibility, higher values indicating the belief that the government should take more responsibility).

Figure 1 The average number of types of organizations in which one volunteer, except for political parties and trade unions



Notes: The areas in white on the map mark countries which were not investigated through the EVS/WVS 1999 – 2001 wave.

Eastern and Western volunteers: similar portraits

A first look at Table 1, Figure 1, and Table 2 suggests that western Europeans volunteer more often than eastern Europeans. For all types of associations, the east-west differences depicted in Table 1 are significant at $p < 0.0005$, with western Europeans volunteering more, except for the trade unions, where, as expected, the ex-communist citizens display more volunteer behaviour.

When analyzing the country variation of volunteering, one can easily see that former communist societies do not declare volunteering behaviour as often as western ones, with a few exceptions, notably Slovakia and the Czech Republic. However, as we have shown elsewhere (Voicu – Voicu 2003a), Slovakia is an outlier among the other European countries, with much higher

Table 2: Volunteering incidence by country

<i>Country/region</i>	Volunteering in any type of organization except for labour unions and political parties		Volunteering in any type of organization except for labour unions, political parties and religious organizations	
	Volunteer in at least one association (%)	average number of types of associations in which an individual is involved	Volunteer in at least one association (%)	average number of types of associations in which an individual is involved
Sweden	50%	0.84	38%	0.61
<i>Albania</i>	50%	0.90	44%	0.75
Netherlands	45%	0.78	42%	0.67
<i>Slovakia</i>	42%	0.57	34%	0.44
Great Britain	42%	0.77	42%	0.71
Greece	36%	0.75	33%	0.69
Finland	34%	0.51	30%	0.43
Belgium	30%	0.52	28%	0.46
<i>Moldova</i>	30%	0.58	21%	0.43
Denmark	30%	0.41	28%	0.38
Iceland	30%	0.44	28%	0.39
Luxembourg	29%	0.53	28%	0.47
<i>Macedonia</i>	28%	0.52	23%	0.43
<i>Czech Republic</i>	27%	0.39	25%	0.36
Ireland	26%	0.46	23%	0.38
Austria	26%	0.36	22%	0.29
Malta	24%	0.39	16%	0.26
Italy	23%	0.38	20%	0.31
<i>Slovenia</i>	21%	0.38	20%	0.33
France	21%	0.27	19%	0.24
W. Germany	20%	0.24	15%	0.18
Northern Ireland	19%	0.29	13%	0.20
<i>Bosnia-Herzegovina</i>	18%	0.24	15%	0.19
<i>Croatia</i>	18%	0.26	15%	0.20
<i>Montenegro</i>	16%	0.23	16%	0.21
<i>Latvia</i>	16%	0.19	13%	0.15
<i>Estonia</i>	15%	0.21	13%	0.19
Spain	14%	0.20	12%	0.16
<i>E. Germany</i>	13%	0.16	12%	0.13
<i>Hungary</i>	13%	0.20	9%	0.15
<i>Belarus</i>	13%	0.17	10%	0.13
<i>Portugal</i>	11%	0.14	9%	0.11

<i>Country/region</i>	Volunteering in any type of organization except for labour unions and political parties		Volunteering in any type of organization except for labour unions, political parties and religious organizations	
	Volunteer in at least one association (%)	average number of types of associations in which an individual is involved	Volunteer in at least one association (%)	average number of types of associations in which an individual is involved
<i>Bulgaria</i>	11%	0.15	10%	0.14
<i>Poland</i>	10%	0.14	8%	0.10
<i>Lithuania</i>	10%	0.11	6%	0.07
<i>Romania</i>	8%	0.11	6%	0.08
<i>Serbia</i>	8%	0.09	7%	0.08
<i>Ukraine</i>	7%	0.08	5%	0.06
<i>Russia</i>	4%	0.04	3%	0.04
Turkey	3%	0.05	3%	0.04

* Ex-communist countries are in italics.

volunteering as compared to the expected level when considering aggregate levels of material resources or education. As compared to other post-communist European societies, Slovaks are more likely to volunteer in church organizations (13% out of the total number of respondents), sports and recreational organizations (13%), as well as political organizations, including parties (7%). For all the other types of organization, Slovakia is also among the CEE countries with the higher incidence of volunteering. Inconsistencies are also to be noticed in the cases of Albania⁵, Moldova and, perhaps, Macedonia, which display a much higher level of volunteering than all the related characteristics of their population suggest.

On the other hand, mapping the incidence of volunteering (Figure 1), the West-East and North-South decrease of volunteering incidence is consistently reproduced. The exceptions are the same: Slovaks, as well as the Albanians and the Greeks. For the latter, it is probable that belonging to the Western Bloc during the Cold War served to increase volunteerism.

Within this framework, we have focused on the individual determinants of volunteering. We have used the dichotomous versions of the two indexes and run logistic regression analysis on each country, as well as on the entire data set. Table 3 presents the main results. The model fits well to the data in all countries, and brings valuable information. The main predictors are the same in the majority of the countries: education, religious practice, social network, income and age. People with dominant status tend to volunteer more often in all of the European societies.

⁵ In the case of Albania, there seems to be a sampling problem: we note that no Muslim is included in the sample, even though they represent the most frequent religious denomination in the country.

Table 3: Results of (country level) logistic regressions on volunteering

Predictors	Effect/level of significance
Education	Significant positive effect at $p < 0.05$, except for Ukraine, Serbia, Denmark, Luxembourg, Romania, Belarus, and at $p < 0.10$ for Sweden ($p = 0.054$) and Greece ($p = 0.058$).
Frequency of social contacts (spending time with friends)	Significant positive effect at $p < 0.05$, except for Hungary, Montenegro, Moldova, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia, Belarus, Latvia, Romania, Poland, Russia, Spain, Bulgaria, Iceland, Estonia, Northern Ireland (in all these cases, the effect is still positive, but it is not significant). For France, Lithuania, Turkey, Portugal, Finland, Greece, and UK, $p < 0.10$.
Income	Significant positive effect at $p < 0.05$ for Ukraine, Romania, Moldova, Iceland, Luxembourg, Sweden, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, UK, Estonia, Ireland, Macedonia. For Montenegro, Slovakia, Greece, Czech Republic, Serbia, Turkey, Malta the effect is significant at $p < 0.10$.
Religious practice	Significant positive effect at $p < 0.05$, except for Latvia, Lithuania, Eastern Germany, Slovakia, Poland, Malta, Turkey, Croatia, Slovenia, Russian Federation, Ukraine, Montenegro, Portugal, Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Moldova, Macedonia. For Sweden and Hungary the effect is significant at $p < 0.10$.
Age	Significant differences between age groups in most of the countries: younger ages have a higher propensity towards volunteering; belonging to the age group 25-34 years old, when couples usually have their (first) child/children, has a negative impact on volunteering; a sharp increase is noticed for adult ages, with a decrease for older age groups. Some Western countries display a latter decrease (at 35-40), while in some Eastern societies (but also for Portugal) the age group 18-24 also has negative impact on volunteering (couples are formed earlier). For a few countries (Austria, Iceland) there is a constant increase in volunteering depending on age.
Gender (male)	Significant positive effect at $p < 0.05$ for Poland, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Germany, Spain, Malta, Croatia, Italy, Denmark, Portugal, Montenegro, Czech Republic, Serbia. For Iceland, Romania, Russia and Austria the effect is significant at $p < 0.10$.
Trusting people	Significant positive effect at $p < 0.05$ for Luxembourg, Slovakia, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Germany, Sweden, Italy, Slovenia, UK, Iceland. For Portugal, Greece, Croatia and Estonia the effect is significant at $p < 0.10$.
Friends have at least the same importance as family	Significant positive effect at $p < 0.05$ for Albania. For Italy, Iceland, Belgium, Slovakia, and Moldova the effect is significant at $p < 0.10$.
Post-materialism (Inglehart 4 points scale)	Significant positive effect for $p < 0.05$ of displaying post-materialist/mixed value orientation in Ukraine, Montenegro, Netherlands, Spain, Belarus, Moldova, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Hungary, Macedonia, Austria, Romania, Russia, and for, $p < 0.10$, in Latvia, Luxembourg, Slovenia.
Size of locality	There are different patterns depending on the country. On average, residence in smaller and larger localities implies lower propensity for volunteering, while medium size towns increase the odds for volunteering.
Number of children within the household	No significant effect at $p < 0.10$.
Fit	The model adequately fits the data for each country ($p < 0.005$ for the Omnibus test, while for the Hosmer and Lemeshow test $p > 0.05$, except for the UK and Montenegro where $p = 0.049$).

<u>Predictors</u>	<u>Effect/level of significance</u>
Nagelkerke pseudo-R ²	<p>When run on the entire European sample, the model explains 10.1% of the volunteering variation when excluding volunteering in religious organizations. (We used the Nagelkerke pseudo-R² criterion).</p> <p>Greece and France have the lowest explained variation (6-8%), while for Montenegro (31%), UK (30%), Turkey (28%), Bulgaria (24%), Malta (23%), Hungary (21%), Portugal (20%) the R² has the highest values.</p> <p>The average explained variance for the western countries is 14.7%, while for the ex-communist societies it is 16.1%.</p> <p>If religious volunteering is included, the explained variation changes to an average of 15.9% in Western Europe, and 15.5% in the ex-communist space.</p> <p>For 34 out of 40 countries the explained variance is over 10%.</p>

Note: in a few cases, the database lacks information for some variables: income (Portugal), post-materialism (UK), number of children in the household (Albania, Moldova, Bosnia, Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro). In these cases, we have run reduced logistic regression models without including the respective variables.

There are some immediately visible East-West differences. The most pre-eminent one is the lower importance of social capital indicators (especially the frequency of social contacts) in predicting volunteering within the ex-communist space. The same holds true for religious practice, again less important in former communist countries, as well as in very religious societies such as Malta and Turkey⁶. In contrast, income is important in more Eastern societies as compared with the West.

The local culture has an important influence on volunteering incidence. We have built the same regression model and run it for the entire data set (the whole European population). We have added among predictors dummy variables for each country.

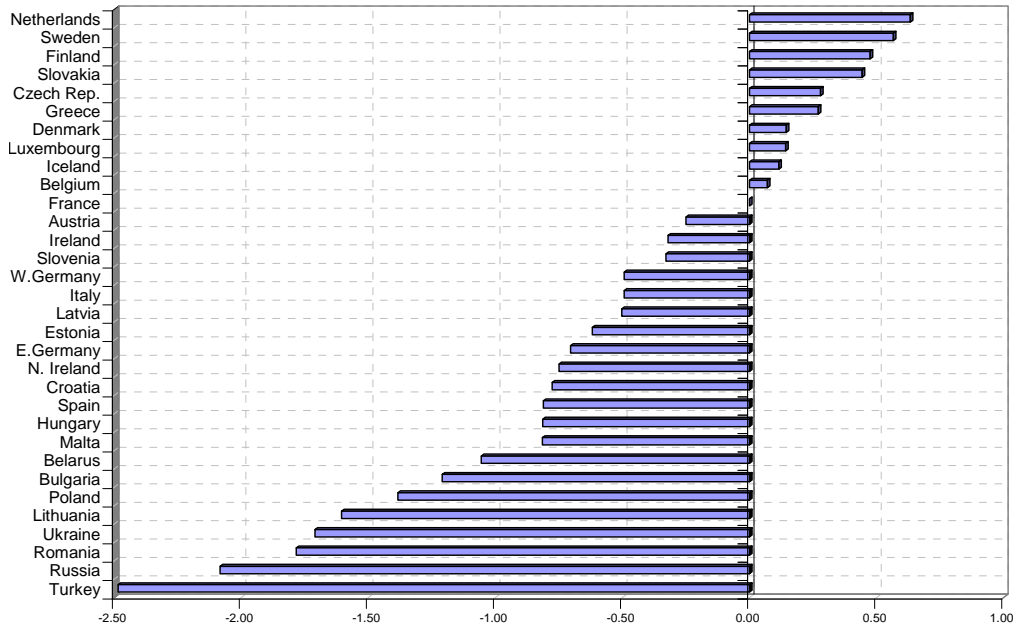
According to the logistic regression coefficients depicted in Figure 2, residence in most ex-communist countries has a negative effect on volunteering, when compared with France (which holds a median position when ordering the countries according to their volunteering scores). Only Czechs and Slovaks volunteer more than the French, when controlling for education, income, bridging social capital, and the other selected predictors. Some other countries (Latvia, Slovenia, Hungary, Belarus and Croatia) do not significantly differ from France, while the rest are the only ones who bring a negative significant effect when compared with the reference category.

One should also note that France represents the median country for the whole set of countries, but, when compared to other Western European countries, it is between the last ones, along with Germany, Spain, and Northern Ireland. This means that, except for the Czechs (and the three countries already

⁶ Religious practice maintains its effect either when included or not, in the dependent variable, volunteering in religious associations.

labelled as outliers), all other former communist countries bring a negative effect to volunteering as compared to the average western European society.

Figure 2: Country effects (regression coefficients) on volunteering when controlling for other predictors



* The bars represent logistic regression coefficients (b). Positive values indicate more volunteering propensity of an individual in the respective country, when controlling the other factors at individual level (income, education, social contacts, religious practice, number of children in the household, and trusting people).

** France was used as reference category.

*** The database was weighted according to the population of each country.

**** Few countries were excluded from analysis since the database did not include full information about the variables.

This might be a good, albeit weak, indicator that the bloc culture plays an important role in determining volunteering. We have further tested this assumption by including within the regression models a dummy variable for belonging to the former communist bloc. (Table 4) The results also confirm the strong impact of education, religious practice, social capital and income, but they emphasize the important negative effect of ‘bloc’ membership.

There are multiple reasons why the former communist countries developed a non-volunteering culture. If one looks deeply, especially at the inter-war history, one might note the lack of democratic experience of the entire area, marked by generally rural, essentially patriarchal populations. People used to

solve their problems informally, in daily face-to-face relations, not by volunteering in formal organizations. Communist modernization was a sham (Sztompka 1993; Voicu 2001 etc.), not an emancipatory project. The pervasive power of the state was promoted, while individuals were just unimportant parts of a mass. For several decades, the state completely discouraged civic society and individual initiative. The party planned everything, even the most intimate relations and time. On the other hand, public space was demonized as the place where the lie reigned. The official reality was very often far beyond what real socialism meant, and public activities were a means of displaying fake attitudes and emotions. This led to the rejection of public life and, implicitly, of volunteering as a way to act on behalf of others. Generalized suspicion was the by-product of the best communist industry: that of producing queues and frightened subjects through the repressive mechanisms of the political police. Moreover, the meaning of volunteerism was completely hollowed by labelling mandatory participation in party rituals and doing unpaid work on state orders as voluntary work. (Voicu – Voicu 2003b; Juknevičius – Savicka 2003: 132) Even the physical time for performing volunteer work was missing in the past, since the state tended to control everything. (Verdery 2003)

Explaining inter-country differences in volunteering

There is a question that still remains unanswered: why do some ex-communist countries have volunteer rates lower than others? This question implies another one: from where do the differences with Western democracies come? The answers rise from the assumptions about the individual determinants of volunteering: better educated, wealthier, more sociable societies will express a higher propensity for their citizens to perform voluntary work for the benefit of community or of others. On the other hand, as Tocqueville long ago observed, the cultural particularities of otherwise similar societies make their members associate more or less and develop different shapes for the public space relationships.

In other words, the distribution of resources (human, social, material, or symbolic capital in Bourdieu's terminology) within a society might equally well determine the differences in volunteering. The regression models, depicted in Table 4 and 5, illustrate this point. We have run multilevel logistic regression analyses (Table 4), considering both the individual level and the country level potential determinants of volunteering. The dependent variables tapped for volunteering in any type of association, except for political parties and labour unions. In other models (not shown in Table 4), we have considered as a dependent variable volunteering in any association which is not religious, political or a labour union.

When running OLS regression only at country level (Table 5)⁷, the explained variance is quite big, even for a small population, while predictions made by the regression model fit the observed data well. Sweden, Iceland, the Netherlands, and Finland are predicted to have higher volunteering values, while, based on their resources, Hungary, Romania and Portugal are expected to volunteer the lowest. As Table 2 shows, this is consistent with the incidence of volunteering in the respective countries. The results confirm the importance at societal level of all the predictors, except for religious practice. Development has the strongest positive effect, followed by education and generalized trust. However, the effects of aggregate levels of education and of social trust disappear when controlling for individual education level and trust in people. (Table 4) This means that both education and social trust contribute less through developing a culture of social trust, but rather through the individual.

Table 4: Multilevel logistic regression models for volunteering in Europe: the b coefficients

predictors	Model 0	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
<i>Individual level</i>								
religious practice	0.16***	-0.27***	-0.28	-0.27	-0.23	-0.32	-0.30	-0.30***
Education	0.16***	0.16***	0.22***	0.18***	0.28***	0.16***	0.15***	0.15***
income (deciles)	0.07***	0.08***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***
no. of children	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.01	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.03
trusting people	0.39***	0.38***	0.37***	0.33***	0.12***	0.37***	0.31***	0.31***
Friends have at least the same importance as family	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.08***	0.08***	0.02	0.02	0.02
spending time with friends	0.28***	0.19*	0.15	0.34***	0.34***	0.15	0.15	0.15
Man	0.16***	0.16***	0.15***	0.19***	0.19***	-0.68	0.15***	0.15***
Age								
15-24	0.21***	0.21***	0.2***	0.37***	0.38***	0.21***	0.2***	0.2***
25-34	0.09	0.10	0.09	0.26***	0.26***	0.09	0.09	0.09
35-44	0.26***	0.27***	0.26***	0.43***	0.43***	0.26***	0.26***	0.26***
45-54	0.25***	0.26***	0.25***	0.32***	0.32***	0.25***	0.25***	0.25***
55-64	0.37***	0.38***	0.37***	0.35***	0.35***	0.37***	0.37***	0.37***
Values								

⁷ We have run a linear regression model for the aggregate data set of European countries. The dependent variables were tapping for the proportion of individuals volunteering in each country, except those performing voluntary work exclusively for political parties and labour unions. The predictors measured each of the four types of resources mentioned above and are similar to the ones used at individual level.

Since the dependent variable is censored above, one might opt for probit analysis instead of linear regression. However, since all predicted values through the linear model range from 0 to 100 (more exactly from 4% to 34%), linear regression can also be employed.

predictors	Model 0	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Mixed	0.04	0.03	0.02	0.39***	0.37***	0.03	0.03	0.03
post-materialist	0.26***	0.25***	0.24***	0.67***	0.66***	0.24*	0.24*	0.24***
size of locality								
2,000-5,000	0.00	0.00	-0.01	0.10	0.10	-0.01	0.00	0.00
5,000-10,000	-0.11	-0.12	-0.12	0.09	0.08	-0.12	-0.11	-0.12
10,000-20,000	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.32***	0.31***	0.02	0.02	0.02
20,000-50,000	-0.16	-0.16***	-0.16	0.1	0.09	-0.16	-0.15	-0.15***
50,000-100,000	-0.26***	-0.27***	-0.26***	-0.19***	-0.19***	-0.25***	-0.25***	-0.26***
100,000-500,000	-0.17***	-0.18***	-0.17***	0.05	0.05	-0.17***	-0.17***	-0.17***
500,000 and more	-0.31***	-0.32***	-0.31***	-0.07	-0.07	-0.31***	-0.31***	-0.31***
<i>Country level</i>								
% of people meeting friends weekly or more often		0.02	0.04***	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.03***	0.03***
average religious practice		0.40	0.75***	1.03***	0.98*	0.26	0.26	0.23
GDP/capita (USD PPP)		0.01***						
% tertiary education graduates with 25-64 y.o. population			-0.01		0.04		1.86	
% individuals who trust the others				1.06				1.69
% post-materialist				0.04	0.04			
average age at first marriage (for women)						0.12***		
average positioning on the state-individual axe of providing welfare (the government should have more responsibility for)							0.15	
ex-communist country	-1.01***							0.21

• Dependent variable: volunteer or not in any type of association, except for political parties and labour unions.

• * $p \leq 0.10$; ** $p \leq 0.05$; *** $p \leq 0.01$.

• The database was weighted according to the population of each country.

• In a few cases, the database lacks information for some variables: income (Portugal), post-materialism (UK), number of children in the household (Albania, Moldova, Bosnia, Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro). We did not include the cases from these countries in the analysis.

Sources for the aggregate level indicators: education indicators – B. Voicu (2005); GDP per capita – CIA (2001); average age at the first marriage (for women) – Council of Europe (2002), Eurostat (2001).

Table 5: (Country level) linear regression of volunteering in Europe

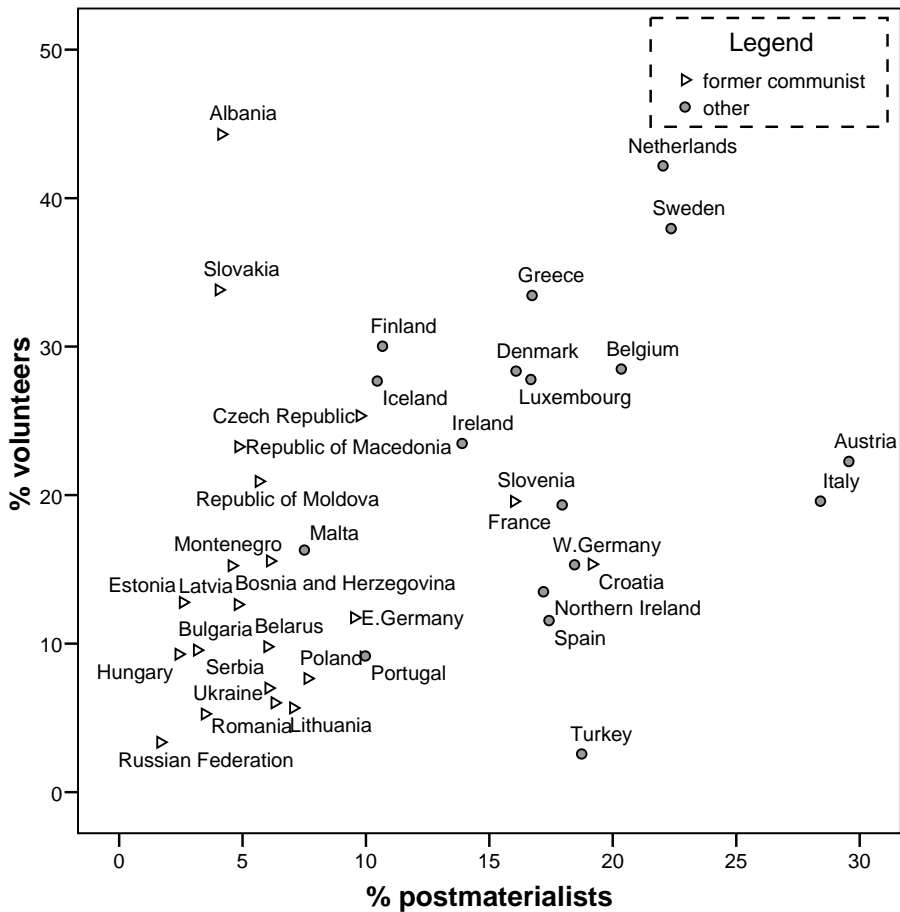
Predictors	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6		Model 7	
	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta
% of people meeting friends weekly or more often	0.003	0.33	0.004	0.44	0.002	0.27	0.002	0,29	0,002	0,21	0,003	0,38	0,002	0,28
average religious practice	0.030	0.17	0.015	0.08	0.028	0.16	0.028	0,16	0,027	0,15	0,021	0,12	0,030	0,17
GDP/capita (USD PPP)	0.000	0.47												
% tertiary education graduates with 25-64 y.o. population			0.004	0.33			0.003	0,25						
% individuals who trust others					0.213	0.30	0.005				0,224	0,32	0,189	0,27
% post-materialist					0.004	0.27		0,32						
average age at first marriage (for women)									0,021	0,46				
average positioning on the state-individual axes of providing welfare (the government should have more responsibility for)											-0,017	-0,17		
ex-communist country													-0,056	-0,27
Constant	-0.170		-0.170		-0.168		-0.182		-0,612		-0,057		-0,100	
Adjusted R square	44.6%		32.8%		40.2%		38.4%		36.6%		37.9%		39.5%	

Dependent variable: % of people volunteering in at least one association, except for political parties and labour unions

The sources for the indicators: education indicators – B. Voicu (2005); GDP per capita – CIA (2001); average age at the first marriage (for women) – Council of Europe (2002), Eurostat (2001).

We have also tested whether the ‘bloc’ cultural heritage is stronger than the national disposal of resources. However, the indicators that we had for the two realities are quite well connected, so we were not able to include the membership in communism among the selected predictors⁸.

Figure 3: **The association between volunteering and post-materialism in Europe (EVS/WVS’99 data set)**



Note: Volunteering in any type of organization except for labour unions, political parties and religious organizations was considered.

⁸ Had we done so, the model would have been affected by colinearity, as the East-West dummy strongly correlates both with the GDP per capita, education, post-materialism, average age at the first marriage, and with the social capital indicators.

According to Inglehart (1997), the shift that currently occurs within western societies is from materialism to post-materialism. Western globalizing culture could be seen as a 'post-materialist' one as opposed to materialist modernity. We have computed the percentage of post-materialists by country, using Inglehart's classic item. The connection between volunteering and post-materialist culture is a strong one. Almost all ex-communist countries lie in the bottom left of the graph, displaying both lower levels of volunteering and post-materialist culture.

A similar pattern is present when studying the relation between volunteering and the value orientation toward individual responsibility for personal welfare. We have used the classic item from WVS/EVS which opposes the preference that "Individuals should take more responsibility providing for themselves" to that of "The state should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for". The item was a 10 point scale. For each country, we have computed the mean of the variable. The correlation coefficient between the new variable (with the countries as cases) and the level of volunteering is quite strong 0.374, and 0.379 when excluding the volunteering for the religious associations. Although weak, the propensity for individual responsibility is a measure for both individual autonomy (as a feature of modern culture, and continued into late modernity), and also taps for the current tendencies in western welfare states. Data show that, at the aggregate level, volunteering increases when statism decreases, providing another argument for including volunteering within the effects of the globalizing western culture. However, when controlling for the individual level indicators, it appears that the connection between the propensity to volunteer and the average welfare ideology in the respective society is not significant.

Despite the importance of these country level indicators, when the multilevel regression is run (Table 4), it shows that the importance of the main individual level predictors remain unchanged, regardless of which aggregate characteristics are considered. Social capital, religious practice, education, and income values are determinant for the individual decision to volunteer in all societal contexts. The societal factors simply add to this, promoting or putting barriers to individual behaviours

The study of the interactions reveals other interesting findings, empirically confirming the reviewed literature: in most religious countries, greater religious practice increases the probability of volunteering. In the more modernized countries, the distance in propensity towards volunteering between materialists and the others tends to be lower. Men tend to volunteer more than women, but, in more traditional societies, the gender gap in volunteering tends to be even higher. In the ex-communist societies, being young, or living in an average

sized town, is more important for increasing the volunteering probability than in the Western part of the Europe.

All this suggests that dominant status is more important in the less developed societies. The differences in volunteering between various social groups become smaller when affluence and modern patterns of living are generalized at societal level. However, this is not the case for income: being very rich in a rich society increases the probability of volunteering.

Conclusions. Implications for promoting volunteering in the ECE area

Using data from the 1990 – 1993 and 2005 – 2006 waves of the values surveys one may note a common pattern which seems to manifest in all post-communist European societies: the percentage of volunteers is slightly increasing over time. More and more people tend to involve in formal voluntary organizations and to do unpaid work, on the sake of the other or of collectivity.

Would the increasing number of NGOs and volunteers from the ex-communist space be a sign of a globalizing world? Considering cultural westernization as a core element of the globalization, our answer is positive. In a more and more ‘globalizing’ world, the ‘bloc’ culture of ex-communist countries is confronted by western culture and the result is a new value pattern, which includes element from both cultures. Democratization also contributes to increasing the opportunities for civic mobilization and more participation to associative life.

Volunteerism, absent during the communist period, is quite a new phenomenon for the Eastern European countries, and one could say that it was ‘imported’ from the Western countries. However, the characteristics of the culture of volunteerism are different in Eastern Europe due to the special cultural background of the ex-communist countries. In Eastern Europe there was not a big tradition of volunteer activity before 1989. The communist regime had produced a fake modernization and inhibited participation in civic organization and even discredited the concept of voluntary work. On the other hand, most East European societies were, during the inter-war period, somewhat traditional; patriarchal societies and their inhabitants were not used to involvement in civic organization.

Our data indicate that the differences in the volunteering culture are still present between Eastern and Western countries in Europe. The level of volunteering is higher in Western countries than in Eastern ones, except for a few outliers. Residence in an ex-communist country has a negative impact on the level of volunteering. One can say that the lower level of volunteering is a characteristic of the communist ‘bloc culture’, and, from this point of view, low volunteerism might be seen as another “missing link” which made longer the road to European integration.

However, there is no a single Western culture of volunteering; there are significant differences in the level of volunteering among West European countries. Generally speaking, volunteering decreases from North to South and also decreases from East to West. Countries like Sweden and the Netherlands have the highest level of volunteering, while Italy and Spain have quite low levels.

Our explanation of the individual differences in volunteering is focused much more on individual and environmental resources than on culture. The analyzed data support this approach. In almost all the countries included in the analysis, the predictors for volunteering are the same: education, religious practice, social network, income and age. All around Europe, people with dominant status volunteer more than others. At a country level, the level of volunteering is higher in countries with higher levels of development, generally trusting citizens, and with better educated citizens. Volunteering appears to be both a matter of culture, and also one of resources.

As Dekker and Halman (2003) point out, drawing on Putnam's example of Southern Italy, the presence of volunteers within a more traditional area could also determine the development of a culture of volunteering. In the long run, EU integration, globalization and economic *detente* will probably change the picture, determining a higher propensity towards volunteering in Eastern Europe too. However, in order to stimulate involvement in volunteer activity, one should rely on the determinants of volunteering at the individual level, like residence in medium towns, level of education or age. On the other hand, as already indicated, the lack of volunteer culture is a brake on involvement in volunteer work, and the cultural factors will probably change under the impact of globalization, Europeanization and economic development.

How can the level of volunteering in Eastern Europe be improved? Starting from the profile of the volunteer, one can outline certain actions focused on particular target groups. Therefore, the main focus should be on young, educated people (such as university or high school students), living in medium-size towns. These people are more sensitive towards civic issues and are more willing to involve themselves in non-profit work. They can be attracted to volunteer work by internship activities which can show them the advantages and the rewards of volunteering, and by advertising activities which can indicate what it means to be a volunteer.

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