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Volunteering in Europe

Opportunities and challenges for the 90s

Edited by Justin Davis Smith

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Preface

The essays which make up this publication were presented at a Pan-European research seminar held in London in October 1992. The seminar, organised by The Volunteer Centre UK with generous financial support from The Nuffield Foundation, had two aims: to discuss the extent of knowledge on volunteering in the countries of Europe; and to draw up a proposal for a major comparative study of volunteering across the continent.

Participants to the seminar were given the brief to produce a background paper on volunteering in their country. They were asked to focus on the following questions:

1 How is volunteering defined?

2 What is the extent and nature of voluntary activity?

3 Who are the volunteers?

4 What motivates people to volunteer?

5 What infrastructure exists to support volunteering?

6 What is the policy of government towards volunteering?

7 What are the recent trends in volunteering?

The majority of essays in the publication thus share a common format, although the structure of each is ultimately determined by the availability of information on volunteering in each country. In addition to the nation studies there are essays on more general themes. David Barker presents information from the European Values Study; Keith Yeomans calls for a Europe-wide strategy for promoting volunteering through the media; and Nicole Weismann outlines the role of volunteering in Europe as seen by the European Commission.

Following the seminar a proposal for a major comparative study of volunteering in Europe was developed. The study, which is due to start in summer 1993, will for the first time enable accurate comparisons to be made of volunteering across the nation states of Europe. This publication should therefore be seen very much as an introduction to the subject - summarising what we know about volunteering in Europe and what gaps exist in our understanding.

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April 1993

Introduction

Volunteering in Europe:

Opportunities and Challenges for the 90s

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The value of volunteering for society has long been recognised.The great nineteenth century social philosopher, de Tocqueville, argued that voluntary action was vital to the work of democratic society by acting as a bulwark against excessive state power (1). In recent years governments across Europe have begun to rediscover the value of volunteering and to take active steps to promote it. This paper outlines some of the opportunities and challenges for the "volunteer sector" during the nineties.

A few statistics will help illustrate the vitality of volunteering. A recent survey carried out in the United Kingdom has suggested that up to half the adult population take part in voluntary work each year, contributing 100 million hours of help each week (2). In France a survey has found that 19% of the population are involved in volunteering each year, with the average amount of time spent each week being somewhere in the region of 4 hours (3). In the Netherlands surveys have identified 5 million volunteers in a population of just 14 million (4); and in Denmark a quarter of the population have been found to volunteer (5). It would, however, be a mistake to make firm comparisons between countries. Volunteering is heavily influenced by the society in which it takes place; it is not at all clear that there is even a common European understanding of what constitutes volunteering. Does volunteering refer exclusively to activities undertaken in a formal setting, through a voluntary or statutory agency; or can it also encompass informal, neighbourhood help? Does volunteering include political and campaigning activity or is it confined to the direct provision of services? And what of the field in which it takes place? Is volunteering confined to activity in the social welfare field, or can it also include work undertaken in, for example, the environment and in the fields of art and heritage? Can people be paid to volunteer? Different countries appear to define volunteering in different ways, as the papers in this publication demonstrate. Yet despite these differences volunteering is a common activity throughout Europe and one, moreover, that is growing in importance.

It is possible to identify a number of reasons for the recent enthusiasm for volunteering amongst the governments of Europe. First, a growing recognition amongst societies with a well established welfare state that statutory provision alone was never going to prove capable of dealing with all of society's needs. To put it more bluntly - the end of the welfare dream. The massive expansion in welfare spending since the late sixties, combined with mounting economic problems and balance of payments crises, increased pressure to limit welfare expenditure. The voluntary sector and volunteers were seen as an alternative and more cost-effective means of delivering welfare (and other) services. It must be stressed that part of the push for an increased role for voluntary action was economic.

But the shift towards greater reliance on voluntary action was also ideological. The late 1980s saw the replacement across Western Europe of social democratic governments by conservative administrations, keen to increase self-reliance and limit state intervention, and to roll back the frontiers of the state. In the welfare field these administrations looked to transfer responsibility for the provision, and in some cases the funding, of services to the private and voluntary sectors. The goal of state welfarism was supplanted in government policy by one of welfare pluralism or a mixed economy of welfare. In the UK and elsewhere public authorities were forced or encouraged to contract out services to the independent sector. Volunteering was actively encouraged as a policy goal.

It would be wrong, however, to conclude that it was only on the Right that ideas of welfare pluralism had taken hold. Since the late sixties there had been growing dissatisfaction on the Left at the performance of public services, which were variously accused of being out of touch with users, unresponsive to change and monolithic in character. This period saw the flowering throughout Europe of a new form of voluntary action - more radical in tone, more democratic in orientation, which grew up alongside the more traditional forms of action. For the Left voluntary action was to be championed because it fostered participation, empowered individuals and was an expression of collective, community action. Notwithstanding the fact that the ideological base of support for voluntary action on the Left was of a very different nature to that on the Right, the fact remains that by the end of the 1980s voluntary action (and volunteering) was being championed by groupings across the political spectrum.

Whilst these ideological shifts were taking place in the welfare countries of the west, momentous changes were occurring in the countries of east and central Europe. Voluntary action had not disappeared during the years of communist rule, contrary to popular belief. For example, it has been estimated that in the former German Democratic Republic, up to 25% of the population were involved in the voluntary sector in a voluntary capacity in any one year (6). However, such action had been seriously curtailed in the region. The revolutions in east and central Europe saw the flowering of voluntary groups and voluntary work, partly no doubt as a joyous celebration of new found freedom but also in response to the enormous social and economic problems facing the new nation states. Voluntary action was not simply a consequence of political liberation. Voluntary action, especially through church based groups, had a key role to play in bringing such freedom about. In Poland, in Hungary and in Czechoslovakia, voluntary action was a dominant force in the struggle for political liberation. Such action has continued to develop in the new political situation, but not without problems. Shortages of funds, of basic resources and of the whole infrastructure of an independent third sector, have limited expansion. And we should perhaps not be surprised. As one of the leading political theorists of the third sector, Ralph Dahrendorf, has commented: civil society is something that grows rather than is built. Its "stable and enduring networks" will take years to be created (7).

There is much that western nations can do to encourage the development of the third sector and of volunteering in east and central Europe, and through such initiatives as the Charity Know How Fund in the UK, money and experience is being transferred to the region. Such help is to be applauded. But we should be mindful of the dangers of trying to uproot models of voluntary action in one society and transplant them lock, stock, and barrel to another one. As has already been said, voluntary action takes on different forms in different cultures and what is the right model of action in one society may not be right in all others.

What of the future? What will be the role of voluntary activity in Europe over the next decade? It seems to me that there are two scenarios for the future development of voluntary activity: one positive, the other less so.

First, the less positive one. This can be described as a situation where voluntary action is placed in direct competition with the state. This scenario sees voluntary action being championed as an alternative to statutory services, particularly in the social welfare field, but possibly in other areas too like the environment, heritage and the arts. Under pressure from economic retrenchment, and imbued with a desire to curtail the state sector, governments may choose to promote the voluntary sector and voluntary activity as a direct substitute for statutory provision. Local authorities will be forced to contract out services to the independent sector. Voluntary organisations will expand their service delivery role and volunteers will be asked to take on roles previously seen as the preserve of paid professionals within statutory bodies. State funding of the voluntary sector and of the infrastructure of volunteering will be cut.

There are dangers to this approach. It is not at all clear that the volunteer sector has the capacity to respond to these increased demands being placed upon it. In the UK, for example, despite an increase in numbers of volunteers over the past decade, many organisations are finding it difficult to recruit sufficient numbers to take on expanded

roles. Apart from the political push for an expansion of voluntary effort there are socio-demographic factors at work which are increasing the demand for volunteers. An example of this is the trend towards an ageing population, which is being experienced throughout most countries in Europe. Alongside the rise in numbers of active third age people there will be an increase in numbers of frail elderly people who will require the assistance and care of family, friends and neighbours. The long term decline in the nuclear family will increase the pressure on volunteers to shoulder the responsibility for such care, all the more in societies where care in the community is replacing institutional care as the dominant goal of social policy.

Alongside these trends which are increasing the demand for volunteers, there are trends working to limit the supply. The rapid rise in unemployment throughout Europe will limit the availability of volunteers. Studies have shown that although volunteering can bring significant benefits to people outside the labour market, most unemployed people do not volunteer, their energies being spent more on trying to find paid work (8). Other long term trends such as the break up of traditional communities, and what sociologists have termed "the privatisation of home life", may also serve to undermine the capacity of people to engage in voluntary activities. The changing structure of the paid labour market, with many more women entering paid employment, may also reduce the availability of volunteers, although studies suggest that in fact people in paid work are the more likely to volunteer.

On the other hand there are trends which may open up opportunities for an expansion of volunteering. Moves towards a shorter working week and earlier retirement will give people (at least in theory) more time to engage in voluntary activities. But the point to note is that it is not at all certain that the volunteer sector will be able to expand sufficiently to take on the increased demands being asked of it.

Another problem which could arise if we follow the path of substitution of statutory services by voluntary ones, is that tensions between paid professionals and volunteers could surface again. Historically, the trade union movement has been wary of the spread of volunteering, seeing in it a threat to paid jobs and the terms and conditions of employment of its members. In recent years, however, there has been a softening of this hostility, at least in the UK, partly as a result of the shift in thinking on the Left away from statism towards welfare pluralism which was touched on earlier. In the UK after a long period of mistrust between the unions and the volunteer sector the situation has improved. Several trade unions are offering membership to volunteer workers and one union has produced a leaflet in conjunction with a major volunteering agency laying down the terms and conditions of "employment" which volunteers should expect to receive, including access to insurance, adequate health and safety cover and access to a trade union. The Volunteer Centre UK has itself published an agreement negotiated between major trade unions, volunteer involving agencies and employers' organisations, which recognises the value of volunteering in society, but which also recognises the genuine fears of the labour movement, and which concludes that volunteering should complement rather than substitute for the work of paid professionals (9). It is this type of agreement which will be placed in jeopardy by any attempt to view volunteers as a direct replacement for paid staff.

There is a more positive vision of the future: one where voluntary activity plays an expanded role in society but alongside statutory agencies, in cooperation rather than in conflict with the state. What are the factors needed to support such a vision of volunteering?

First, a well established infrastructure. Whilst volunteering exists in all societies, support structures are required for it to flourish. It is a myth that volunteering does not require an investment of resources. If governments are serious about encouraging voluntary activity they need to do more than just sing its praises. They need to create the structures in which it can develop. This infrastructure may take the form of a specialist agency (or a network of such agencies) devoted to the promotion and support of volunteering. It may also involve the creation of "job centres" or volunteer bureaux for recruiting and placing volunteers, a model which has been developed in several European countries in recent years.

Central government has a role to play in supporting such structures. Volunteering does best not when the state withdraws, but when it is supported by public authorities. This does not mean that government should assume control of volunteering. The independence of the volunteer sector is one of its defining features and its greatest asset. The sector should be wary of attempts to transform its role into one of merely carrying out services funded by government. Volunteering needs to retain its independent voice, to challenge governments, to campaign as well as to deliver services. The role of voluntary action in innovating and pioneering new services needs to be jealously guarded. But for volunteering to flourish it needs a healthy partnership with the state.

Also required for volunteering to flourish is a healthy relationship with the private sector. Companies sponsor voluntary action in a number of ways: by giving money, by gifts in kind, and by seconding staff to voluntary groups. In the current economic recession, companies are looking for alternative ways to support their communities. One way is through company or employee volunteering schemes, which are well developed in the United States and which are growing in importance in the UK and elsewhere. Such schemes take the form of companies encouraging staff to get involved in voluntary activities, either during work time or outside of office hours. With the onset of the Single European Market there is a possibility for companies to support volunteer groups across national borders. Companies with branches in other countries may see the development of such schemes as an opportunity to put something into the local community and improve its image in the locality. We should remember that the benefits will be two way. The organisation will benefit from the influx of new volunteers, but so too will the company. The duality of volunteering is once again emphasised.

I have not mentioned the role of agencies (voluntary, statutory and private) in promoting volunteering. I will say just one or two things. Firstly, the importance of the message. Volunteering is not about charity and dependency. It is not so much a gift relationship as an exchange relationship. All the evidence on motivation reviewed in this publication points to the fact that people look to volunteer for personal satisfaction and need as well as to do something useful in the community. This message needs to be highlighted. Volunteering needs to be sold as an exchange relationship, with both the volunteer and the recipient benefiting from the activity. Only in this way will volunteering be able to shake off its middle class image and appeal to a broader cross section of society. One way in which organisations might choose to get this message across is though better use of the media, as Keith Yeomans suggests in his paper calling for a Europe-wide media strategy.

The moves towards closer European integration will have implications for volunteering. The Single Market is intended to bring significant economic benefits to the continent. However, even the staunchest advocates of a united Europe accept that there will be economic and social dislocation, at least in the short term. There will be a role for voluntary activity in advocating on behalf of those left behind in any economic advance. The Single Market may also lead to an increase in migration of peoples looking for work, and the resurgence of racial and ethnic tensions, particularly in a time of high unemployment, cannot be ruled out. Again voluntary action has a role to play in bringing communities together and campaigning on behalf of the dispossessed. As policy is increasingly taken at a European level, so there will be a need for groups to organise across the boundaries of nation states to be able to mount an effective lobby on issues affecting volunteering.

The future for volunteering in Europe looks good. There is a growing consensus in political thought about the value of volunteering to society. In western Europe as well as in the emerging democracies of eastern and central Europe, governments are looking to the voluntary sector and to volunteering to play an increased role in society. I have outlined some of the dangers of following a policy of direct substitution of volunteer run services for statutory services, and have argued that the future of volunteering will best be served by a healthy cooperation between the state and the volunteer sector.

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1 Values and Volunteering

The significance of values research for voluntary action

Since the late seventies discussion of motives for voluntary action has been influenced by prevailing theories of social exchange and reciprocity (1). According to such theories gifts, time and services are traded for, and contingent upon, benefits received, whether tangible or intangible. Such theories are, essentially, behaviourist, reductionist and deterministic. They lack predictive power and exclude any possibility of moral obligation (2). Yet Blau himself excluded behaviour in accordance with internalised norms and standards from his theory of exchange, and Gouldner argued that people have duties which are not the rights of others. The "norm of reciprocity" (something for something) needed to be supplemented, in his view, by a "norm of beneficence" (something for nothing), otherwise many who required help would never receive it. Thus, exchange theory, applied to voluntary activity, ignores the limitations placed on it by some of its authors and fails to do justice to the variety and richness of human motives.

Indeed, it can be argued that voluntary work is essentially value based, involving a sense of moral identification between donor and beneficiary (3). Nagel (4) suggests that there are specifically moral reasons for action - ethical claims beyond the reach of social advantage - and because they are moral they motivate, not vice versa. Altruistic acts may give the false appearance of exchange but are based upon an appeal to the imagination, an ability to put oneself in someone else's shoes. Again, Abrams, in his review of neighbourhood care in Great Britain, laid stress on the important contribution made by "moral communities", for example the churches, in the provision of care (5).

Etzioni in his classification of organisations into different forms each with different modes of compliance, characterises voluntary agencies as predominantly normative. Compliance is based upon moral authority and involvement results from moral identification (6). Kramer identifies the voluntary sector's role as "value guardian" as one of its distinguishing features and the values of core staff have been found to be useful predictors of organisational change and innovation (7).

The voluntary sector adds back variety to the social system. It compensates for cultural selectivity in a given society and its social institutions. The sector offers a source of identity, support and security for those at odds with the prevailing social values - those who are "exiles in our midst" (8). It also provides a critical consciousness role, pointing up the distortions and extremes which a narrow cultural selectivity can lead to.

For all the above reasons, it is important to take account of the moral and social condition of Europe in any review of the nature and extent of the volunteer contribution, and to assess the implications of value change.

Voluntary workers are untypical

It is well known that the socio-demographic characteristics of volunteers are untypical of the general population: the upper income and social groups; the better educated and middle aged are overrepresented. What is less well-known is that they differ also in their values, attitudes and beliefs and in their levels of psychological well-being (9). Yet we might expect this to be so from analyses of contemporary social morality, from

historical and sociological accounts of secularisation, by reference to what Hirsch termed "positional competition" (10) and from our knowledge of prevailing norms governing interpersonal relations.

Hirsch argued that industrial development, increased personal mobility and the anonymity implicit in urbanisation make it difficult to see reciprocal obligations in a perspective that has meaning for individuals. The pressure to improve personal prosperity and the scramble for what Hirsch termed "positional power" place a premium upon making one's time available to others and can lead to an "economics of bad neighbours". The opportunity cost of undertaking voluntary work, therefore, is high, and there is a "free-rider" problem to be overcome (11).

The impact of secularisation and functional differentiation on society (see below) has led to what a number of sociologists have termed the "collapse of community". One effect of this has been the reduction of most personal relationships to the instrumental/technical level in which individuals typically adopt "positions" and perform "roles". Similarly, MacIntyre has pointed to isolation, self-absorption and manipulative social relations as characteristic of many individuals in contemporary society as a result of what he calls the "decline into emotivism" (12). Again, the market morality and "possessive individualism" which some commentators have perceived in economic life (13) suggest that a willingness formally to engage in institutionalised voluntary work is likely to be characteristic of a minority. This minority will tend to be unrepresentative of the general population in its values and beliefs.

More specifically, it can be argued following Nagel (14) that those engaged in voluntary work are more likely to adopt an objective view of morality (derived either from Kantian notions of duty or a teleological moral tradition within a framework of theistic beliefs) involving the recognition of the reality of other persons and the extension of this objective interest to persons in general. The Judaeo-Christian tradition, to which the notions of "community" and an ethic of universal concern are central, reinforces the disposition to help by its emphasis on personal relationships, trust, the virtue of compassion, and the obligation of charity (15). Indeed, Jeavons argues that it was "precisely the values-expressive nature of religious, philanthropic work and the agencies engaged in it, that created the social space in which an independent sector could form especially in the United States" (16).

Allen and Rushton (17) reviewing the characteristics of community mental health volunteers reported evidence from five studies that such people "have more internalised moral standards than non-volunteers" and that these included: greater concern for religious values, less for economic values; greater moral concern over the rightness and wrongness of behaviour. As has been mentioned, Abrams pointed out that neighbourhood care involved notions of empathy, duty and collective moral standards and was sustained and legitimated by membership of moral community. He noted that religious groups were the most important source of such care and drew attention to the donors' attachment to notions of altruism and beneficence as crucial conditions upon which helping is based (18).

Finally, Gouldner in distinguishing between beneficence and reciprocity hypothesised that religious commitment, supernatural sanctions and moral absolutism were important correlates of the former, and suggested that because of the objective framework within which such acts take place, donors would find relatively greater meaning in life (19).

Whilst they may be in a majority among volunteers, those holding an objective view of morality clearly have no monopoly of volunteer motivation. Others, adopting a relativist position, typically emphasising political and social rather than moral values and beliefs, concerned with "rights" rather than duties, with social justice and structural change and employing the techniques of protest and persuasion, are also attracted into the field (20). Indeed, MacIntyre suggests that concepts such as "rights", "protest" and "unmasking" have a key place in the contemporary moral scheme and that their importance is linked to the moral autonomy we have learned to prize (21). Those engaged in activities of the social-change type will, typically, be educated and/or young (22) and they will be a minority among volunteers. The rejection of the notion of

"charity" by those committed to structural change tends to reinforce the latter tendency.

As far as psychological well-being is concerned, the clinical psychologist, Maslow (23), concluded that "the best helpers are the most fully human persons". Whilst the empirical evidence is somewhat limited, reviews of the literature of altruism and studies of psychological well-being in the USA and the United Kingdom do indicate a positive association between social participation, altruism and psychological well-being which should be reflected among the volunteer population (24).

Recent research by the European Values Group provides the opportunity to evaluate a number of these important theoretical insights and empirical findings. EVG surveys in 1981 and 1990 in Western Europe and Scandinavia (replicated in many other countries, including Eastern Europe) provide comparable data about a wide range of attitudes, beliefs and values as well as behavioural indicators - including volunteer participation.

The European Values Group

The EVG is an informal, international, network of social scientists, theologians, philosophers and opinion researchers. It was established as a charitable foundation in the Netherlands in 1978 to plan joint activities; no central secretariat exists nor are permanent staff employed. A Steering Committee coordinates the international research programme. National teams within the Group are responsible for their own finance, analysis and publication of research results based on a standard questionnaire. Random samples are used where possible, otherwise quota samples are employed.

The research aims to discover whether Europeans share common values, the extent to which values are changing and the implications for European unity. The researchers are interested to find out the extent to which Christian values continue to permeate European life and culture and whether a coherent alternative meaning system is replacing that of Christianity.

The EVG undertook its first study in 1981, which was repeated with a revised questionnaire in 1990. Originally confined to Western Europe, research groups in 29 countries eventually participated in the 1981 research project. The coverage of the 1990 study was further extended to over 40 countries. Sponsors have included government agencies, research councils, universities, foundations, commercial organisations and churches.

Table 1.1: European Values Survey

Countries reported on below and 1990 sample size

Country	Sample size
Belgium (BE)	2792
Canada (C)	1730
Denmark (DE)	1030
France (FR)	1002
W.Germany (WG)	2101
Great Britain (GB)	1484
Iceland (IC)	702
Ireland (IR)	1000
N. Ireland (NI)	304
Italy (IT)	2018
Netherlands (NL)	1017
Norway (NO)	1239
Portugal (P)	1185
Spain (SP)	4147
Sweden (SW)	1047
USA (US)	1839

Results presented here relate to just fourteen West European and Scandinavian countries with limited North American comparisons (25).

The same questionnaire was administered in all countries. Each respondent participated in a personal interview lasting one hour or more and responded to 444 question items. The data collected included information about the age, social class, occupation, education level, religious convictions and political affiliation of each respondent. The study is, of course, subject to the strengths and limitations of the survey method.

The concept of "value" in EVS research

Values are notoriously difficult to define for purposes of social research (26). Their scope and content cannot easily be specified in advance but, rather, must be ascertained empirically. In EVS research values are latent attributes i.e. deeply rooted dispositions, orientations or motives guiding people to act or behave in a certain way. A single underlying value may thus be identified by a range of expressed opinions or behavioural indicators. The EVSSG researchers tried to discover patterns in the data which might point to common underlying values, each explaining a range of attitudes or forms of behaviour.

Possible explanations of social change

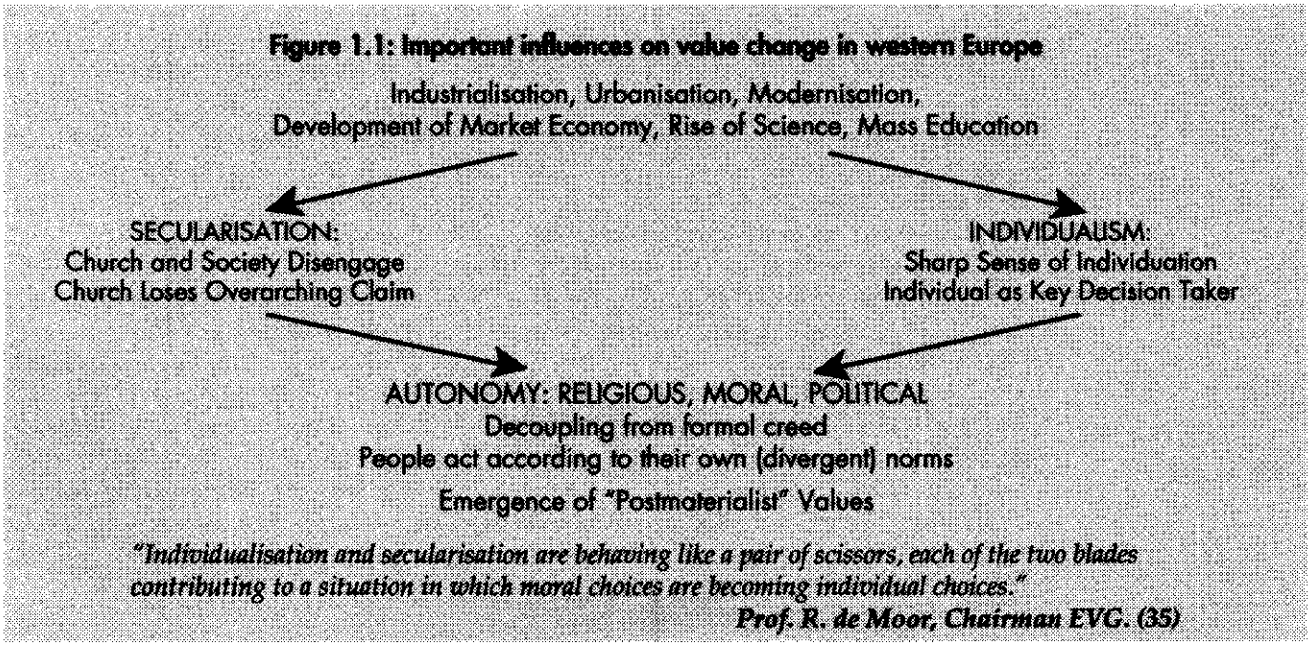
Among many possible influences on social change are: the effects of age and the different life experiences of each new generation; the consequences of war, revolution, inflation and economic growth or decline; the influence of the prevailing government regime, and transformation of the prevailing world order (27).

The EVS approach stresses cultural evolution and adaptation in society as a consequence of modernisation, secularisation, individualism and the demand for moral autonomy, coupled with intergenerational replacement.

Secularisation and individualism

The term secularisation refers to the process of functional differentiation in society (28) which commenced in the Middle Ages and was linked to industrialisation, urbanisation and the rise of science. During this process: the church lost its overarching claims to exercise authority throughout the social system (29); evacuated large areas of social and economic life (30); became one among a number of sub-systems of society and its inspirational power and moral authority waned (31). The political, economic, social and religious spheres separated out; the world became "desacralised" and mastered by technology; rationalisation of the institutional sphere occurred. Church and society disengaged (32). Social and economic activities became efficiently organised, bureaucratic, predictable and controllable. Individuals typically adopted "positions" and performed "roles"; relationships between persons were increasingly reduced to the instrumental/technical level outside of close family and friendship networks (33). As Wilson has noted, the social system no longer functioned to fulfil the will of God but rather to promote human well-being (34). Religion became increasingly privatised.

Figure 1.1: Important influences on value change in western Europe



"Individualisation and secularisation are behaving like a pair of scissors, each of the two blades contributing to a situation in which moral choices are becoming individual choices."
Prof. R. de Moor, Chairman EVG. (35)

Individualism is associated with modernisation and the development of the market economy. It is characterised: first, by a sharp sense of individuation of the person and a stress on the supreme value of the individual human being; second, by an emphasis on personal autonomy and the individual as key decision taker; thirdly, by a concern for self-development as a primary value, and finally, by a recognition of specific moral responsibilities to others (36). The most general effect of a strong emphasis on the individual, Wuthnow (37) has suggested "appears to be to 'decouple' the substantive tenets of any formalised set of doctrines or creeds... Accordingly, for any particular individual, a highly integrated world view may exist, but its components may be quite dissimilar from those of any other person's world view". Individualism may result in a preoccupation with oneself and a highly relativistic outlook. On the other hand, whilst recognising the individual as the source of moral values, individualism may involve identification with, or action on behalf of, others as manifested, for example, in the growing concern for human rights.

Value domains

There is no overarching value system in Europe. The church, Timms maintains, "has lost its role as the keystone in the arch of culture but no other institution is taking its place" (38). People's values can, however, be grouped into distinct "domains", eg religion, family, politics, work. The elements which make up these value domains are to some degree comparable across Europe (and N. America). In other respects they are nation specific. Relationships between the various domains exist but are rather weak and the "value preferences" people express differ. Consequently we cannot speak of a coherent European Value System. If we ask people how important these various domains are in their lives we find overwhelming assent for the family (98% in the USA and 96% in W. Europe), very strong commitment to work (86% in the USA and 87% in W. Europe) but a much more mixed reaction to the importance of religion and politics. Overall, only about half the Europeans value religion as an important component in their lives compared to four-fifths of Americans. Only one third of those aged under 35 years regard religion as important in life compared to nearly two-thirds of those aged over 50 years. About a third of all Europeans regard politics as important (51% in USA). The variations between European nations in the relative importance accorded to politics and religion are striking. For much of northern Europe and Scandinavia religion is less important in life than politics; in Ireland and southern Europe (excluding France) religion continues to play a significant part in most people's lives, whereas politics does not.

Materialism and postmaterialism

Values in these various domains are changing, but gradually. Population replacement is an important element in this process. In the thirty years ending 2000 AD half the European population will have died and been replaced by succeeding generations. With notable exceptions, the past decade in Europe could be described as one of a diminution in the rate of value change in northern Europe with southern Europe changing in a way formerly characteristic of the north. Put very crudely, whilst southern Europe begins to approximate to the more liberal or permissive north, the values of the north are themselves still shifting as younger generations replace the old. Drawing on extensive time series data for both Europe and the USA, Inglehart argues that "What people want out of life is changing. These changes are reshaping people's feelings of national identity, their sexual and religious norms and what they want in a job. The changes are occurring so gradually that they generally escape notice, but their long-term consequences are massive... the unprecedented degree of economic security experienced by the postwar generation in most industrial society (is) leading to a gradual shift from 'Materialist' Values (emphasising economic and physical security above all) towards 'Postmaterialist' priorities (emphasising self-expression and the quality of life)" (39).

Far more Europeans exhibit mixed preferences than can be classified as pure materialists or pure postmaterialists. Nevertheless, as Inglehart predicts, the

European evidence confirms a modest shift towards postmaterialist priorities over the past decade in Europe with the possible exception of parts of Scandinavia; southern Europe experiencing the largest change. Out of 16 countries for which comparative data exist, the proportion of postmaterialists increased in all but two (Denmark and Iceland). Younger Europeans are more postmaterialist than older people. In fact a dichotomy emerges between those aged under 45 years and those aged over 45 years. The young appear to inhabit a different moral and cultural universe than the old although there are indications of shifting priorities among older people too. However, the priority attached to different items in the broad materialist-postmaterialist mix appears to be dependent upon each nation's specific culture and institutions.

Throughout Europe and N. America postmaterialist preferences are thus associated with both age and generation. They are also correlated with religious beliefs and moral attitudes. Inglehart's "Materialists" are substantially more likely to adhere to traditional Judaeo-Christian norms. As the younger generations replace their elders, the population average exhibits a more secular trend, greater permissivity on moral issues, an emphasis on personal autonomy and greater attention to human rights, social justice and environmental issues. But there may be limits. The proportion of postmaterialists in Denmark fell between 1981 and 1990. Secular, egalitarian and enjoying high levels of subjective satisfaction with life, there are indications of a reaction in the Nordic countries against the prevailing social democratic hegemony (40).

Figure 1.2: Degree of Postmaterialism, by country

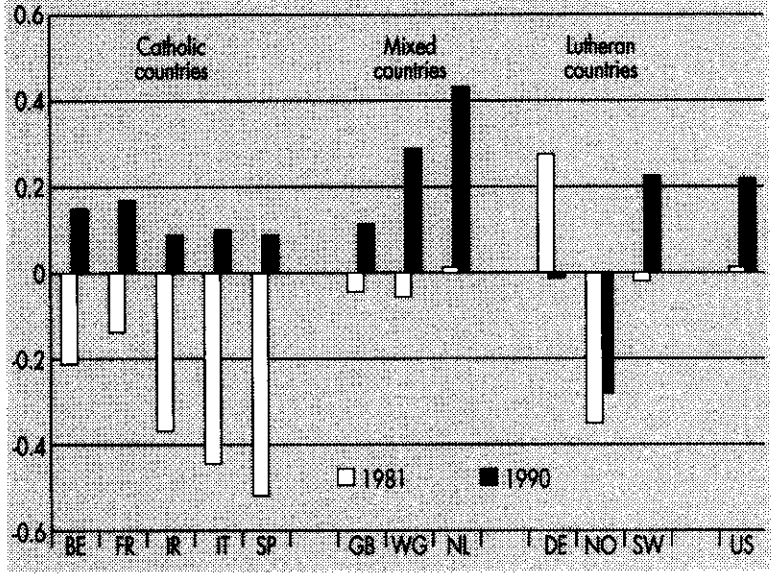
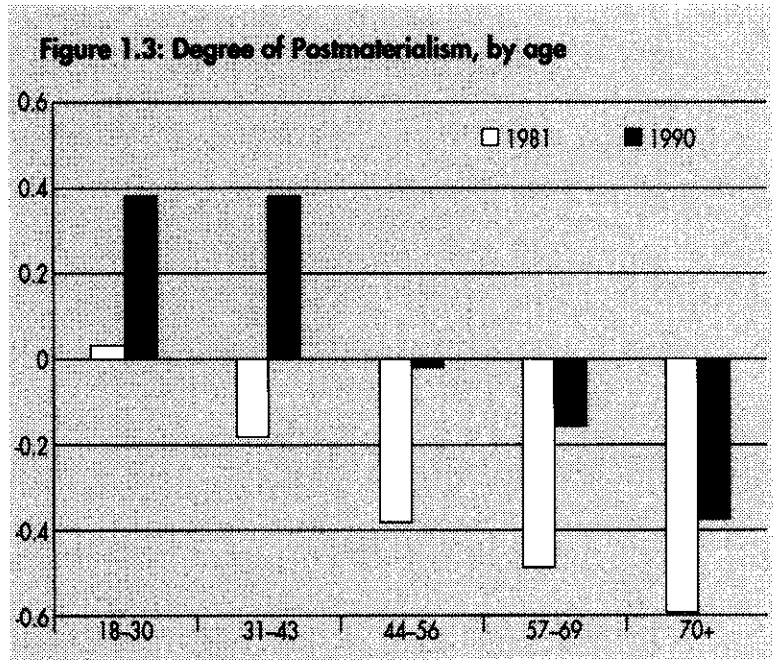


Figure 1.3: Degree of Postmaterialism, by age



Freedom and equality

Europeans of all social and occupational groups give priority to freedom (52%) over equality (35%), endorse the benefits of competition and hard work, and favour the private ownership of industry and commerce. A majority believes that pay should be related to performance and that individuals should take greater responsibility for providing for themselves. Two-thirds are of the opinion that unemployed people should be required to take any job available or lose unemployment benefit. As de Moor notes "There are clear indications that in nearly all countries the tendency prevails to stress each individual's responsibility for their own socio-economic well being and to react against what is considered to be a too strong emphasis on the solidarity principle of the welfare state (41)."

Employees generally adopt a positive attitude to their jobs but do not let work dominate

their lives. They gain satisfaction from their employment (European average 7.3 on a 10 point scale) and report considerable freedom to take decisions (European average 6.7 on a 10 point scale). Only a minority believes that employees should follow superiors' instructions they disagree with. They seek greater personal involvement in decision making at work and are becoming more demanding and critical of their employers. Growing emphasis is placed on work as a source of individual development and personal fulfilment. They respect the employment rights of people with disabilities and women when jobs are scarce but are far less sympathetic to immigrants.

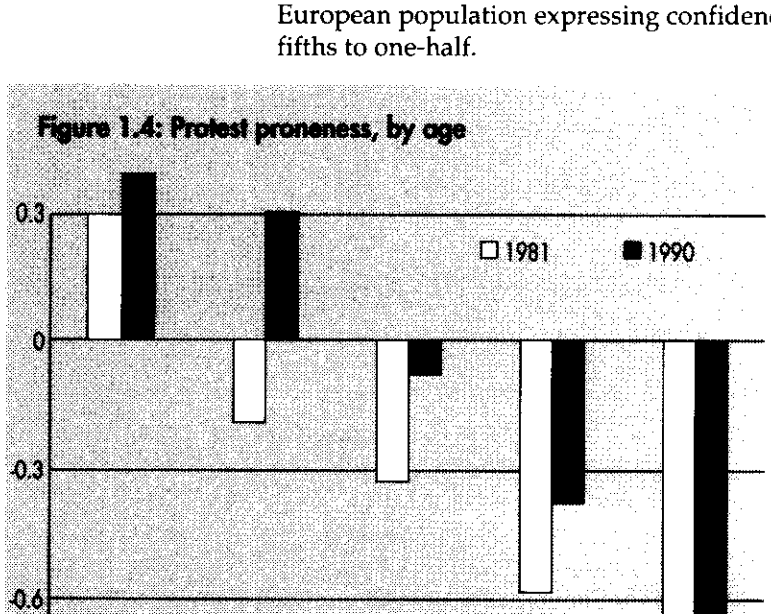
Table 1.2: Equality of access to employment when jobs are scarce

	Age Under 35 Years	Age Over 50 Years
	1990	1990
Equal Work Rights for Women and Men	72	42
Equal Work Rights for Old and Young	43	36
Equal Work Rights for Immigrants and Nationals	36	20
Equal Work Rights for Disabled and Able Bodied	78	65

Institutional confidence and protest

European political parties have failed to respond adequately to the varied social and environmental concerns of citizens. Confidence in institutions, both democratic and autocratic, is diminishing. Institutional trust is lowest in the Netherlands, Belgium and Great Britain; higher but falling in Ireland and Spain. The same trend is evident in the USA, but the loss of confidence in democratic institutions is more pronounced than in Europe. Only a minority express confidence in national parliaments (44%) and the public bureaucracy (39%). Faith in the police remains relatively high (69%) more especially among the elderly, but confidence in the armed forces (52%) has fallen significantly. Yet, whilst faith in other institutions waned, the proportion of the European population expressing confidence in major companies increased from two-fifths to one-half.

Figure 1.4: Protest proneness, by age



Lack of faith in democratic institutions may be linked to a sense that government is beyond the influence of ordinary citizens. Four-fifths of the European population desire more open government; three-fifths seek fundamental economic reform. Yet, half the population is pessimistic about its ability to prevent or influence the implementation of unjust legislation. These concerns are apparent across all generations and social groups but are most evident among the vulnerable and deprived.

Dissatisfaction with the political process and diminishing confidence in institutions coupled with a desire for self-expression may help to explain the greater willingness than a decade ago of people of all ages, both men and women, to engage in spontaneous, predominantly lawful, protest action (eg. boycotts,

demonstrations, petitions etc.). Succeeding generations appear not only more "protest-prone" than the generation they replace but appear to sustain their desire for action as they age.

There is almost universal support throughout Europe for the ecology and human rights movements; a substantial majority support the anti-apartheid, disarmament, anti-nuclear and women's movements.

Table 1.3: Support for protest movements

% who approve (strongly or somewhat)	Total	GB	NI	RI	WG	NL	B	F	IT	SP	P	D	NO	SW	IC
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Ecology movement, nature protection	92	92	89	94	97	95	93	91	92	90	92	86	91	88	90
Anti-nuclear energy movement	67	56	57	85	72	68	74	64	69	76	79	62	77	50	92
Disarmament movement	74	51	52	86	83	71	83	72	84	79	85	76	79	60	95
Human rights movement	91	89	78	95	87	94	92	92	96	90	93	93	94	92	98
Women's movement	61	73	74	85	62	64	66	61	44	58	55	53	67	66	74
Anti-apartheid movement	78	73	64	90	74	82	79	76	86	82	78	75	80	92	80

Most Europeans accept that action to combat environmental pollution is an urgent government priority. Half would be prepared to make some financial sacrifice to achieve it but the majority do not wish to do so - more particularly the elderly and disadvantaged.

Trust and tolerance

Four out of five Europeans trust the members of their immediate families completely but - with the exception of the Scandinavians and the Dutch - are cautious about trusting outsiders. Half believe "you cannot be too careful in dealing with people". The most cautious are the Portuguese, the French and the Belgians.

Attitudes to neighbours are complex and appear to be influenced by three underlying factors viz: racial and religious identity; behaviour, and degree of political extremism. In general it is the way people behave and their perceived threat to the social order that leads to intolerance of neighbours, rather than their racial or religious identity. In fact racial prejudice is relatively low.

There is little difference between men and women. The better educated tend to be

Table 1.4: Unpopular as neighbours

	%
Racial or religious identity	
Muslims	17
Immigrants & foreign workers	13
Hindus	11
People of different race	10
Jews	9
Large families	9
Behaviour	
Drug addicts	58
Heavy drinkers	51
People with criminal record	35
Homosexuals	31
People with AIDS	28
Emotionally unstable	27
Political extremism	
Right wing extremists	37
Left wing extremists	33

more tolerant than the less educated (except in the case of political extremism). Younger people are more tolerant than the old though the old in one country may be more tolerant than the young in another. Nevertheless, throughout Europe attitudes are hardening towards neighbours whose behaviour or lifestyle is deemed unacceptable or a potentially undesirable influence on family members. There are significant national differences. The West Germans emerge as relatively intolerant on all three measures, compared to other European countries. The Italians and Portuguese are also relatively intolerant, whereas the French and the Danes tolerate neighbours other countries regard as undesirable. The Belgians object to neighbours on grounds of their racial and religious identity but are relatively tolerant of deviant behaviour. Europeans, in general, are more tolerant than Americans of unorthodox behaviour by neighbours.

Family life

Europeans overwhelmingly endorse the importance of family life (96%) and wish to see it given greater emphasis (87%). Four out of five uphold the institution of marriage. Typically, spouses claim to share the moral and social attitudes of their partner. The UK and Ireland are the most family oriented nations; West Germany the least.

Table 1.5: Traditional family values

	Western Europe	
	1990 %	1981 %
Child needs father and mother to be happy	87	81
Woman needs children to be fulfilled	43	39
Approve women having child outside of stable relationship with man	36	37
Must respect parents regardless of faults	66	63
Parents must earn respect	26	29
Parents must do best for children even at expense of own well-being	69	65
Parents have own life, should not sacrifice well-being for children	19	21

Attitudes to family life have become slightly more orthodox since 1981 throughout Europe. The changes are small but significant. Not only are those in each age group a little more conservative than their predecessors but they appear to have become slightly more traditional as they have aged. Denmark, Sweden and the Netherlands exhibit more liberal attitudes than the Mediterranean countries, France and Ireland.

Europeans attach a high value to family life but also see it as a vehicle for individual development and are increasingly unwilling to tolerate unsatisfactory marital relationships. One-quarter of respondents did not believe divorce was ever justified in 1981. By 1990 the proportion had fallen to one-sixth.

In bringing up their families, all parents want well mannered, responsible children but younger parents are more likely than old to emphasise qualities such as independence, imagination, and self-control; less likely to stress the virtues of hard work, thrift and religious faith. Only one in seven parents aged under 35 years believes that it is important to develop religious faith in children.

Religion

The institutional church continues to play an important role in European life and culture. Its significance is, however, diminishing as the process of disengagement leads to a growing proportion of first or second generation unchurched adults - especially among the young. The growth in the unchurched is particularly marked in Britain (up from 9% in 1981 to 42% in 1990), Belgium (32%), France (39%) and the Netherlands (49%).

Nevertheless, a majority of Europeans believe in God, claim to have been brought up religiously at home (73%), continue to regard themselves as religious and feel the need for moments of prayer, meditation and contemplation. One third attend church once a

Table 1.6: Religion and church

Indicators of religious orthodoxy

	1990 %	1981
God	69	74
Life after death	43	43
Soul	60	57
Devil	24	25
Hell	22	23
Heaven	40	40
Sin	55	57

Indicators of religious disposition

	1990 %	1981
Define self as religious	59	62
Believe in a personal God	36	32
Gain comfort from religion	45	48
Pray or meditate	59	57
Importance of God in life (mean score on 10 point scale)	5.55	5.79

Confidence in Church's answers to problems

Percentage agreeing that Church offers adequate answers to problems

	Moral		Social		Family		Spiritual	
	1990	1981	1990	1981	1990	1981	1990	1981
European Average	35	36	26	-	31	34	53	44

Proper for church to speak out

Ethical Issues		**Social Issues**	
Abortion	49	Disarmament	54
Extramarital Affairs	39	Third World Problems	76
Euthanasia	56	Racial Discrimination	67
Homosexuality	34	Ecological Issues	51
Government Policy	22	Unemployment	44

month. Wide regional and denominational variations are apparent, reflected in church practice, and there are significant age and generational differences.

Three separate value dimensions can be identified in the religious domain:

- religious disposition or religiosity;
- religious orthodoxy or adherence to Christian beliefs;
- confidence in the institutional church and its teaching authority.

The evidence is consistent with a very gradual decline in religiosity - more particularly among the 30-35 year age group - and erosion of traditional beliefs. But it also suggests an ageing effect. The younger generations are significantly less religious than the old but do show a tendency to become slightly more religious and more orthodox as they age. Women are more orthodox than men but differences are narrowing.

With the exception of religious Ireland, highly secular France, and Iceland - in which religiosity is high but church practice is the lowest in Europe - religiosity and church attendance decline northwards from the predominantly Catholic countries of the Mediterranean to Lutheran Scandinavia in which church membership is a mark of good

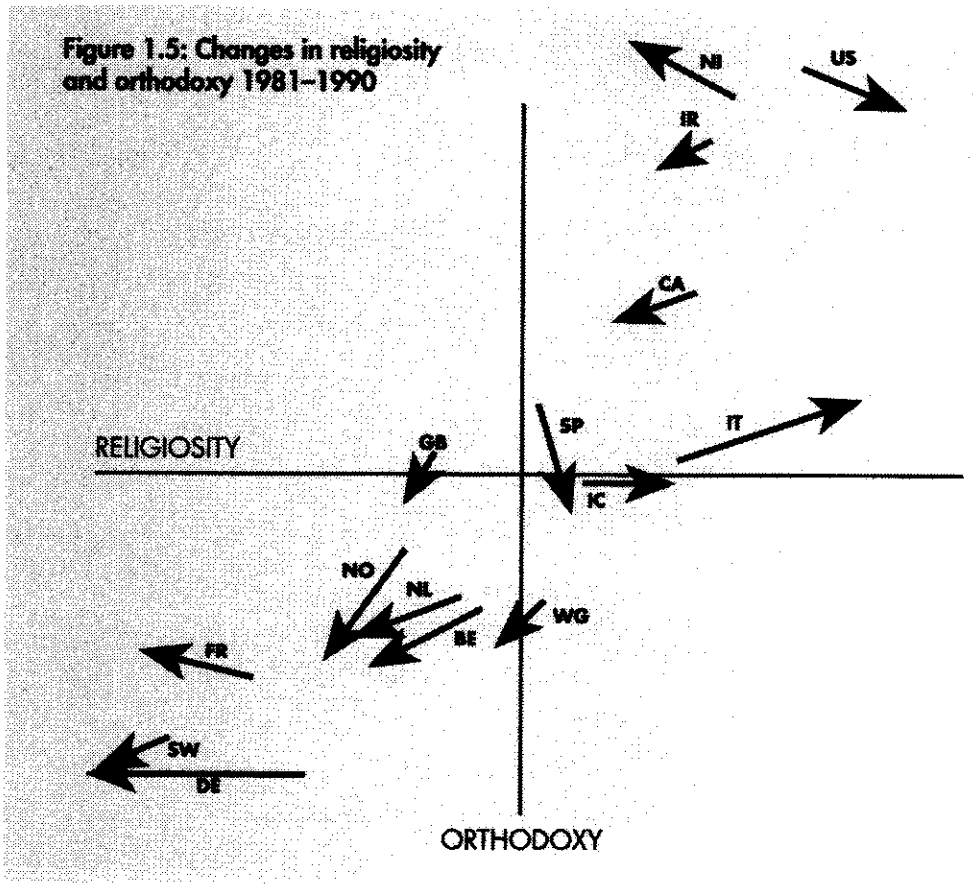
citizenship but largely devoid of religious meaning.

Europeans accept a limited public role for the churches but reject interference in their intimate personal lives. They oppose the churches speaking out on government policy, especially in France, Portugal, Belgium, Denmark and Iceland. Confidence in the church is much higher among those aged over 50 years (65%) than among those aged under 35 years (35%). In fact, young people have less confidence in the church than in any other institution. Yet, both young and old express increasing confidence in the church's response to people's spiritual needs.

The close relationship between religious orthodoxy and religiosity can be illustrated graphically (42). The point at which the two axes intersect represents the average for all countries taking account of results from both the 1981 and 1990 surveys. Orthodoxy decreases from top to bottom, religiosity increases from left to right. Thus, the more orthodox the average score of a given country, the closer it will be found to the top of the graph; conversely, the lower the level of religious orthodoxy in a country, the closer it will be to the bottom. Similarly, the more religious the country, the closer it will be found to the right hand side of the graph. Those countries in the top right hand, or northeastern, quadrant of the graph are both religious and orthodox, compared to the average. Those in the bottom left hand, or southwestern, quadrant are relatively less religious and less unorthodox.

The base of each arrow represents the position of that country on both measures in 1981; the tip of the arrow indicates the situation in 1990. The length and direction of the arrow, therefore, illustrates the extent of change since 1981.

Figure 1.5: Changes in religiosity and orthodoxy 1981–1990



With notable exceptions the general direction of change is southwestwards, that is towards lower levels of religiosity and orthodoxy. Exceptions are Northern Ireland (less religious but more orthodox), Spain (less orthodox but more religious), Italy (more orthodox and more religious), and Ireland (more religious). The USA highly religious and highly orthodox has increased in religiosity at the expense of orthodoxy. As de Moor notes "Individualization makes religious people more critical of the institutionalized aspects of religion and de-institutionalization of religion will, in the long run, lead to a loss of religiosity (43)."

Private morality and civic responsibility

Despite more orthodox attitudes to family life, there has been a discernible shift towards a more permissive moral outlook throughout Europe since 1981, with the single exception of Denmark. Though Europeans still profess relatively strict standards of private morality they are more likely to perceive of circumstances in which a rigid interpretation is inappropriate. As de Moor notes "The diminishing influence of the churches is particularly observable in the domain of moral norms, conjugal morality and norms with respect to abortion and euthanasia. Social control has been replaced by the principle that moral choices are personal choices. People may have clear even traditional moral standards but they accept that others have different standards. This leads to the morally pluralist society." (44).

Table 1.7: Percentage saying behaviour never justified

(Score = zero on 10 point scale)

	1990	1981
Taking marijuana or hashish	80	80
Married people having affairs	47	49
Sex under age of consent	53	57
Homosexuality	37	49
Prostitution	44	51
Euthanasia	28	36
Suicide	46	54
Killing in self-defence	19	21

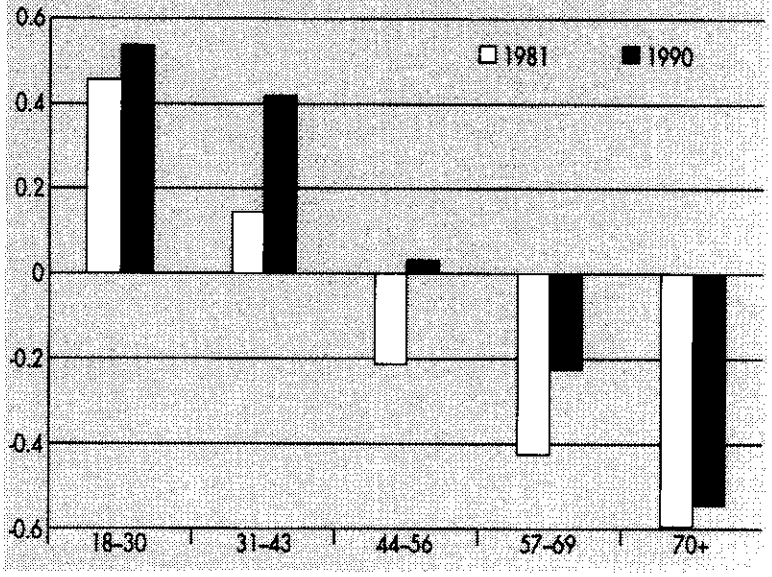
The trend is equally evident among those who regard themselves as religious and those who do not. Among the reasons for this we may cite the relatively high and enduring levels of permissiveness among those aged under 45 years compared to older generations, the effects of generational replacement, and changing attitudes in southern Europe, particularly among women whose formerly stricter standards now approximate to those of men.

A significant minority of Europeans (30%) believes that individual sexual freedom should be unrestricted. The most liberal countries in this respect are the Catholic nations of southern Europe viz Spain (48%) and Italy (37%). The countries most opposed are the Lutheran nations of Norway (10%) and Denmark (11%).

There has been little change in attitudes towards abortion in the last decade, but people are now more likely to conceive of circumstances in which euthanasia might be justified.

A majority of Europeans supports abortion where the mother's health is at risk (90%) or when a child is likely to be born handicapped (75%) but, with the exception of Denmark, rejects abortion as a form of birth control. Younger people are more likely to support abortion than the old, but their attitudes become a little more conservative as they age. Attitudes to euthanasia vary significantly between countries, and according to age, religious conviction and political persuasion. The Netherlands, Sweden and Belgium are most likely to accept euthanasia as justified in some circumstances; Ireland and Portugal are most opposed. The young are more in favour of euthanasia than the old - though a majority of those aged over 65 years can conceive of circumstances in which euthanasia might be justified. Those for whom God is

Figure 1.6: Permissiveness by age



important in life are far more likely to oppose euthanasia than those for whom God is unimportant. The political Left is more favourably disposed than the Right.

Standards of public morality are relatively strict but falling. Young people exhibit less civic responsibility than their elders. They tend to become more responsible as they get older but at a lower level than the generation they replace.

Clear regional differences are apparent. The Scandinavians exhibit a developed and enduring sense of civic responsibility though attitudes have become slightly more relaxed since 1981. Belgium, on the other hand, has witnessed the greatest deterioration in standards of public morality and now approximates to France where the sense of public spiritedness has further declined since 1981.

Table 1.8: Percentage saying behaviour never justified

(Score = zero on 10 point scale)

	1990	1981
Claiming unentitled state benefits	59	67
Avoiding fares on public transport	58	64
Cheating on tax	49	55
Buying stolen goods	71	74
Joyriding in stolen car	84	85
Keeping money you found	41	51
Lying in your own interest	37	45
Accepting a bribe	70	68
Not reporting damage to parked vehicle	60	64
Threatening workers who refuse to strike	71	74
Political assassination	75	80

Some emerging values: possible implications for voluntary work

As I have argued elsewhere "The morally autonomous Europeans, disengaged from the churches, disenchanted with democratic institutions and the political process, demanding greater involvement in the decisions which affect their lives and willing to take direct political action to achieve their aims, pose a fundamental challenge to political and religious leaders. Confidence in church and parliament is eroding. The responses offered to contemporary moral, social and environmental problems are seen as inadequate. Leaders are an elderly and remote group whose messages do not resonate with the young. They are in danger of addressing only their shadows. Fundamental reform of political and religious structures and a revised notion of the obligations of citizenship may be necessary to reintegrate political, religious and community life in a way consistent with more egalitarian social relations (45)." One way to do so might be to develop the UK system of jury service with citizens required to contribute extended periods of time to public institutions on a regular basis (eg. weekly day release or secondment) in conjunction with elected representatives and appointed officials. But, this would require radical reorganisation of employment and leisure. Another approach would be to widen the scope for volunteering. But there are limits to this possibility.

It would be wrong to place a predominantly pessimistic interpretation upon the survey results. Many of the emerging values are positive. What is necessary is to provide an informed social context in which these values can be rooted and developed or modified. Values education has an important part to play in this process. To take just two examples: moral autonomy, within the context of an informed conscience, is a deeply Christian value; ethical individualism has led many people to a concern for human rights.

Among the values related themes to emerge from the survey are the following:

- Autonomy
- Self-expression

} Postmaterialist priorities

- Personal growth — Social institutions must promote it, eg at work and within marriage.
- Self Reliance — As opposed to state welfare.
- Openness — In public institutions.
- Participation — In decisions which affect people's lives.
- Protest
- Human rights

  Linked to single issue pre-occupations, in which many may invest much of their personality in a search for meaning in life.
- Tolerance — Of deviant private morality: situation ethics.
- Intolerance — Of deviant behaviour which encroaches on the quality of others' lives: eg by neighbours.

Clearly, these developments have implications for volunteering. The management of the volunteer contribution is likely to become more complex. Those who invest their free time and energy in voluntary organisations will seek greater involvement in the decisions that determine the work of the agency and their participation within it. They may well demand improved access to strategic information, more scope for personal achievement and greater autonomy in the way they discharge their responsibilities.

The findings also raise a fundamental question. If, as suggested in the introduction, voluntary work is value based and involves a sense of moral identification between donor and beneficiary, is it likely that the "silent revolution" in values that Inglehart predicts as a result of intergenerational replacement will result in a "growing out" of those values which underpin voluntary activity? To answer the question it is necessary to look more closely at the nature of volunteering across Europe and the extent to which volunteers' attitudes are typical or untypical of the European population as a whole. On the basis of the 1981 UK study, for example, Gerard concluded that "about a third of the adult population have attributes typical of volunteers working in fields other than religion. Many of these could not be active at any one time, due to age, opportunity, educational commitments, and engagements in other caring tasks like child rearing... If only about a third of the population possess the characteristics associated with voluntary activity, it is likely that additional provision will come from coaxing further allocations of time from additional workers rather than from attracting new volunteers (46)". If values are changing and the population of potential volunteers is limited, such considerations are relevant when, as at the time of Gerard's article, volunteering is again being discussed in the context of unemployment. It is important that the discussion be an informed one.

Voluntary work in Europe

Estimates of voluntary activity differ significantly according to the coverage, definitions, frequency of participation specified and methodology adopted in research (47). The EVG employed a precoded list of fifteen activities in which the emphasis was upon current unpaid voluntary work for formal organisations (see appendix). According to the EVG definitions, one in four Europeans currently undertakes unpaid work for a variety of charitable causes and voluntary groups. The most popular volunteer activities are sports and recreation, religious groups, educational and cultural pursuits, welfare services and youth work. The peace movement attracts fewest volunteers; fewest of all in Denmark and Norway. Because the question items were changed between 1981 and 1990 direct comparison is difficult. The evidence is, nevertheless, consistent with a slight increase in overall participation during the past decade albeit with variations between sectors. Involvement in youthwork, religious, political and trade union organisations seems to have diminished. Participation in educational, cultural, environmental and human rights organisations may have increased.

Men (27%) are more likely to be actively involved as volunteers than women (22%). This is particularly true in such fields as sport, politics, trade unions and professional

associations. Men are also more active in education and cultural activities. Women are, nevertheless, over-represented as volunteers in social welfare agencies for the elderly, disabled and deprived, in religious organisations and, of course, in women's groups.

As expected, those in their middle years (35-49 years) are slightly more active than other age groups. Similarly, the better educated and more affluent social groups are significantly overrepresented. The data suggest that age related preferences may exist for certain activities. Thus, youthwork and environmentalist activities appear relatively more attractive to those aged 18-44 years, education, work related issues and local community involvement to those aged 35-50 years, social welfare and women's issues to those aged over 50.

Table 1.9: Percentage of Europeans engaged in unpaid voluntary work by type of organisation

Health	1.8
Social Welfare Services	4.1
Youth Work	2.9
Education, Arts, Culture	3.8
Local Community Action	1.5
Third World, Human Rights	1.2
Women's Groups	1.4
Peace Movement	0.6
Conservation, Environment	1.5
Animal Rights	1.0
Sports & Recreation	6.8
Religion and Church	5.8
Trade Unions	2.0
Political Parties & Groups	2.3
Professional Associations	1.9

Significant variations in activity are apparent between European countries and between Europe and North America. A higher proportion of citizens in the Netherlands, Belgium and Scandinavia (excluding Denmark) is involved in unpaid voluntary work than other European countries though the patterns of activity differ. In the Netherlands and Belgium activity rates are generally high especially in fields such as welfare, education and religion. In Scandinavia the emphasis is on sport, trade unions, politics and professional associations. The volunteer tradition is least well developed in Portugal and Spain, despite strong support for protest movements. With the sole exception of sport and recreation, levels of volunteering in North America are significantly above the European average, reflecting not merely different health and social welfare systems but cultural differences in social participation. Only in the Netherlands and Belgium do general activity levels approximate those in North America.

Table 1.10: Socio-economic and educational background of European volunteers

Year	Socio-economic status				Terminal Education Age					
	AB	C1	C2	DE	16 or less	17	18	19	20	21 or more
1981	28	21	16	14	15	20	22	22	20	31
1990	34	27	21	16	18	29	29	31	30	37

Note: The 1981 data is included by way of illustration only; the figures are not comparable due to differences of definition.

Table 1.11: Volunteer participation in broad fields of activity. North America and Europe compared

	Health; welfare; youth	Education; arts; culture	Community action; Third world; women	Conservation; animals	Sports and recreation	Religion and Church	Unions; professional associations; political
Catholic Countries							
Belgium	12	7	8	4	6	7	5
France	9	5	4	2	6	5	6
Ireland	12	4	5	1	7	7	4
Italy	7	3	2	2	6	6	6
Portugal	6	4	2	2	6	6	5
Spain	3	2	2	2	2	4	3
Mixed Countries							
Great Britain	9	3	4	2	4	6	4
W. Germany	7	4	4	3	11	7	6
Netherlands	14	10	6	4	10	9	4
N. Ireland	13	3	4	2	6	10	3
Lutheran Countries							
Denmark	5	5	3	1	11	2	6
Iceland	16	5	2	2	14	4	9
Norway	9	5	3	1	14	6	11
Sweden	10	3	5	3	17	3	11
EUROPE	**7**	**4**	**3**	**2**	**7**	**5**	**5**
Canada	16	9	9	5	12	16	10
USA	17	10	7	5	8	29	10
TOTAL	**12**	**7**	**5**	**4**	**8**	**16**	**7**

Characteristics of voluntary workers

Volunteers do emerge as untypical in their attitudes and beliefs. They tend to be more trusting of others than the population at large, have a slightly more optimistic view of human nature and (according to the 1981 survey data) are more willing to contemplate for others beyond their immediate families the ultimate sacrifice of life itself. They appear more reflective than non-volunteers, somewhat less materialistic and more likely to be regular church-goers. Within the relatively strict standards of civic morality set by Europeans, volunteers consistently adopt a slightly more traditional interpretation, though they exhibit the general trend to greater permissiveness over time. As far as sexual morality is concerned, voluntary workers do not seem to differ from the general population but their attitudes to abortion, euthanasia and suicide appear stricter than the average. In all the above instances the differences between volunteers and non-volunteers are statistically significant but the correlations are low. The data are merely suggestive and further research is needed to confirm the findings. In particular, apparent differences in characteristics by field of activity need to be

further examined and the influence of the main socio-demographic variables controlled for. Volunteers engaged in sport and recreation do not share the reflective disposition of other volunteers, nor are they more religious than the general population. Those engaged in environmental agencies and animal rights organisations are not religious either and appear significantly more permissive in regard to private morality than the population average. Again, the greater degree of civic responsibility manifested by volunteers appears more associated with those drawn to local community action, welfare and youth activities than to other categories.

Table 1.12: Attitudes and values of European volunteers compared to non-volunteers* Selected Items

Attitudes & Practices %	Volunteers 1990	Volunteers 1981	Non-volunteers 1990	Non-volunteers 1981
Believe Most People Trustworthy	49	43	33	30
Good Pay, Important Aspect of Job	59	57	71	66
Less Emphasis on Money a Good Thing	70	73	65	64
Often Think of Meaning of Life	48	42	33	29
Pray, Meditate, Contemplate	74	73	59	58
Attend Church Monthly	50	56	30	30
Civic Morality, 10 point Scale (1 = Never Justified)				
Claiming Unentitled State Benefits	2.14	1.83	2.41	2.09
Cheating on Tax	2.55	2.46	2.86	2.70
Keeping Money you have Found	3.02	2.55	3.49	2.94
Lying in Your Own Interest	2.86	2.67	3.28	2.91
Buying Stolen Goods	1.67	1.57	1.87	1.80

* Note: For Comparison with 1981, Sport & Recreation, Women's Groups and Peace Groups are excluded. Minor definitional differences remain. Data for Norway, Sweden and Iceland not included.

Church involvement and volunteering

The findings with regard to the involvement of volunteers in the churches are more striking. In all fields of activity, the more intimately people are involved in the institutional church, the more likely they are to be actively engaged as volunteers. The EVG distinguished four categories of church membership, viz: core members who attend church at least once a month and are actively involved in church activities; modal members who attend church at least once a month but are not otherwise involved in the church; marginal members who attend church occasionally, and the unchurched who may once have been church members but are no longer in membership or have never been in membership. The findings relate both to North America and to Europe.

Core church members comprise less than one-quarter of the combined populations of Europe and North America, yet they are overrepresented in all fields of voluntary activity, accounting for between one-third and one-half of all volunteers in each major category of work excluding religion. Even in fields such as conservation and animal rights or sport and recreation in which, on measures of religious disposition, religious orthodoxy and confidence in the church volunteers do not differ from the population at large, core church members remain the largest source of volunteers. Given that religious motivation is not among the top ten reasons cited for doing voluntary work by Europeans, the relationship appears to merit further investigation. As disengagement from the churches increases and core membership falls, there may be implications for volunteer recruitment.

Table 1.13: Participation as volunteers in Europe and North America by category of church membership Percentages

	Health; welfare; youth	Education; arts; culture	Community action; Third world; women	Conservation; animals	Sports and recreation	Religion and Church	Unions; professional associations; political	Total
Core	50	48	57	34	35	88	43	23
Modal	12	10	8	6	11	-	9	19
Marginal	22	19	21	36	34	9	29	34
Unchurched	17	23	15	24	20	4	19	24
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Psychological well-being

Commenting on the 1981 findings for the UK, Gerard (48) observed that volunteers reported better health and a greater preference for active pursuits, were assessed by interviewers as more self-assured and were less anxious about the future than those uninvolved in voluntary activity. Controlling for both education and social class volunteers emerged with significantly higher levels of psychological well-being (on the Bradburn Affect-Balance Scale) than non-volunteers, principally the result of higher levels of positive experience. Results from the 1990 study applying the Bradburn Scale to all European volunteers confirm that voluntary workers' general levels of psychological well-being are not only significantly higher than non-volunteers' of comparable social status, but volunteers from the lowest socio-economic and educational groups compare favourably with non-volunteers from higher educational and status groups.

Motives for voluntary work

Motives for voluntary work are varied and the emphasis differs from country to country.

The reasons cited by about half the population included a sense of duty or moral obligation, a desire to make a contribution to the local community, the opportunity to gain new skills and useful experience and the wish to do something worthwhile with their spare time.

Underlying the disposition to volunteer three main factors can be can be distinguished:

- Altruistic Motives including a sense of solidarity and identification with the deprived and suffering, compassion for those in need, and a desire to give hope and dignity to disadvantaged

Figure 1.7: Motives for voluntary work, selected countries

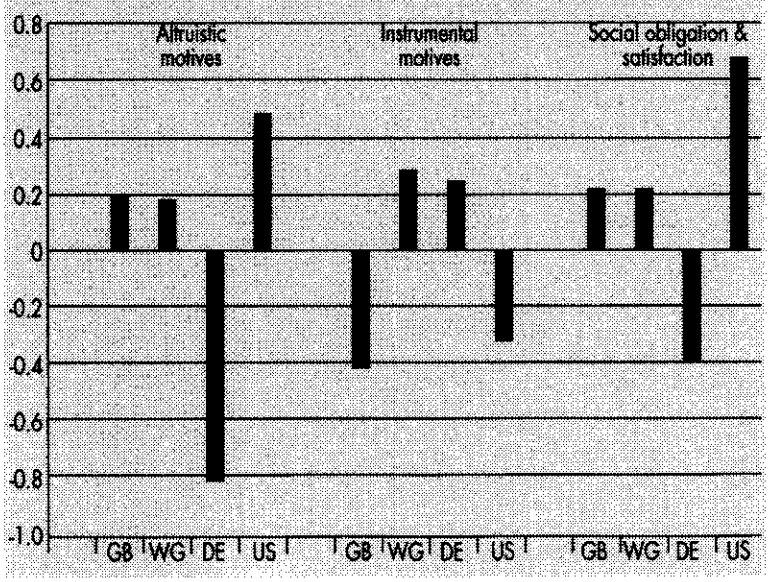


Table 1.14: Motives for voluntary work (and countries choosing reason within their top three)

Altruistic motives	**%**
Sense of solidarity with the poor (France, Portugal)	49
Compassion for those in need (Britain, Northern Ireland)	48
Identifying with suffering people (Germany, Belgium)	47
To give hope and dignity to the disadvantaged (France, Spain, Northern Ireland)	48
Instrumental motives	
To gain new skills and experience (Germany, Portugal, Netherlands, Denmark)	51
Something worthwhile to do in spare time (Italy, Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark)	50
Social reasons, to meet people (France, Germany, Netherlands, Denmark)	49
Obligation	**%**
Opportunity to repay debt (Britain, Northern Ireland, Ireland)	40
Personal satisfaction	36
Couldn't refuse	10
Other	
Duty, moral obligation (Spain, Ireland)	53
Contribute to local community (Ireland, Britain, Italy, Portugal)	52
Religious belief	31
To bring about social change	30

Note: Data for Norway, Sweden and Iceland not included.

people. Altruistic motives are associated with religious beliefs and a sense of duty or moral obligation.

- Instrumental Motives including the opportunity to meet people, gain new skills and engage in rewarding spare time activities.
- Discharge of Obligations and Personal Satisfaction, including the opportunity to repay a debt to society, a response to an unwelcome but unavoidable invitation, but also personal satisfaction. In the latter connection, the association of this factor also with a sense of duty may imply that a part of the satisfaction gained relates to the effective discharge of obligations.

In general, the older the voluntary worker, the more likely they are to emphasise altruistic motives and social obligation or personal satisfaction. Instrumental motives predominate only among the youngest respondents.

In Great Britain and Spain volunteers stress altruistic motives and social obligation; instrumental motives are of less importance. A similar situation prevails in the USA but the stress on altruism and social obligation is much more marked. By contrast the Scandinavian countries (especially Denmark) the Netherlands and to a lesser extent Italy regard altruistic motives and social obligation as less important and emphasise instrumental factors. The different groups of motives are of roughly equal importance in Germany, Belgium and Northern Ireland.

The importance of the social obligation factor appears common to all categories of activity. In contrast, altruistic motives appear of relatively lower significance among motives influencing volunteering in education, sport and recreation, and employment related or political activities. Instrumental motives appear strongest within the latter two groups.

Conclusion

The European Values Survey provides the opportunity to explore volunteer participation within the context of changing moral and social attitudes but it permits of no easy generalisations. Participation may be increasing but, apparently, the increase is confined to those activities more easily identified with contemporary postmaterialist priorities. Volunteers do differ from the general population in their education, social status, and psychological well-being. They also appear to differ in their attitudes, values and beliefs. In general the values and degree of religious commitment of volunteers identify them more with the older than the younger European generations. In this sense, voluntary organisations may increasingly be recruiting from a minority and a minority whose representatives are typically aged over 45 years. It is possible, therefore, that key values associated with volunteering may be grown out. This difficulty is more likely to face organisations involved in human service provision and community work. The evidence suggests that those engaged in sport or environmental concerns are less likely to face the problem. Organisations in the human rights field may benefit from the high level of public support for such work and the increasing propensity for protest action. However, the significant role played by committed churchgoers in most forms of voluntary action does pose questions which need to be addressed. Given the widespread disengagement from the churches and an ageing church membership, can the voluntary sector identify replacements? Does committed participation in the church lead to involvement in other fields of voluntary activity or are they both the outcome of other factors? Motives for voluntary work are complex and ambiguous. They are not easy to articulate. Careful and sensitive research, taking account of nation specific cultural factors and focused on specific fields of activity, is clearly necessary to uncover the complex issues involved.

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2 Volunteering in Italy

The definition of voluntary service

Sociological, Cultural and Historical Background

Many voluntary service researchers find it impossible to provide any one comprehensive definition to cover every case, because the basic feature of voluntary service is its ability to be adapted and to adapt itself flexibly and promptly to the changing needs of society. Voluntary service is an ongoing process. As soon as you have defined it, it is already something else because the previous definition has become dated in the meantime. We felt it necessary to make this preliminary remark before offering a definition – or at least the most commonly accepted definition in Italy at the present time.

However, there is another socio-cultural point that needs to be made. Certainly until the end of the 1970s, voluntary service was essentially viewed as remedying or redressing particular situations in need, inspired by Christian charity, Socialist solidarity, mutual aid, common decency, kindness and liberal altruism. Seeing the suffering caused by social ills, people tried to contain it, reduce it, and alleviate their painful repercussions. The economic consequences of the social and political system were considered to be unavoidable, and were a fact of life that had to be lived with.

We will define this period 1875-1975 as the age of "traditional voluntary service". But after the seventies, more mature voluntary service, both secular and religious, tended to take on a new feature of a "liberating" nature, designed to show daily solidarity with the less fortunate, as it always had done previously, but this time with a "political dimension", as an attempt to remove the root causes of injustice, suffering, and oppression. It was no longer merely a question of showing charity, as something that one could take or leave at will, but of demanding constitutional and citizenship rights that were being trampled underfoot. The political dimension was not by any means a "party political" dimension, because if voluntary service were to become the choice of a political party, rather than a service "super partes", (because the poor are everyone's responsibility) it would self-destruct.

We will define this period, 1979-90, as the age of the "modern voluntary service". But since history cannot be neatly segmented and cultural and social achievements can never be finely dated in terms of the period of their incubation and birth, we can only roughly say that today in Italy, the radical changeover from one type of volunteer service to the other only refers to 40% of the groups, associations, and movements that presently exist; another 30% of them are undergoing change, while the remaining 30% have only just begun to progress away from being charity/welfare-oriented towards the dimension of rights and being committed to contributing towards changing social policies. Faced with a social phenomenon that is in a continual state of dynamic flux, and whose fundamental features have radically changed in the space of little more than a century, the definition of "modern voluntary service" must necessarily remain completely open-ended to admit of any future developments.

The Definition of the Volunteer

The first point is to define the protagonist of the solidarity work practised by the various voluntary movements. The *Nuovo Dizionario di Sociologia*, published in Italy in 1987, gives the following definition of "volunteer", which is still the most commonly accepted:

"A volunteer is a citizen who freely, and not in the performance of specific moral obligations or legal duties, bases his public and private life on the pursuit of solidarity. Once his civil and civic and personal duties have been performed, the volunteer therefore places himself disinterestedly at the disposal of the community, fostering a creative response to newly emerging local needs, giving priority to attending to the poor, the deprived and marginalised, and the powerless. He devotes his energies, skills, time and even his own resources to sharing, preferably working through a group. He will work in loyal cooperation with public institutions and the 'social forces', with appropriate specific training; continuity is ensured both to provide immediate services and for the indispensable removal of the root causes of injustice and of any form of personal oppression".

This very complex definition is intimately bound up with Italy's traditions, culture, history, and religiosity, and the evolution of her national institutions. In order to better understand it, to compare it with other European definitions, we would like to make the following brief comments:

a) The volunteer must perform an action which is wholly free of any of the duties imposed by natural or national laws. Helping one's own mother, claiming the rights of a blood relation, generously fulfilling some moral obligation or complying with some provision of the Constitution does not qualify the person concerned to be considered a "volunteer". The work is disinterested only if it is carried out as a result of a personal, ethical decision on behalf of anyone, known or unknown, who happens to find himself in material or spiritual difficulties, temporarily or permanently.

b) Defining the volunteer as *"a citizen who freely bases his public and private life on the pursuit of solidarity"* emphasises the fact that there cannot be a double morality: it is not possible to be totally uncommitted when working in the State, and in State structures, with an individualistic, selfish, corporativist, consumerist attitude, and then suddenly showing solidarity only when one begins to work in a voluntary association. A volunteer is the person who makes a "choice of life", taking upon him or herself one single ethical standard. Otherwise he is a hypocrite.

c) The reference to the need to have fulfilled, first of all, one's own civil and civic duties (for example, does she pay her taxes, or is he a tax evader?) and the duties of one's personal state of life (the family – trade union duties – political life) is designed to ensure that when entering voluntary service one does not give up specific commitments to campaigning, running risks, being enterprising, to seek refuge in voluntary service as a sort of "oasis of peace" where there is less conflict. For that only impoverishes the State and civil society, by a failure to play an active part in it.

d) The invitation to make a "creative" response to the emerging local needs reminds us that the volunteer is a *precursor*, someone who tries out new things, new ideas, methods, techniques, in order to guarantee services which increasingly meet the needs of all the citizens; the volunteer is a person who expresses the need for renewal, for greater protection and a better quality of life; but above all, who gives pride of place to the needs and the rights of the weaker sections of the population: those weaker citizens who normally live in dramatically alienating situations as soon as any socio-economic or financial crisis erupts.

e) The fact that the volunteer uses "even his own resources" emphasises the need not so much for a voluntary service run by the rich, but rather by the man or woman-in-the-street, ordinary working people. Which basically means everyone. It is a choice to live in solidarity, not handing out money – if one does not have any – which makes a citizen into a volunteer. And the work is all the more effective if he or she belongs to a group and is thereby able to exert real "pressure" to change the quality of life by pooling his or her efforts and ability to act with others. Today, any isolated voluntary service would find it difficult to make any impact on innovation strategy, not so much for services as particularly for local and national social policies. It is no longer possible to be "superhuman" or a "charismatic fixer". It is much easier to deceive oneself and make oneself available, as isolated examples, without knowing or wanting it, to people who do not want an organised voluntary service because they fear that its effectiveness, efficiency, and its organisational strength may well challenge the established status quo.

f) *Loyal cooperation with public institutions* and the "social forces" is indicated as the indispensable choice, while respecting everyone else's originality and independence, in order to be able to work jointly to overcome deprivation and marginalisation. Neither the State, nor voluntary service, associations, cooperatives or trades unions will ever be able to beat this challenge, alone, whether isolated or acting in competition, because it demands cooperation, operational integration, agreement around essential policy choices, economy of people and resources, the work of professionals and non-professionals alike, and that overall policy of the whole of the "third system", the so-called non-profit sphere.

g) *The appropriate training* which the definition says is indispensable to ensure that the work of the volunteer and his or her group will have positive effects, hinges around and gives *priority* to the problems of the *human and professional training* of the people who will be performing the voluntary work. From voluntary service dictated by generosity (1900) it is necessary to move on to voluntary service of competence (2000). This is in no way intended to belittle the spirit of indispensable humanisation in voluntary service, but it emphasises the fact that the affective and relational aspect cannot in itself solve the cases that it meets unless it is supported and sustained by continuing vocational training. The volunteer may not be a "professional" in the sector in which he or she works, or an "expert" in the technical sense of the term; but he or she must have, or must acquire, "specific basic vocational training" in order to play a positive service role in his or her chosen field. We cannot offer shoddy service to people who have very often suffered injustice, oppression, and alienation. And immediately after this, following a logical thread, the definition mentions the indispensable need of "continuity" in voluntary work. Today's voluntary service cannot merely move at the individual's own discretion, following the promptings of the heart, acting when one wishes to and when one's conscience is touched, but it requires a plan, a programme which is shared by the group, with specific stages and timing, depending upon the pace and the needs of the persons being served. The age of "interviewing" poor people and then abandoning them to the uneven spontaneous generosity of citizens who are more sensitive to the pains and sufferings of others is past. That would take us back to the voluntary services of yesteryear!

h) Immediate services and the removal of root causes constitute the twin tracks for today's voluntary service. The volunteer refuses to be generously caught up by the daily emergencies, working downstream of the problems, but wants to face up to them where they begin, to regenerate alienation, poverty, discomfort and suffering. Very often these causes are carefully concealed, and it is necessary to know how to identify and understand them, and then cut them off so that they can do no more harm.

Organised Voluntary Service – Its Features

The definition of the volunteer that we have discussed comes "from the grassroots", and is the result of the cultural reflections of the people who actually operate freely, after years of practice in the field. But there are other similar definitions, and others which are sometimes contradictory to it. We might now define voluntary service as "all the organisations that have been freely established in the country with the purpose of implementing a strategy of solidarity, participation in the country's social policies, fostering and defending citizenship rights, with a particular focus on services for the weaker sections of the population, in a climate of autonomy and pluralism, through the personal, spontaneous and unpaid work of their members".

The State does not have the right to legislate over voluntary service let alone to define its general features, because historically voluntary service predates the State, and because a free personal or group choice cannot be restricted in any way in a modern democracy. The States does not legitimise its existence, and at the most "recognises it".

However, the State does have the right to legislate in this field when the groups and associations freely choose to permit their officials to cooperate in the pursuit of the aims of the State welfare services and central, regional and local government social policies. At this point it is essential to have clearcut legal – indeed statutory – provisions, laying down the "rules of the game". Rules, laws, provisions which – let us be clear about this

– can never apply indiscriminately to all the voluntary services in the country, but only to those groups which have freely elected to make themselves available to establish a relationship, on an equal footing, with government activities. The law will remain as if it did not exist, as far as all the others who intend to pursue their work in total autonomy are concerned.

The Italian Government adopted a framework law on voluntary service, applicable to the whole country, on 22 August 1991, laying down compulsory benchmark principles for the regional governments which are empowered under the Italian Constitution to legislate in this field. It does not make any attempt to provide a definition of voluntary service for the reasons we have already mentioned. On the contrary, section 1 of the law only specifies the purposes and the subject matter of the enactment.

1 (1) The Italian Republic recognises the social value and the functions of voluntary work as the expression of participation, solidarity and pluralism, promoting its development, safeguarding its autonomy, and encouraging it to make an original contribution in the pursuit of the social, civic and cultural objectives identified by central and regional governments and by the autonomous provinces of Trent and Bolzano, and by local authorities.

(2) This law lays down the principles with which the regional and autonomous provincial governments must comply to govern relations between public institutions and voluntary organisations, as well as the criteria with which central and local government must comply in dealings with the voluntary services.

Section 2 sketches out the features of voluntary work,

2 (1) For the purposes of this Act, voluntary work shall be construed to mean any activity which is performed in a personal, spontaneous and unpaid capacity through the organisation to which the volunteer belongs, without personal gain, and indirectly and exclusively for the purposes of solidarity.

(2) The volunteer's work may not be remunerated in any way whatsoever, even by the beneficiary. The volunteer may only be refunded the expenses actually incurred in the performance of his work by the organisation to which he belongs, within limits previously laid down by the organisations themselves.

(3) The status of the volunteer is incompatible with any other form of employed or self-employed status, and with any other gainful relationship with the organisation to which the volunteer belongs.

Section 3 indicates which organisations may be considered to be voluntary:

3 (1) Voluntary organisations are organisations which have been freely constituted in order to perform the work referred to in section 2, which make decisive and prevalent use of personal, voluntary and unpaid services of their members.

(2) Voluntary organisations may take the legal personality which they feel to be the most apposite for the pursuit of their objects, notwithstanding the constraint that it must be compatible with the aim of practising solidarity.

(3) In agreements between members, in the Memorandum and the Articles of Association, mention must be made not only of those matters which are required by the Italian Civil Code according to whichever legal personality the organisations may acquire, but express mention must also be made of their non-profit nature, the democratic nature of their structure, the fact that the officers are elected and provide their services without remuneration and that the services provided by the members are unpaid, and must state the criteria for admitting and excluding persons from membership, and their duties and rights. It shall also be stipulated that they are required to produce a set of accounts stating the assets, grants or legacies, and indicate the procedures to be followed for the adoption of these accounts by the General Meeting of the members.

From Voluntary Service to Voluntary Services

These three sections of the Act are Italy's contribution to identifying the activities performed by voluntary service, while sociology, after having attempted a number of approximations to the expression "voluntary service", broadly agrees on the following:

"The fact that different terminologies are adopted by voluntary workers in their self-defence, and by scholars and observers to define and analyse voluntary service, creates the impression that there is very little agreement about the essential concept of 'voluntary service'.

While it is true that the term 'voluntary service' is losing its meaning, it should not be forgotten that this is because it contains too many meanings. It has been shown that there are countless dimensions to voluntary service: providing services, culture, individual motivations, the formation of collective identities, the development of new forms of socialisation, and the development of new professional skills and profiles. However, one must ensure that all these 'meanings' are not confused or exploited for ulterior motives.

An accurate analysis of the experiences must increasingly be carefully related to the problems of spelling out the field to which it refers. There is no longer any sense today in studying and researching or even simply speaking about voluntary service without further qualification. To remove any misunderstandings, it is essential to indicate clearly which sector of intervention is being discussed (for example, welfare, recreation, education, or culture) as well as the aspects of the experience being analysed (for example the individual or collective aspects, cultural or service aspects, or the internal dynamics of the groups or relations between groups and the outside world)".

The Need and Difficulty of Being Unequivocal

When we recalled the various features of "traditional" voluntary service as opposed to the "modern" service, we wished to contribute towards clarifying the true meaning of the expression "voluntary service". National voluntary associations have been keeping very careful watch for the past seven years on the drafting of the framework law and its final version, and broadly agree with sections 1, 2 and 3 of the Act, which constitute an attempt on the part of the government to lay down the scope of voluntary service and its features. First of all, the Act has helped a number of choices to be made, which the more mature voluntary movements had already made themselves a long time before:

- the distinction between *voluntary service* and its groups, as opposed to *associations* and their structures.

  Whereas associations are traditionally concerned with the interests of their own members, in other words their civic, cultural, recreational, economic or religious development, voluntary service gathers together people who provide services for anyone outside their own structures, and particularly on behalf of the weakest members of society. The first is a "closed" system, whereas the second is an "open", outreaching and altruistic system;

- the distinction between *organised voluntary service* and *private initiative by individuals*. The Act is only concerned with voluntary service through an organisation; it does not take any account of "freelance" volunteers, which it appreciates but cannot consider to be social partners or major agents of change, able to exert pressure and change structures;

- the distinction between *voluntary service* and *self-help*. This has to do with the type of service provided to the users of that service. For if unpaid work is performed on behalf of a group limited to self-help, even on a group basis, almost like a guild or a corporation, there is a clear distinction. On the other hand, voluntary service has a universal function and reaches out in a spirit of solidarity to everyone;

- the distinction between the organisation of volunteers who must possess substantive and formal characteristics that are very clearly defined (see section 3) and charity work which is ethically important, but which does not constitute voluntary service because it is a form of "short-term solidarity" and not an instrument of a "long-term solidarity" which ranges beyond showing concern about social problems, to studying and challenging the removal of their root causes;

- the distinction between the activities of groups of volunteers and the activities of permanent communities which cater for, accommodate and deal with drug addicts, the sick, the down-and-out, and people from the Third World; in all these activities it is indispensable and right that there should be a permanent presence of public and private full-time workers, and that they should therefore be paid, even though they do not always get the top salaries for their class of employment. There is no doubt that these people work "with the spirit of volunteers", but they are nevertheless paid workers, whereas it is essential, not only for Italian law but also as a result of a free choice of the vast majority of the groups that were surveyed, that they should be unpaid;
- the distinction between the activities of formal groups and the activities of informal groups does not affect the definition of voluntary service. These are rather different degrees of maturity in time, and of understandable opposition to any form of "supervision"; the following essential features remain: personal involvement, unpaid work, disinterested service, rejection of any form of profit-making, service provided to all without distinction, etc.;
- the distinction between "political" activity, in the Greek sense of the term as being an interest in the quality of life of the "polis" (the city) and "political" activity which might bind voluntary workers to an ideological partisan choice, which would certainly cause the grassroots popular classes to shy away from them.

  This collateral feature, which was fairly widespread in the past, has now been overcome *de facto* in Italy both as a result of the collapse of anti-clerical left-wing ideologies, and because of a greater cultural and ecumenical outreach on the part of the Catholic world, which encourages and inspires 60% of all voluntary service in Italy at the present time.

The dimension of voluntary service

When one examines the figures on the number of volunteers, the findings appear contradictory, depending upon the breadth of the area of intervention examined, the age of the volunteers, the estimates of the active volunteers, and the size of the membership of their organisations. This is evident from the results. Two national agencies that have surveyed Italian voluntary service very widely place their estimates between 2,500,000 who are engaged in unpaid work in one capacity or another (IREF – Rome 1990) and about 7,000,000, which seems to include all the people engaged in voluntary service activities (Eurisko – Milan). The groups working in this area are estimated, with a fair degree of certainty, to number between 14,000 and 15,000.

Fondazione Italiana per il Volontariato, which is unique of its kind in Italy, began its cultural life in 1990 by commissioning one of the leading research agencies in Italy, "Centro Studie Investimenti Sociali di Roma" (CENSIS), to carry out a national survey into social voluntary service, with the aim of identifying its features, in quantitative and qualitative terms. This report only gives the data provided by that survey, which is the most recent carried out in Italy. In this connection, we would like to make a few initial remarks.

General Features of the Organisations Surveyed

- With regard to the date of constitution of the entities surveyed, 6% were already in operation before 1950, 30% came into being between 1951 and 1958, 33% between 1981 and 1985, and 32% between 1986 and 1990. The largest increase in the number of groups has been in Southern Italy. About 50% of those which have been established in the past 10 years were in Southern Italy, at a time of increasingly inefficient and ineffective public social services, and where there is a great deal of general unemployment, particularly among young people.
- 55% of the groups surveyed belong to larger associations at the national, regional and provincial levels; 45% are independent. The average number of members in the groups is about 42 people. Only 12% of the associations have between 50 and 100

members; only 10% of all the groups have more than 100 members. There is a marked prevalence of small groups, which are able to operate and run more flexibly. With regard to their spheres of activity, multi-functional bodies are very widespread. Only 21% have only one object; 30% two, 22% three, and 15% four. Thirty-five per cent of the associations are for one beneficiary, 22% for two, 15% for three, 8% for four and 19% for more than four beneficiaries.

- The entities surveyed provide a wide range of different services: social solidarity; cultural and promotional activities, in the sense that they provide information to support the social work which is the primary purpose of the entities.

  The survey has shown that the prevalent activity is to meet the immediate primary needs of individuals in difficulty, mainly by listening to them and/or providing consultancy and counselling (61%).

  This "first aid" activity is completed by the provision of day and/or night centres in order to provide short-term accommodation facilities or shelter for people in difficulty or in emergencies (28.1%).

  The main services are home-care (27.1%) and health-care (28.8%), generally in nursing homes and hospitals. These are activities that are provided by many of the voluntary service organisations, both new and old alike.

- Other major areas of work undertaken by voluntary organisations relate to labour and vocational training (23.1%) and running residential homes (21.6%) which are more recent ways of dealing with clients' needs.

- Lastly, only a minority of organisations work in the field of education, leadership and preventive care, which are areas, particularly in the latter case, where the voluntary services find it particularly difficult to operate.

  In other words, very often voluntary services cover different areas of social and welfare needs because they are "forced" to do so by the shortcomings and the inadequacies in the public services in dealing with these needs.

- In addition to solidarity work, the organisations which the survey identified undertake what they call cultural or promotional work, such as the provision of information, awareness-building, and study and documentation services. Altogether, 78.3% of all of the organisations surveyed carry out these activities. In this case, too, there is a tendency to perform several activities at the same time: 25% only carry out one type of cultural activity, while 75% carry at least two.

- The predominant activity is the provision of information and promoting their own initiatives (76%).

  There is a fairly widespread agreement that the relationship between voluntary service and public opinion is somewhat problematic, and at all events it is incomplete and could be improved, because the public only fully appreciates the work being performed by voluntary organisations when they actually need the services, or live in the area in which the services normally work every day.

- Relations between the media and private social work are difficult, and leave much to be desired, because very often the media are not at all interested in anything that does not make headline news, or they tend to deal with the subject by trivialising it, often superficially and without really going into the issues.

- One very important fact that emerged was the great amount of study and research being conducted (29%).

  Almost one organisation in three carries out research, which is certainly much more complex and difficult than mere documentation, which may very often be no more than collecting and cataloguing miscellaneous materials.

The Beneficiaries

- Voluntary services have obviously had to come to terms (like any other socialisation or social intervention agency) with the increasing areas of poverty, both old and new,

enhancing its presence and providing a response of social solidarity, which has had to improve considerably from being merely the provision of assistance or relief to fostering human development. This is demonstrated by the wide range of activities being carried out by organisations in this area.

- Most of the organisations work on behalf of children and young people in difficulties (or at risk) (45%), disabled people (38%), and problem families (32%). In addition to this there are sick (23%) and (21%) elderly people, showing that altogether these categories make up the area of what one might consider the "traditional" clients of voluntary service.
- It should also be noted that there are obvious overlappings between different categories of clients in the sense that they may belong to more than one category: a child, for example, may also be disabled, and an old person may also be an alcoholic.
- Social welfare work by voluntary organisations is therefore directed at everyone in need. Care for children and young people who are at risk as well as caring for elderly people shows their sensibility towards a category which is increasingly taking on a central role in welfare policies in the light of population changes.
- The flexibility and capacity of voluntary workers to demonstrate social solidarity in responding to different needs is confirmed when one looks at the data referring to the organisations working on behalf of drug addicts (27%), immigrants from outside the European Community (16%), homeless people and gypsies (12%), prisoners (13%), and alcoholics (12%).
- The problem of drug abuse, which exploded in Italy at the end of the seventies, mobilised the voluntary services from the very beginning, and they found that they had to deal with the phenomenon and the psycho-social problems of the drug addicts, and seek help from the public structures in order to complement the public services.
- Immigration from outside the European Community also takes up a great deal of the voluntary services time, because of the magnitude of the problem, and only a few of them are equipped efficiently and appropriately to handle the problem.
- Homeless people, in many respects, are one of the traditional areas of concern, but in other respects it is still unknown, particularly with regard to the people who are often referred to with the unpleasant epithet of "tramps". These are people suffering from a problem which is growing in magnitude, not only due to material poverty but also to very serious situations of loneliness and personal failure. The same applies to caring for prisoners (or ex-prisoners) where the voluntary organisations require a great many resources, a very powerful sense of values and thorough training.

  Less attention is devoted to alcoholism, but this can be explained by the fact that this widespread problem is dealt with mostly by the self-help associations who were not included in the survey.

Training

- Analysing the training and refresher courses held for the personnel of the voluntary services, it must firstly be noticed that the term "training" means different things to different organisations, ranging from periodic meetings for the social workers to fully-fledged specialisation courses. The data must therefore be viewed and interpreted in terms of the organisation and the opportunities available for providing volunteer workers with the skills and know-how they need to effectively perform their work of social solidarity.

  According to the officials of the organisations surveyed, 77% of them provide training on a continuous basis (46%) or on an occasional basis (31%). The fact that only some of the training is held on a continuous basis may be explained by the extremely high cost of specialisation courses, which impose a considerable economic burden on small organisations which are not supported by sound regional legislation. This means that training activities are at a disadvantage. Nevertheless this is certainly an indicator of the desire to provide training of high calibre, of the

kind needed to equip the workers to deal with the social problems and deprivation in the territory. What is important is not only doing but also knowing, in order to ensure that an increasingly effective response can be made to the needs. The groups (as well as individual volunteers) are very anxious to break out of the confines of their associations and to use all the instruments and possibilities that exist to obtain training outside, even though the figures alone do not provide a very clear picture of the "quantity" or the regularity of the courses taken.

Organisations resident in Southern Italy engage less frequently than the national average in training and/or retraining and updating activities for their workers, specifically designed for the purposes of the services they provide; in most cases they are haphazard initiatives, designed to motivate their members and provide them with a very general preparation that one might define as "basic".

The persons working in the voluntary services

ISPES, the agency which conducts social surveys, enumerated the Italians between the ages of 18 and 74 who declared that they belonged to associations, and came up with the following results:

Table 2.1:

Replies	Percentages
Parties	6.3
Trade unions	4.8
Trade associations	1.4
Parishes	4.0
Voluntary associations	3.3
Cultural associations	5.7
Users' associations	0.5
No replies	74.0

With regard to the breakdown in terms of the type of associations to which they belong the following pattern emerges:

With regard to the types of social and welfare work performed the following pattern emerges:

Table 2.2: Type of voluntary service

	1983	1985	Change %	1989	Change 85-89
Elderly people	12.4	17.6	+5.2	10.1	-7.5
Sick people	9.5	13.1	+3.6	6.3	-6.8
Disabled people	6.1	11.4	+5.3	5.7	-5.7
Blood donors	n.a.	7.4	–	15.2	+7.8
Marginalised	2.0	6.8	+4.8	–	-
First aid	7.1	6.3	-0.8	5.7	-0.6
Civil Protection	n.a.	5.7	–	5.1	-0.6
Children	2.7	3.4	+0.7	3.8	+0.4
Drug addiction	4.5	2.3	-2.2	3.8	+1.5
Mentally sick people	n.a.	2.3	–	1.3	-1.0
Immigrants	n.a.	–	-	0.6	-

With regard to the area of civil voluntary service the following pattern emerged:

Table 2.3: Percentage breakdown of Italians between the ages of 18 and 74 devoted to types of civic voluntary service in 1983, 1985 and 1989

Type of civic voluntary service	1983	1985	Change %	1989	Change 85-89
Education	11.7	25.0	+13.3	27.2	+2.2
Recreation	20.0	22.7	+2.7	19.6	-3.1
Politics	19.3	17.6	-1.7	10.1	-7.5
Trade unions	10.6	9.7	-0.9	10.8	+1.1
Culture	15.1	8.0	-7.1	6.3	-1.7
Ecology	7.9	5.1	-2.8	–	-
Pacifism	5.2	2.8	-2.4	–	-
Trade associations	n.a.	2.8	–	1.9	-0.9
Third world	n.a.	n.a.	–	1.9	-
Consumerism	n.a.	0.0	–	1.3	+1.3

Another agency which is involved in the world of labour, IREF, conducted a survey in 1990 and produced the following findings referring to the time devoted to associations:

Table 2.4: Persons aged between 18 and 74 in Italy belonging to associations, in terms of frequency of participation in social activities (in percentages)

		Frequency of participation in associations activities				
Type of Association	Total	A few times a year	At least once a month	At least once a week	Never	No Reply
Professional	21.5	23.9	19.0	5.6	45.9	50.0
Cultural	11.6	4.0	11.9	17.8	8.1	-
Recreation leisure	11.4	12.0	11.9	13.3	5.4	-
Sport	16.7	9.3	–	25.6	–	-
Ex-service	4.5	12.0	–	-	–	50.0
Education	4.1	–	7.1	7.8	–	-
Training/counselling	0.4	0.3	–	-	–	-
Welfare	8.1	1.3	9.5	13.3	8.1	-
Healthcare	4.9	6.7	4.8	2.2	8.1	-
Ecology	4.5	4.0	2.4	4.4	8.1	-
Pacifism	1.2	1.3	–	2.2	–	-
Trade unions	19.1	21.3	28.6	12.2	21.6	-
Political party	8.5	1.3	14.3	14.4	2.7	-
Third world cooperation	1.2	–	4.8	–	2.7	-
Civil rights	0.4	1.3	–	-	–	-
Consumerism	0.4	–	-	1.1	–	-
Others	7.7	8.0	4.8	11.1	2.7	-

According to IREF, just over 15% of the Italians are involved in voluntary service.

Table 2.5: Persons aged between 18 and 74 in Italy who are engaged in voluntary service through membership of associations (%)

Engaged in voluntary service?	Members of an association YES	NO	Italian Average
Yes	39.4	7.8	15.4
No	60.5	92.2	84.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Lastly Italy's leading social research agency which prepares an annual "Report on the Social Status of Italy" for submission to the Italian parliament, CENSIS, analysed the magnitude of social consensus (at March 1991) on the part of Italians in terms of their commitment to different types of associations working in Italy. The membership is given in thousands.

Table 2.6:

Type of association	Membership in thousands
Political parties	3,900
Non-party political movements	1,000
Environment associations	730
Pacifist associations	400
Civil rights associations	170
Trade union associations (all)	13,822
Employers associations	4,205
Cooperative associations	3,885
Professional associations	1,000
Other professional associations	1,103
Artistic, cultural, recreational and leisure associations	4,560
Voluntary service associations	4,000
Sports associations	3,103
Religious associations	2,000
Associations for the psychological/physical care of the body	740
Servicemen associations	650
Company ex-employee associations	260
Scouts	250
Charitable associations	84
Others	98
Total	45,960

As far as the voluntary service associations are concerned, the following points may be noted:

- Women make up the largest proportion in social/welfare work (60%) while men are more heavily involved in civic commitments and citizens rights.
- Within the associations, pensioners are increasingly becoming involved (aged over 60), together with elderly people.
- From the point of view of the social classes involved in voluntary service, there is an increasing proportion of people from the more educated upper-middle class who are financially more secure, and suffering from a conscience crisis with regard to the possibility of bringing about true equality, freedom and socio-economic democracy.
- Young people account for 35% of the members of voluntary service associations.
- This data must be interpreted bearing in mind that very often the same person may be a member of a party, a trade union, a professional association of voluntary cultural activities or sports activities, or a religious association. This naturally affects the consensus index.
- Members of associations, apart from certain areas in Southern Italy, are mostly people with a regular job and who also make a financial contribution to the life of their association.

Areas of activity, and the activities performed by voluntary services

There are about 50 different activities which are being carried out today in Italy. This is a list of them, with the fields to which they refer – some of which are often combined – given in brackets after each one:

- listening and providing shelter (sociological – welfare);
- poor adults (welfare – job seeking);
- adoption and guardianship (legal – educational – psychological);
- AIDS (healthcare and counselling);
- alcoholism (healthcare, psychology – family policy);
- environment (healthcare – environment – civil protection – habitat);
- social analysis of territories and needs (economic sociology);
- caring for the elderly (gerontology – physical education – psychological care);
- minors and young people (education – sport – recreation – relationships);
- organisation of local socio-cultural events (psychology – culture – welfare – organisation);
- elderly people (healthcare – services – pensions legal – tourism – culture);
- home help (social services – welfare – hygiene);
- hospital care (healthcare and outpatient care);
- archaeology (art and culture – cultural heritage);
- blood banks (healthcare – services);
- homelessness (welfare – healthcare – psychology);
- cultural heritage (environmental – ecology – art);
- prisoners, ex-prisoners, families of prisoners (assistance – social services – work – prevention);
- consultancies and counselling (welfare – hygiene – healthcare – defence of life);
- national and international work camps (mainly among young people);
- day and night shelters (assistance – logistics – healthcare – leadership);
- communities (families – accommodation – therapeutic – agricultural – shelters – educational, etc.);
- consultancy and counselling (depending upon the subject);

- consultancy (study – liaison);
- deviants (at-risk individuals assistance – re-education services – jobs);
- discharged psychiatric patients (psychiatry – psychology – counselling and shelters – assistance);
- documentation, research, studies, press (mass media – small-scale publishing – communications);
- blood donors (healthcare – prevention – education);
- women in difficulties (assistance – counselling – healthcare – work);
- drugs (prevention – treatment – rehabilitation – jobs – psycho-physical support);
- de-institutionalisation (education – services – controls – family policy – legislation);
- migrants (overall assistance abroad);
- voluntary fire services (specific skills – prevention – emergency aid);
- immigrants (shelter – work – housing – healthcare – citizenship rights);
- legislation (protection of rights – consultancy – active defence);
- workshops (vocational induction – supervised work – cooperatives);
- people who are terminally ill (healthcare – family – assistance);
- maternity (healthcare – prevention – counselling);
- minors (assistance – school – education – rights – defence);
- gypsies (alienation – ethnic protection – minority rights work);
- conscientious objectors (guidance to local services);
- peace, non-violence, human rights (pacifism, defence of the oppressed – tribunals);
- professional associations (trade unions);
- prevention (social/healthcare, education, civil protection, schooling, work);
- commuters (assistance – logistical support – relations with factories and unions);
- first aid (healthcare and services);
- prostitution (prevention – rehabilitation – protection – assistance – re-insertion);
- civil protection (safety – prevention – intervention techniques);
- publications (publishing activities – dissemination – finance);
- unmarried mothers (legal/welfare protection, work, hostels);
- social secretariats (information – counselling – guidance – work – protection);
- cultural, recreational, sports, educational services (leadership – local promotion – leisure time);
- third-world (international solidarity);
- helplines (psychological support);
- solidarity voluntary services and cooperatives (consultancy – free membership – relations with civil communities);
- family social voluntary services (shelters – adoption – and guardianship – education – training, etc.).

Why people undertake voluntary work: renewal and continuity

Setting the Record Straight

There is no doubt that voluntary service has always existed, in an incredible variety of forms and initiatives, in different ages. In view of the prejudices, stereotypes and the underestimation of its importance, it is understandable that people look surprised when one refers to *a contemporary radical change in the motivations underlying it*, or the new dimensions of its role in Italian society.

It is necessary to respond to this reaction with a *clear and well-documented statement* of the facts. Otherwise, public opinion would not understand what has been defined as the "anthropological and cultural evolution of motivations", which leads millions of

citizens today to become engaged in voluntary services throughout their country. Neither would it be possible to expect to be able to mobilise the energies, qualities, and professional skills of the masses in future – something which will be indispensable if we are to supersede the idea of a voluntary service which relies merely on elites.

It is necessary to be very clear about motivation in order to broaden the area of commitment to engage the active participation of all citizens. Ethical, political, religious and financial motivations cause people to question their consciences, to create a network of different types of cooperation throughout the country.

We therefore feel that in order to explain the profound cultural and operational changes that have taken place and which typify today's voluntary services, it would be useful to systematically compare the past with the present, analysing the different types of motivations that underlay voluntary work in the past with the motivations underlying it today.

The Civic-Social Motivations

Yesterday	Today
Philanthropy, respectability. Mutual aid, charity, solidarity, gentlemanliness. Personal intervention was deemed to be a matter of discretion. Class-based solidarity or religious solidarity with the oppressed was the motivation.	The demand for constitutional rights not granted, particularly human and citizenship rights. Intervention is viewed as "duty" rather than as an "extra" there to be taken or left at will.
Widespread poverty meant that the "hungry" were to the fore, and this is why priority was given by voluntary workers to social, welfare and healthcare work. Until 1975, 70% of all the Christian and non-religious groups worked in this area.	The newly discovered prosperity is urging people to look towards the "powerless" who are incapable of managing their lives without support, either temporary or permanent, from either the institutions or voluntary services.
Containing the most important social injustices and contradictions, alleviating present sufferings, and mainly being concerned with the "worthy poor". A form of "social patriotism" to defend the image of the country from harsh foreign judgements.	Contributing towards establishing a climate of peace, tolerance, non-violence, dealing with daily emergencies; demanding the need for a State which provides efficient services for everyone.
The State did little to protect the weak, who were often only helped for reasons for public order, institutionalising minors, the old and the disabled.	The "welfare state" is in crisis. Voluntary services are all the more necessary in a period in which traditional poverty is returning and public intervention is increasingly apathetic.
People undertook voluntary work in order to make up for obvious injustices, but they did not *challenge* the social legislation which was the result of political and economic situations that were the prime causes of it. There was no innovative sensitivity. The concept of intervention was purely "damage-repairing".	The motivation justifying wholly unpaid work is not so much to enhance the social services that already exist, but rather to review and revise social policy and legislation which deals with all the problems of deprivation and marginalisation. The concept today is to "free" people of their needs. This means *preventive* work, and not only remedying situations and rehabilitation.

The Political Motivations

Yesterday	Today
There were no political motivations, because the voluntary services were carried out for their own sake, without any particular opting to take the side of those who were marginalised or deprived. People worked for them, sometimes some of the more mature groups worked with them, but there was no strategy to change things, or any activity to denounce the root causes.	Voluntary services are considered today to be a *political subject*, because their central aim is to contribute towards *changing society and institutions* by removing the causes of social ills. This is the aim to be pursued whenever the public or the speculative private sector practises violence or oppression against constitutional democratic rights.
Since the political dimension was wholly absent, there was no commitment to changing social legislation which generated the degradation of the local communities; neither was the need felt to join forces with the third sector (associations, cooperatives, unions, charitable institutions) in order to strengthen their capacity to bring about change on the institutions. People lived in a state of group narcissism.	Volunteers choose to work together with all the social forces operating in the country, who declare that they wish to promote a different form of participation and introduce new projects and plans; to give life to new forms of intervention. The reason underlying this strategy is the need to *anticipate, stimulate, integrate, criticise and verify* public and private enterprise, so that action can be taken in this field of the sensitive relations between the State and the public, promptly and efficiently.
It was felt that where the State was absent, private intervention was able to work much better than the State. This "stop-gap" work to make up for the shortcomings of the State was considered valuable and a sound solution in combating marginalisation and deprivation because it was felt that the civil servant would never be sufficiently motivated and have that "passion for mankind" which inspires the volunteer. It was necessary to contain the development of public services entrusting welfare increasingly to the private sector.	The welfare state must be present and efficient. Where the State does not work, voluntary services increase. It is therefore no longer committed to acting as a "stop-gap", to make up for shortcomings alone, except in emergencies. Its role is to complete public intervention; to flank it, enrich it and invent new forms of work, and to humanise social services.
There was little inclination to link up solidarity actions with one another even when they were pursuing the same aims. Charitable work was almost completely cut off from the local political and administrative authorities. In the case of religious charities, the attitude was generally to remain separate from the local authorities and community.	The political motivation to undertake voluntary service is that it wishes to be consistent with establishing a network of relationships between solidarity associations that already exist in the territory, made up of all the structures and initiatives that exist locally, in order to enhance the overall intervention of a society which educates the public to show solidarity.
Strong motivation and spontaneous forms of personal witness; a reluctance to plan, or to work out a legal personality for the groups.	In order to establish political, administrative and financial relations with the public structures, the voluntary associations provide themselves with regulations and constitutions for their internal regulation, laying down their duties and responsibilities.
Relations with the public institutions were very fragile, both because of the rigid way they were run, and the widespread spirit of mutual mistrust, defending their own independence, competing with the State, particularly as far as the Church groups were concerned.	There is an increasing motivation towards broad "political" cooperation with public institutions since they are convinced that this reciprocal integration will ensure a better over-all defence of the citizens suffering, poverty, existential discomfort, or conflict with the State or society.

Yesterday (continued)	Today (continued)
The motivation underpinning voluntary work was dedication, generosity and readiness to serve; there was a lack of any challenge to look for alternative solutions; there was no stimulus to undertake training, to enhance the skills of the members, or carry out theoretical reflection.	Training at different levels, both theoretical and practical fieldwork, is the main concern today of voluntary service. The main reason for this is the desire to offer the best possible service to those who have suffered greatly. It is increasingly necessary to acquire enhanced skills in view of the increasing complexity of the duties which are being undertaken by associations in the wide range of areas in which they work.
The world of research and culture did not generally pay any attention to any socio-political analysis of this spontaneous form of solidarity work. It was felt to be completely marginal, even though it was admirable.	The scientific world, particularly sociology, has realised – albeit rather late in the day – that it is necessary to analyse the qualitative and quantitative expansion of voluntary service. Many universities, foundations, and cultural centres are sponsoring this scientific activity.
Information on the voluntary services, and their function and role in society was virtually non-existent. Appeals to join forces relied on emotional charity, through a myriad of sectoral bulletins, mainly designed for fund-raising purposes. There was little influence on the press. The members were from an average to low educational background.	The mass media pay great attention to voluntary service. The quality of communications has also improved because of the obvious magnitude and widespread nature of the problems dealt with. The political motivation underlying the involvement of the mass media in mobilising and sensitising public opinion is developing all the time.
Little need was felt for any liaison or consultation body, at least between the main national associations. Pride-of-place was given to strengthening each one individually for reasons of political and ideological prestige.	There is greater political opportunity to establish bottom-up horizontal liaison between national associations. This makes it possible for policy choices and social objectives to be coordinated between central and local government authorities.
There was reluctance to seek national and regional legislation because it was felt that this would limit the *freedom and independence of the voluntary services.*	The main need is for national legislation under "a framework law". The need to translate this at a regional level in order to define relations between institutions and voluntary services.

Ideological, Ethical and Religious Motivations

Yesterday	Today
For the *lay person*, the main commitment was to defend the oppressed, to seek the greatest possible equality in providing initial opportunities. Denouncing injustices and arbitrariness. For the *believer*, the commitment to bear witness to fellowship which gives account of the faith; which reduces suffering, discomfort and conflict.	Today for the *lay person* the main motivation is to moralise society and show citizenship solidarity. To make a contribution to the problems of peace, tolerance and dialogue. For the post-Vatican II believer, "justice is the first step in love". There is a very thorough review of the concept of "charity".
There was a gradual integration between civic and religious motivations, and a gradual weakening of mutual prejudice in the field of welfare. Ecumenism also facilitated this progress.	The teaching of the Church requires Christian voluntary service to deal with social problems "at the root causes", as a matter of priority.

The organisation of voluntary services

Voluntary services are organised at the national level with a great many "vertical" movements mostly having their national headquarters in the north of Italy. The internal structure of these movements is very often the same as a government structure, with a national, regional, provincial and municipal centre. Where the groups belong to the Church, they have national, regional, diocesan, vicariate and parish centres. The former have a secular democracy, and are governed by the civil code; in the latter case, they are run as an ecclesiastical democracy, with lay officials guided by priests, who have a prime responsibility. From the top of the pyramid in Rome to the decentralised groups, the statutes which govern them are often the same, with small variations. This brings together groups who do the same work, specialising in one particular sector.

There a few "horizontal" national movements, because these link together groups and associations at various levels, working in different fields, with different statutes, but all sharing the same civil and general political objectives which constitute the cultural motivation of their commitment to the movement. The most important, in the sense that it links more than 1,000 groups, is Movimento di Volontariato Italiano which was established in 1978 in order to solve the problem of the dispersion of voluntary services throughout the country. The national groups are flanked by regional, supra-regional and local groups, of which 60% are formal and 40% informal.

Over 25 major national movements have created the "Standing Conference of National Voluntary Service Associations and Federations", which has the function of representing them officially in dealings with government, parliament, the civil service, trade unions, pressure groups and lobbies, the market, and the Church. The Conference is non-confessional and democratic.

The central government enacted Framework Law no. 266/91, in which section 12 set up the National Voluntary Service Observatory, with a duty of conducting a census and research, promoting and implementing experimental projects, providing consultancy, publishing an official bulletin and a two-year report on the voluntary services, promoting a conference every three years, etc. Ten places on this Observatory are set aside for presidents of national voluntary service organisations.

The regional laws make provision both for "observatories" with the same objectives, and regional or provincial consultations promoted by local government. The result has not been particularly exciting, partly because they depend on officialdom to work properly. For particular purposes and campaigns of general interest, "cartels", "lobbies", and "conferences" running horizontally through all the movements are created. Apart from the original objective for which they were created, some of them became permanent institutions to follow up the development of the issue for which they were originally created.

The Minister-without-Portfolio for Social Affairs is responsible at the national level, while at the regional and provincial level it is the social services officials, whose offices often have a department for the voluntary services.

In 1982 the "National Voluntary Services Centre" was established in Lucca by a number of associations in order to create the cultural, non-decision-making forum which would make it possible to organise a wide-ranging debate at a two-yearly conference on the developments of voluntary service in Italy. The Centre has its own newsletter and conducts study, research and liaison work, and publishes information. So far, during the decade 1982-92, it has promoted six conferences whose proceedings have been published in the series *Volontaria Perch* by Dehoniane in Bologna. It played a major part in the drafting of the framework law.

In 1990, Rome's local savings bank Cassa di Risparmio di Roma, which has since become Banca di Roma and one of Italy's leading banking groups, created Fondazione Italiano per il Volontariato with the object of helping and sustaining, fostering and stimulating the development of voluntary service by 14,000 groups working throughout the country, through six departments: information, training, sociological research, consultancy, relating to the substance and organisation of associations, public relations and international relations. It publishes the magazine *Volontariato* every two months,

which has become Italy's leading and widest circulation journal for the whole sector. It also runs a Freefone service which any Italian citizen can contact, without charge, in order to offer their services freely to practise solidarity. At the moment it is conducting a national census through 8,000 interviews, to ascertain the quantity and quality of voluntary services on which no scientific data yet exists.

The Role of the Italian Government in Voluntary Services

While the development of voluntary service cannot be explained merely in terms of the crisis of the welfare state or the failure of government to act in areas of need, its work and vitality has nevertheless been influenced decisively by its type of relationship with government. Despite the fact that voluntary services in many cases are delegated by the government to carry out their work, in recent years there has been a great development: we have moved away from "separateness", and in some cases from a clash with the institutions in areas of vital importance to the public, to establish a relationship of mutual trust and cooperation.

This process can also be helped as a result of the recent law (enacted in August 1991): the Framework Law on Voluntary Associations. This law enacts a number of measures, from the institution of regional registers to the possibility of concluding contracts with public entities, as well as tax reliefs which, in the view of most observers and workers, will enable voluntary organisations to take advantage of the provisions which govern relations with public institutions.

These opportunities are coupled with a number of provisions for the organisation of training courses and professional refresher courses for volunteers. Without going into further details into the substance of the new law, it is nevertheless possible to see its importance to the world of voluntary service, which it gives useful indications and encouragement to redefine itself, particularly with regard to certain of the most important aspects of its activities. However, the preference for an integrated approach does not mean that voluntary services must give up their advocacy and stimulating function to bring about change. In particular, voluntary services must not give up their true fundamental functions: as precursors, and as protectors of the interests of the weak.

These functions are explicitly recognised in the first few sections of this Act. The role which the Italian government intends to play to help voluntary services is defined in the Act which comprises only 17 sections. It should be emphasised that it will be incorporated into 20 regional laws which the regional governments are under the statutory obligation to enact before the end of 1992 in accordance with the Framework Law.

Article 117 of the Italian Constitution gives the regional governments responsibility for this area, and all the voluntary services are therefore to be regulated in full respect for their originality and their vital functions, remaining open to cooperation with central and regional government authorities.

The Government and voluntary service

From the cultural point of view, relations between voluntary service and government may be set out in terms of the following five principles:

a) voluntary service needs the government to implement the provisions of the Constitution and the relevant laws in order to be able to perform its work of social solidarity, and to do so as *efficiently as possible*. Freed from public roles which are not its responsibility and which indeed interfere with its real functions, voluntary service can then attend to its daily, original, autonomous and varied duties, in its commitment to show solidarity to civil society, only accepting public roles whenever there are emergencies.

b) Voluntary service did not come into being as a result of someone else's crisis, whether they are the crises of the affluent society, public services, or resources. Voluntary service is based in the Constitution because it brings into being one of the dimensions that constitute modern democracy.

c) Neither a hegemonous State monopolising all personal services, nor a voluntary service which is detached from the institutions, can provide a comprehensive response to meet all the needs of the public, in view of their complexity and the fact that they refer to every dimension of the human person. It is necessary to look elsewhere, in full respect for mutual independence and the evident diversity of roles, to find a policy agreement which will make it possible for all willing citizens to participate, facilitated and stimulated by the necessary encouragement.

d) It is not a question of weakening the achievements of the welfare State which have been attained painstakingly by the labour world, or of recklessly privatising areas hitherto managed by the State and local government. It is rather a matter of redesigning relations between central government and the private social sphere, in the context of the ongoing reforms.

e) It is essential for institutions and voluntary organisations to find common ground both in order to make the decentralised public sector more democratic and to motivate citizens to take part in programmes from which they are completely absent at the present time.

Conditions for Organic Linkage

It would therefore be wishful thinking to believe that a clear theoretical approach can lead to daily active commitment unless the *conditions* for this are equally clearly laid down.

Respecting mutual independence

Voluntary services cannot and must not offer alibis for institutional duties which are not being performed, and which the law entrusts to the public sector. This would weaken the welfare state which everyone declares has to be safeguarded. The associations cannot be used to passively follow-up public services, or to pay off debts or to be viewed as unpaid labour. Volunteers cannot be used to fill up gaps in staffing levels! At all events, any control of whatever is being done by the associations must only relate to the service offered, the degree to which clients' needs are being met, respect for any contractual agreement entered into, but certainly not their internal operations!

Cooperating, but not by carrying out orders

Any real cooperation involves joint drafting of plans for operations, even though after mutual consultation it is up to the institutions to decide which programmes and which social policies have to be implemented. It may happen that there may not be full agreement over what has to be done, and this leaves a dialectical situation open, which is also partly due to the different roles of both parties, but this must never be at the expense of the basic choice to seek synergies and agreement around objectives whenever this is possible.

Guarantees for self-promotion

It is not the politicians or enlightened administrators who enable the groups to come into being or who recognise their usefulness because of the service they render to a civil society. They are legitimated by the Italian Constitution itself. The institutions are therefore failing to perform their constitutional functions of providing a service to the community when they hamper or fail to create conditions needed by voluntary services to promote themselves and develop.

Working with equal dignity

Cooperation cannot be created by administrative circulars, but only by the conviction that it is indispensable for professionals (doctors, psychologists, social workers and educationists) to cooperate jointly with volunteers in the work to pursue common social objectives. In most cases professionals will not belong to one specific sector alone.

If, with an outdated mentality that has been belied by actual experience, someone still thinks that the solutions to social problems lie wholly with "experts" it will never be possible to establish any genuine collaboration at all. This does not mean that in a certain number of cases voluntary services also use these unpaid services of professionals.

Mutual respect

No-one may deceive themselves into thinking that a strategy for constructive cooperation between everyone working in government at central and local level (politicians, administrators, technicians, etc.) and those working in the solidarity networks can come about merely as a result of mutual goodwill! The truth is that save for a substantial, but nevertheless small, number of leaders on both sides, there is no underlying mentality, no tradition of relations of mutual trust which makes it possible to think immediately today in terms of the possibility to find common ground between both parties.

We must therefore take note of the situation as it is. We must realise that over the next five years of work for the self-promotion of citizens belonging to various sections of the population who suffer from a lack of public and private protection, progress will depend upon *the development or otherwise of an educational commitment* on the part of institutions and voluntary services. This means extra-mural education, which the regional governments are primarily responsible for providing according to article 17 of the Constitution.

The Respective Duties of the Voluntary Services and the Institutions

Let us now quickly examine the duties of the voluntary associations in comparison to those of the State institutions:

- *Acting as precursors.* Society, through the perception of its most sensitive members, anticipates the new forms of dismemberment which affect it and threaten daily life, co-existence, the quality of inter-personal relations, etc. And this is where the "anti-toxins" are generated. In our case, these are the voluntary groups: they study and set up defences, inventing new ways of dealing with problems as they emerge and which need analysis, making a political reading, and carrying out experimental initiatives. This way in which society at large anticipates the government has been historically proven and is easy to understand.

  Voluntary workers, if properly prepared and trained, form a kind of "radar", able to ensure that the public structures are not caught by surprise as a result of the changes that morality, consumption, the market, the world of labour, etc. bring about.

- *Acting as a stimulus.* What is needed is a constructive dialectical relationship stemming from dialogue and cooperation between professions, representatives of the institutions and the users of the services. Moreover, the sharing of information, discovering new needs, the constant inadequacies of resources and facilities, programming and verification requirements, are all concrete elements to stimulate both individuals and the service as a whole. Structures constantly need prompting in order to pursue the aims for which they have been created, on which their efficiency depends; this will ensure that the repetitive monopoly of daily services does not dampen the keen interest of those running the services, as well as the vitality of the services and the role of the operators themselves;

- *Humanising.* Not in the sense that the volunteer worker is the only bearer of the human factor in services, surrounded by unmotivated professionals without much professional ethos, almost like anonymous robots, cold delegates of social mechanisms. It would be quite illusory to imagine that it is possible to humanise and personalise the services only "from outside", if the values expressed by voluntary services did not reach out to affect the way the largest number of civil servants think and act. And this is precisely one of the primary roles of the voluntary services to promote this environmental contagion, the circulation of ethical principles which will change human relations, and the way in which the recipients of services are received.

- *Networking.* All the people working in the social services, which are often under-staffed, the increased demand for services from the public and for facilities which are already quite weak, and the logistical decentralisation of people throughout the territory – all of these are factors which are leading society to look to volunteering as a valuable opportunity to be able to network public intervention in order to provide support, particularly for those who are not self-supporting by integrating all the energies that exist.

- *Speaking up for those who cannot speak for themselves*. This function is performed by boldly expressing the opinions of the recipients of public services, who often simply have to accept in silence what is offered to them. This happens, for example, when old people are unable to face the journey to their social centres; they are not able to express themselves clearly, they feel that their comments will cause them to forfeit the services, and cause irritation to the social workers, against whom they feel defenceless. Volunteers can be excellent mediators in this regard, faced with this widespread lack of dialogue, or hold a persistent and defensive attitude, of criticism and often unjustifiably destructive of any government scheme. On other occasions, after having exhausted all the paths of mediation, and after having urged officials to do their duties, but without any success, it is necessary to protest against the inefficiency or malfunctioning of the whole apparatus or of an individual office, thereby sensitising public opinion.

- *Planning*. Voluntary work will not simply remain a matter of providing services if after:
  - a critical and thorough examination of the services provided,
  - a survey of the environment in which they are provided,
  - listening to the people who receive them,
  - listing the malfunctions that exist,
  - the lack of satisfaction on the part of public opinion,
  - the lack of cooperation between institutions and the private social sphere in the local area,
  - noticing needs which are simply not being met,

  operational consequences are drawn up in terms of a new project. In this way new suggestions can be offered both to the public and to the groups themselves, in order to try out alternative solutions.

- *Information*. It is hardly surprising that it is often the voluntary sector which provides information to government administrators and local politicians, and even professional operators. Here again there is a valuable need for two-way exchange. Relations that voluntary workers have with the clients with whom they are working, without any hierarchical constraints, on a spontaneous and friendly basis, make it possible to hand on information, not so much on individuals, but on the territory – information which a professional normally does not receive; this is because of the inevitable barrier that is raised between officials and the citizens, even in the fairly common cases where there are good relations and mutual trust.

Subjects and Instruments of Cooperation

This aspect of the survey is extremely important with regard to the trends and the policies of social voluntary organisations because of the generally widespread tendency to establish more solid relations and greater integration with the public sector.

There were three indicators in the survey: whether or not the association was recorded in the regional register of voluntary associations; contracts, and the type of agencies with which contractual agreements have been concluded.

With regard to whether or not the association is recorded in a national or regional register, only 21% of the organisations interviewed were in fact registered. A further 11.4% had applied for registration or were about to complete the formalities for it, giving a grand total of 32.3% taking advantage of this opportunity. One organisation in three (which rises to one in two if we exclude the organisations in regions where the register has not yet been instituted) know about and benefit from the advantages deriving from registration.

It should be pointed out that registration demands certain eligibility criteria according to the regional laws, in some cases making particularly heavy demands in order to guarantee an adequate quality of service. This acts as a powerful constraint on small organisations wishing to be registered. Further confirmation of this is the fact that 42% of the organisations surveyed have well-established relations with public authorities, under contractual agreements.

Contractual agreements represent a form of relationship varying in length, concluded in terms of well-defined projects and activities, to which the organisation has given financial support to perform its activities.

The relatively small number (30%) of organisations that have concluded contractual agreements with public agencies is significant and may be interpreted to mean that the older-established voluntary services traditionally base their activities on self-financing and on charitable donations, not seeking conventions with public agencies because they fear that they may lose their independence.

Another reason may be that public agencies are required to respect certain statutory provisions when they provide financing or conclude contractual agreements, which induces them to select associations that have a fairly high level of internal structuring. However the situation is not homogeneous throughout the country, and some sectoral measures are often used in order to conclude contractual agreements giving voluntary associations a purely stop-gap role in areas where the public sector is unable to meet the demands from the more deprived and needy sections of the population.

The institutions and agencies with which voluntary services most frequently conclude agreements are the local health board (USLs) (55%) and municipal authorities (40%) which are the institutions with which the organisations work most closely because these constitute the main areas where social solidarity volunteers tend to work, and represent the persons most directly concerned in producing the services for the population in the social-welfare sector.

Trends in the voluntary services: difficulties, present problems and future challenges

Difficulties

The interviewees' concerns focus on two areas: difficulties within volunteer services and difficulties in relations with the public sector. This is predictable, but what is surprising about it is the fact that both these poles are equidistant: it would seem in fact that the difficulties in relations with government are as great as the difficulties within the voluntary associations themselves.

As far as the difficulties within the structures of the voluntary associations are concerned, the most common ones relate to coordination, organisation and training. A fragmented voluntary sector in an archipelago of different associations which do not communicate among themselves reduces their capacity to effectively influence the local situations.

Some of the interviewees gave excessive jealousy regarding their independence, and a tendency to emphasise their specificity, and an excessive fear of being "used", as the main reasons for this inward-lookingness. Many criticisms also related to the lack of any clear-cut organisational and management strategies: where programming and planning are inadequate and the objectives remain vague, the possibility of offering effective services is also jeopardised. Many difficulties relate to training, because of the need for better professional skills on the part of social workers in view of the new and more complex forms of deprivation and marginalisation found today.

As far as education and training is concerned, the most common difficulties related to the shortage of funds allocated for organising or attending training courses, the turnover of the workers which makes it impossible to accumulate know-how, and the lack of enthusiasm of the volunteers to reflect. On the other hand (the institutional side that is), the greatest difficulties relate to relations with local authorities and the risk of a certain interference on the part of institutions and political parties in the life of the associations.

In the first instance the main complaint is that the local government authorities are not playing their part as the institutional benchmark: in some regions in Southern Italy this is mainly done through public financing which influences the decisions taken by the

voluntary associations, leading them to make up for the shortcomings in public welfare agencies or, worse still, to consolidate the electoral support for political parties.

Medium-Term Prospects

There are three main points that emerge from the survey:

- there is a strong desire to embark on, or in some regions conclude, a process of renewal within the voluntary services;
- there is increasing interest in politics and in the institution;
- there is a tendency to increase the professional quality of the activities through vocational training.

As far as the need for internal renewal is concerned, people are very much in favour of improving the quality of the way the activities are organised, and the quality of the services provided. Greater coordination between the organisations is advocated more or less everywhere, and it is no coincidence that we constantly hear mention made of the need for a "network". Coordination is urged between the various associations so that they can become involved in common projects, to optimise resources and improve the effectiveness of their work. Lastly, there is complete agreement on the fact that careful planning, a thorough training of the workers but above all of the officials, and greater professionalism are indispensable to make work more effective and to attract greater recognition of work performed.

In addition to this desire for renewal *ad intra* there is also the equally strong desire to redefine relations with the institutions, clarifying once and for all mutual roles and areas of jurisdiction, within the framework of a more wide-ranging reform of local authorities.

The representatives of the associations all agree that voluntary service must not have a declaredly substitutive role. Some government officials seem to have a different view of these relations, however, and sometimes a contradictory view, even. They see the shortcomings and the inefficiencies of the social services as a chance to get voluntary associations to operate in them: in this way, they view contractual agreements as an ideal way of bringing the public and the private social services closer. In this way, whereas some representatives of the associations are suspicious about contractual agreements, considering them as a constraint on their work, the public party views them as a way of consolidating the voluntary services and would like to see them used more widely.

For some of the interviewees, voluntary service could act as a "task force" for emergency situations, drawing on its flexibility and capacity to act rapidly. All in all, however, voluntary services seem to wish to remain independent in their relations with institutions, while declaring that they wish to collaborate with them.

As the organisations grow they often become less spontaneous and more highly formalised, and then move on to a more cooperative type structure. In recent years, as a result of the increasing mistrust in the party political system and trade union organisations, the search for new forms of social and political participation has found in the volunteer associations' work of social solidarity the best possible environment in which to work.

Problems and Challenges

The features of the present socio-economic context, the trend of the changes taking place and the rate of change, and the endemic nature of the marginalisation of the weaker sections of society, the emergence of new at-risk populations, and the urgent need to satisfy primary needs, are all key elements which often act as a powerful constraint on activities, restricting them to a constant search to find immediate solutions.

These elements raise, in various ways, the dichotomy between tradition and innovation, which runs throughout the world of voluntary service to a certain extent. The associations have to operate in areas which are fraught with many problems, and by

increased personal needs. Services being supplied are inadequate or, as far as the voluntary services are concerned, they are simply unable to respond to the magnitude and the complexity of the needs.

It is precisely the fact that these organisations are so deeply rooted in the local environment that they are capable of promptly picking up the changes and newly emerging needs, like "social antennas", that so that many of the new voluntary organisations are unable to break out of merely being providers of assistance and treatment, trying to solve emergency problems day by day, which is largely depriving them of the possibility of being able to plan ahead, to invest adequate resources in training and be an active partner in relations with the public institutions.

Fundamentally important here are more mature forms of cooperation and coordination between everyone involved in social work: the voluntary associations, the private social sector, and local government; the local and national political and cultural representatives and private economic entities. Since people are now becoming less critical and prejudiced with regard to voluntary work, and there is now less separation and more cooperation, in 1992 the voluntary associations seem to be seeking to complement and cooperate with the public sector.

There is no doubt that the consolidation and spread of these trends also involves risks. First of all there is the risk that faced with the welfare state crisis, the complementary role of the voluntary services may be extended and thereby strongly limit their autonomy and originality; there is also a danger that voluntary service may be "used" and become an important channel for requiring consensus.

In addition to these problems there is also the risk of becoming locked into a mentality of only dealing with the very latest problems (on the part of people dealing with marginalisation) instead of trying to get into the mainstream of broader and more complex problems. Lastly, there is the risk that in those parts of the country where the problem of youth unemployment is most severe, voluntary work may be transformed into cheap labour or become a compulsory form of apprenticeship in order to acquire a less precarious job.

The presence of all these problems leads one to think that voluntary social work is going through a period of re-adjustment in many areas, which will not only consolidate established positions within the social system, but above all mark a transition towards innovative models of intervention and to a more clear-cut and stable relationship with the public institutions. This is confirmed when one looks at the present features of social work which this survey has brought to light.

In the Law it has just enacted, the government is not promoting voluntary services but providing favourable conditions (insurance cover for volunteers, tax reliefs on donations, etc.) so that the voluntary services can promote themselves.

Another important opportunity for development is in the process under which the organisations are increasing their professionalism. The data collected and the interviews show that voluntary service is a reality which is now becoming more highly professional. However, the professionalism which is built up outside the voluntary services and the experience and know-how acquired in the field, are strategic factors on which to concentrate, not only to enhance the quality of the work but also to give the voluntary organisations more effective and more sophisticated instruments for understanding and interpreting the society in which they operate.

What Model of Society?

One of the leading experts on voluntary service in Italy, Giuseppe Pasini, recently quoting the prophetic words of Mgr Helder Camara: "Our attempts to help people make them increasingly dependent, unless they are accompanied by actions which will root out the causes of poverty" spoke about the central role of voluntary service in the years to come.

Every form of voluntary service must necessarily ask what model of society it wants, and question itself about the presence of poverty and marginalisation within the voluntary system and the significance of its work in terms of the model of society it

wishes to establish, and how to overcome poverty and marginalisation. I believe that we must take note of the fact that every upset in society, whether we are referring to problems in the social services, healthcare, the environment, taxation, emergencies, the school, sport, transport, or whatever, mainly affects the poor and the deprived. Voluntary service cannot evade our asking: is this inevitable? is this a normal state of affairs, or could it be weakened with more humanitarian work to make up for the shortcomings? or should it be considered anomalous, and therefore something to remove? In the latter case, in other words, the fact that a change is necessary – what is the specific role which voluntary services could perform?

I will concentrate wholly on this question. I believe that we have to be very realistic in distinguishing between what we should be and what we are, accepting what is positive, albeit only in part, in many of the groups, but also very clearly looking forward towards what the voluntary services ought to be doing. They must look ahead to a real change in society, and clearly realise the risk that they are running if they ignore this perspective: the risk, in other words, of becoming an element *which increases marginalisation*, by making life more tolerable for the poor, and making the poor seem some inevitable and natural component of society, thereby conniving with the very powers which are preserving and fuelling this poverty and deprivation. After 10 or 12 years of talking about a "boom" in the voluntary services, perhaps it is high time for us to take stock for the first time, and ask whether the voluntary services have helped to change society, and if so in what way.

Eric Fromm, in his *Psycho-analysis of Contemporary Society*, looked to the future and said that it is only when we manage to develop reason and love more than has been the case in the past, and only when we manage to build up a world based on human solidarity and justice, and only when we can feel part and parcel of the experience of universal solidarity, that we will be able to say that we have found a new human form of belonging, and will have transformed our world into a truly human place in which to live.

3 Volunteering in The Netherlands

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Introduction

The aim of this paper is to present an overview of volunteering in the Netherlands based on reports and research. We define volunteering in a way which is widely used in the Netherlands. Volunteering (or voluntary work) is primarily conceived here as labour which is unpaid, done in an unobliged way, in favour of other people or society, and in any organised setting. We make a distinction between a volunteer organisation (an organisation of volunteers) and a voluntary organisation (a nonstatutory nonprofit organisation).

The second chapter of this paper offers an impression of the role of volunteering in Dutch society. Topics dealt with are: some specific features of Dutch history relevant for understanding voluntary work; volunteering and the Dutch variant of the welfare state; present ideologies of volunteering; societal support of volunteering. Against this background the social infrastructure of volunteering is discussed (chapter 3).

The fourth chapter deals with characteristics of volunteers. Problems of definition are dealt with first, followed by data on volunteers: the extent of volunteering, the profile of volunteers, their activities and motivations.

The fifth chapter is devoted to volunteering in the delivery of some personal and public services. Special attention is paid here to volunteering in home care.

The last chapter summarises the main features and findings.

The role of volunteering in Dutch society

Traditional Volunteering

A macro-perspective of volunteering in the Netherlands must take into account specific features of Dutch history. When it gained its independence from Spain in the seventeenth century the Dutch Republic was a relatively prosperous nation due to commercial activities, well urbanised and with a population of about two million inhabitants. According to Melief (1992) the modern system of voluntary organisations in this country is rooted in three characteristics of the Republic. Firstly, an egalitarian culture as compared to surrounding countries. Secondly, religious pluralism and a certain tolerance toward minority religions, Calvinism being the privileged religion. Thirdly, the absence of a powerful centralised state, the Republic being no more than a loose federation of provinces.

Just as in other premodern European societies, the Republic witnessed the traditional forms of volunteering: neighbourhood activities, mutual support and poor relief. The most common form of volunteering in villages and towns consisted of incidental and loosely organised neighbourhood activities on ritual occasions, and activities to combat calamities like fires, floods, plagues and the like. In the cities the artisanry was organised in guilds with their well-developed systems of mutual assistance. The premodern system of poor relief was moulded by religious pluralism and the absence of centralised power. Next to local government and various private initiatives most religious denominations had their own arrangements for poor relief. A common feature of all these arrangements was their ties to the local aristocracy and bourgeoisie. As Van

Loo (1981) has shown poor relief was almost exclusively governed by representatives of the upper class up until around 1900. The ideology of philanthropy and charity in poor relief also served to control the masses and to stabilise the status quo.

The Rise of Modern Volunteering

Volunteering as we know it today presupposes at least three things: a certain standard of living, the right to organise and a willingness to participate in corporate life.

At present this seems like stating the obvious, but postwar experiences in Eastern Europe where freedom of organisation was suppressed, prove that it is not. As for the Netherlands these three conditions were gradually met in the course of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century.

Standard of living. After a long period of economic stagnation (1770-1850) the Netherlands profited again by economic growth. Factors contributing to this were: a positive economic mentality; development of education, technique and investments; population growth (1800 : 2 million; 1900 : 5; 1950 : 10; at present 15 million); and the expansion of markets (Van Stuijvenberg, 1981). Economic expansion was accelerated by the take-off of industrialisation and improvements in agriculture from 1895. Economic growth led to improvement of real incomes and a levelling of incomes between different social and economic classes. For the first time in Dutch history large segments of the population had room for consumption other than for satisfying primary needs – nourishment, clothing and housing – both financially and in terms of available time. Working hours went down from 70 hours per week in 1870 to 60 in 1910, 45 in 1964 and 38 at present.

The right to organise. The Republic was overrun by the French (1795-1813) and replaced by the Kingdom of the Netherlands. One of the finest accomplishments of the rising middle class and Dutch liberalism in particular was the constitution of 1848, which brought the almost absolute power of the monarch to an end and marked the starting point of parliamentary democracy. The constitution greatly expanded civil liberties: the freedom of religion, education (the right to found schools), the free expression of opinions and the freedom to assemble and organise. These last freedoms were stipulated in a special law in 1855 and opened the possibility for institutional innovations.

Mass mobilisation. Improvement of communication and infrastructure, economic expansion and political change contributed to the unification and modernisation of the country (Knippenberg en De Pater, 1988). Special attention should be paid here to profound cultural changes. The nineteenth century witnessed the emancipation of the orthodox Protestants ("Gereformeerden": a revivalist branch of Calvinism especially adhered to by the lower middle class), the Roman Catholics (the largest minority during the Republic and after) and the working class in general. Processes of mass mobilisation and counter-mobilisation by their respective elites (Knotter et al., 1992) led eventually to the notorious "pillarisation" of Dutch society ("verzuiling": a term coined by Dutch historians and sociologists, referring to a phenomenon which is unique for the Netherlands, not as such, but for its intensity). Since the last quarter of the nineteenth century the great divide in Dutch society has been that of confessionalism versus secularisation. Both were reflected in a myriad of organisations and parties, of which four main groupings stand out: Catholics, orthodox Protestants and, to a lesser extent, socialists and liberals. Each group established a tightly knit and highly motivated following, who were sealed off from other influences. This resulted in social, cultural and political segmentation of Dutch society. Pillarisation reached its peak during the inter-war years and waned in the sixties (Pennings, 1991).

Rising prosperity and expectations for the middle and lower classes, the right to organise and the eager use of this right by the different segments of the population led to a rise of new voluntary organisations, particularly between 1895 and 1914, in all spheres of life: religion, politics, social and medical care, education, public housing, culture, recreation, economic pressure groups (Van Tijn, 1978). The elites of the pillars urged their followers to participate in their own organisations. This broadened the recruitment base for voluntary work enormously and associated modern volunteering

with emancipation and furthering the interests of one's own pillar and by doing so, so one believed, the interests of society as a whole.

Volunteering and the Welfare State

Due to the relatively late industrialisation of the country, the social costs and negative implications of industrialisation and urbanisation came relatively late to public awareness. The host of voluntary organisations could not cope with this alone (De Swaan, 1989). Laisser-faire liberalism came under attack by Christian-Democrats and the labour movement. This gave rise to a hesitant start of state support for welfare provisions and some measures of social security in the prewar period. Christian-Democrat rule during the inter-war years however was not able to tackle the economic crisis of the thirties adequately. This left much room for traditional charity and volunteering, which was very reluctantly accepted by the victims of the crisis. Their negative experiences contributed greatly to their wholehearted support of the welfare policies after the war.

According to Woltjer (1992) Dutch postwar history can be divided into three periods: a period of unexpected prosperity (1946-1963), the turbulent sixties (1963-1973) and a period of unexpected adversity (since 1973); the "unexpected" referring to the inability to forecast economic tides.

Unexpected prosperity. The foundations of the Dutch variant of the welfare state were laid down by the postwar coalition governments of Christian- and Social-Democrats. It can be seen as a compromise between far-reaching state intervention (a Social-Democrat issue) and the utilising of the organisational infrastructure moulded by pillarisation according to the Christian-Democrat principle of subsidiarity. The outcome of this compromise was a full-fledged system of social security, ruled by "the social partners" (trade unions and unions of employers) and a system of welfare provisions in education, housing, health and personal social services almost fully subsidised by the state but ruled and executed by the voluntary organisations of the different pillars. Financial support by the state enabled them to professionalise their staff. Up until the seventies professionalisation of services left the position of volunteers in the boards of the organisations unchanged, but had an immediate impact on volunteer work in the lower layers, at least in those sectors which originally were the least professionalised, personal social services in particular, but also health services. (Schools were professionally staffed since the nineteenth century; sport, culture and recreation were and are hardly subsidised by the state, so in these sectors volunteer work remained important up to the present day.) The accompanying retreat of volunteers from personal social services and health organisations was partly compensated by new voluntary initiatives in those sectors which principally work with volunteers and which do not want to be financed by government (e.g. UVV, Humanitas, De Zonnebloem), just like the Salvation Army and the Red Cross since the nineteenth century. In the Dutch language only this type of organisation is referred to as "volunteer organisation", a term which therefore refers specifically to the personal social services and the health sector (Van der Marck, 1983).

The turbulent sixties. The turbulence of this period was initiated by the first postwar generation, for whom the blessings of the welfare state were self-evident and who had a keen eye for the real and alleged shortcomings of the welfare state. The professional and bureaucratic power of the new elite was blamed for its arrogance, which took for granted the pollution of the environment, could not solve the housing problem, underestimated the power of ordinary people to govern their own affairs and remedy their own problems, was essentially sexist and neglected the problems of the third world. A broad protest movement led to an outburst of volunteering in new social movements: the green issues-organisations, the squatters, neighbourhood organisations, self-help and mutual-aid groups, organisations providing services to groups of social security and health clients, pressure and advocacy groups, feminist organisations and third world groups.

During this period the first local volunteer bureaux came into being, intermediate agencies linking supply and demand of volunteers. In 1974 there were about 250 volunteer bureaux, at present some 500.

During this same period the culture of pillarisation weakened severely due to modernisation and secularisation, which undermined the social control system and thereby the whole system of pillars. The closed and hierarchical character of the Catholic pillar in combination with an internal crisis of the church meant as a consequence that the Catholic pillar depillarised earlier than the orthodox Protestant pillar and that Catholics secularised quickly. Depillarisation facilitated the merging of organisations in all sectors. This was sometimes strongly advocated by central and local government, using financial pressures for reasons of efficiency. On the whole however, depillarisation left the essential features of the welfare infrastructure intact up to the present day.

Unexpected adversity. The claims of the protest movement of the sixties were to a certain extent taken seriously by the leftist government "Den Uyl" (1973-1977). This was partly reflected in a spectacular growth of public expenditure in the seventies. Government expenditure, combined with the costs of social insurance, grew from 39% of national income in 1960 to 48% in 1970 and even to 65% in 1980. This growth was accompanied by chronic state deficits and a growing national debt. A fair evaluation of these economic data however must take into account the unexpected adversities of the seventies: serious economic recessions (two oil crises, the restructuring of industry and commercial services, unemployment). Successive governments did not find an adequate answer to these new challenges. A systematic attack on public expenditure was launched by the "no-nonsense" governments of the eighties, by serious cuts in subsidies, and lowering wages and social security benefits. However as far as the voluntary organisations are concerned these new policies did not seriously question the welfare infrastructure seriously. Voluntary agencies remained the dominant actors, retaining a high degree of autonomy in spite of heavy reliance on statutory funding and the government's attempts at regulation. At present there are no indications that the position of voluntary agencies will be altered essentially in the near future.

There is some discussion in the Netherlands as to whether the willingness of citizens to participate in voluntary organisations and to volunteer for them has diminished during the past decades. A popular thesis states that this is the case, because of increasing individualism and a hardening of the social climate. On the whole however, unspecified for different sectors, this has not been proved to be correct. According to national survey data on participation and volunteering gathered by the Netherlands Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) over the past twenty years, the global extent of participation and volunteering has remained fairly constant. Generally speaking this also seems to apply to the new social movements. Their impact on government policies, however, may have diminished (Huberts and Van Noort, 1989; Duyvendak and others, 1992).

Current Ideologies Concerning Volunteering

The popular thesis mentioned above is not the only view on volunteering. For a proper understanding of societal support on volunteering a short exposition on various ideologies of the welfare state in general and their implicit views on volunteering in particular may be useful.

Traditionalism. This ideology stresses the negative sides of modernisation – individualism, consumerism, hedonism – and deplores the loss of the sense of community, partly attributed to secularisation. It pleads for restoration of the alleged "caring community" of the past. Volunteers, especially in the caring sectors, are seen as heroes rowing against the mainstream of sociocultural developments (Adriaansens and Zijderveld, 1981). This ideology is adhered to by small fundamentalist churches and sects in particular, and also by the traditional segment of the Christian-Democrat electorate.

Welfare-statism. This ideology clings to the accomplishments of the welfare state and takes a defensive stand against "no-nonsense" policies. Adherents of this ideology can be found among the electorate of all political parties, especially of the Social-Democrat party, (pragmatic) Democrats '66 and the Green-Left party. For welfare professionals and their trade unions this ideology fits in nicely with their interests. There is much ambivalence with regard to volunteering in this ideology. Volunteering in the new social movements for example is applauded, whereas in sectors which according to this

point of view should be run professionally, it is frowned upon and seen as a threat to the status quo.

Feminism. The various brands of feminism have at least one issue in common, i.e. the right of women to participate equally to men in the (paid) labour market. According to feminists volunteering is similar to housework in that it is unpaid and reflects traditional role behaviour. Many feminists disapprove of volunteering by women in the caring sector, saying that this especially reinforces the sexist division of labour.

Neo-liberalism. This ideology emphasises self-reliance in economic and social affairs and welcomes private initiative in all spheres of life unhampered by the Moloch of the welfare state, its bureaucracy and professionalism. Pleas for a "minimal welfare state" are heard here. Volunteers are regarded as active citizens, optimistic, not afraid of risk-taking and with a sense of social responsibility. Adherents of neo-liberalism can be found not only in the Liberal party, but also and to an increasing extent among the elites of the other main parties. In these circles neo-liberalism is in vogue these days (Voermans and Lucardie, 1992).

Societal Support of Volunteering

The coexistence of these ideologies implies an ambivalent attitude towards volunteering in Dutch society as a whole and consequently only moderate societal support. Volunteering has an aura of appropriateness around it: to volunteer is a proper thing to do, especially for others. Rather than spending their spare time in voluntary work however, many people in this country prefer to donate money in a good cause, preferably in small amounts or coupled with welfare lotteries, or to give away clothes they do not wear any more.

This orientation toward volunteering is also reflected in policies of central government. Since the seventies several governmental reports and debates in parliament paid attention to volunteering, which was evaluated positively and was even seen as a remedy against shortcomings of the welfare society. As far as substantial support of volunteering is concerned however, governmental concern often boils down to lip-service to the cause of volunteering. This harsh judgment can be justified by referring to three kinds of policies and their implications for volunteer support: decentralisation, the fiscal regime and labour market policies.

Decentralisation. Since the seventies the central government started a large-scale operation which aimed at the decentralisation of financing personal social services. Policy-making and financing with regard to these services became a task for local government. Transfer of finances from central funds to the municipal funds was supposed to make this possible. The "no-nonsense" cuts of the eighties however reduced the municipal funds severely. This heightened the competition between local interest groups for municipal subsidies and support. Especially small voluntary organisations and those without professional staff find it difficult to bring their cause to public attention.

Fiscal policies. Legislation does not allow volunteers any financial remuneration of tasks performed. Formal constraints heavily limit the possibilities of paying even a token fee. Fixed reimbursements without proof of real costs are allowed to a maximum. Recent attempts by parliament to heighten this maximum from Dfl. 800 to Dfl. 2000 yearly (about £300 to £750) were unsuccessful.

Labour market policies. A hot social policy issue concerns the low degree of participation in the (paid) labour market in the Netherlands as compared to other EC-countries. Low participation is caused not only by unemployment but also and in particular by the relatively low level of participation of women (especially on a full-time basis), older people (age 50 or over) and people who are (partially) disabled. The many blessings of high participation are stressed in policy circles: reduction of labour costs, a stronger position in international markets, mitigation of demographic pressure on collective expenses, economic growth, societal integration and cohesion, reduction of free-riders of the social security system. So, labour market policies aimed at activating special categories (women, disabled people, immigrants, unskilled people) are considered a panacea for the economic, social, cultural and even moral evils of the welfare state

(WRR, 1990). The propagation of full participation in the paid labour market creates a social climate which may be unfavourable to volunteering (Renooy, 1992).

The social infrastructure of volunteering

Organisational Complexity

After having dwelt upon some specific features of Dutch history and welfare society and the role of volunteering in this context, we now choose a meso-perspective of volunteering by addressing ourselves to the question of the organisational settings in which volunteers are active. To answer this question is by no means easy because of many complexities which cannot satisfactorily be dealt with here. Some simplifications therefore are unavoidable.

We shall first screen the five classical welfare sectors: social security, public housing, education, health care and the personal social services. Next we will pay attention to other sectors like religion, politics and recreation. Volunteering is a local affair, but not exclusively so. Subsequently therefore we will focus on (volunteering in) some superstructures: intermediary or "umbrella" organisations. In treating sectors and organisations we will make a rough distinction between the decision-making level (board, committee) and the staff level, leaving out various organisational subtleties.

Volunteering in the Welfare Sectors

The order of presentation of sectors roughly corresponds to the degree of professionalisation (from high to low) and the degree of volunteer participation (from low to high).

Social security. On the whole, social security agencies are governed by the "social partners" and representatives of government. A part of the system however is in the hands of local government (individual financial assistance at the minimum level). Boards and staffs are fully professionalised. In this sector, clients (people who are disabled, elderly or unemployed) are active in advocacy groups.

Public housing. Public housing projects are mostly run by voluntary agencies, sometimes by local government. We find volunteers in the boards of voluntary agencies. Because of the technicalities involved, the staffs of these agencies are fully professional. In this sector we find many residents' and tenants' associations. Neighbourhood groups try to offer solutions to the problems of deprived (urban) areas.

Education. Most primary and secondary schools and some universities are run by voluntary agencies, mostly with a Catholic or Protestant signature. Many volunteers are active in the boards. The educational system is of old professionally staffed. Parents may participate in advisory committees or lend a hand by doing chores ("parent participation"). Not connected with individual schools, colleges or universities parents' and students' associations operate as pressure and/or service groups at the national level.

Health care. Health care is almost exclusively run by voluntary agencies or private practitioners. There is much volunteering here in the boards. The staffs are highly professionalised. Both in the institutional and non-institutional branches of health care many volunteers assist in service delivery. National surveys showed individual health to be the main concern of the population and accordingly, it is quite understandable that we find many advocacy organisations and self-help groups in this sector.

Personal social services. This sector is completely governed by voluntary organisations. The staff level is moderately professionalised. Many volunteers are active in this sector both at the decision-making and the staff level, i.e. in neighbourhood centres, clubs, advice centres, mutual-aid groups and pressure groups.

Since the seventies the profile of volunteers at the decision-making level of welfare agencies has changed. Boards have become more and more populated by welfare professionals, managers and public servants, specifically chosen for their professional expertise. These committee members act in a volunteer capacity but often as part of

their professional job in another setting. There is some logic to the rise of this type of "volunteering". More government control of voluntary agencies and the cuts of the eighties made it necessary to look for new formulas of financial success, or at least of financial survival. Professional committee members are considered to be able to exercise more influence on funding agencies, possibly by tapping into a well-established old-boys' network. This trend towards professionalisation at the decision-making level contributed to the rather low prestige of volunteer work in the welfare sectors, at least in the eyes of welfare professionals.

Volunteering in Other Sectors

Roughly one-half of all volunteers work in other sectors than those mentioned above: churches and religious associations; political parties and various pressure organisations (trade unions, professional associations, women's associations, associations and action groups belonging to the new social movements like green issues-organisations, Amnesty International, feminist groups and the like); cultural, recreational, hobby and sport associations; occupational welfare groups (mostly for festivities or sports). In these sectors volunteers dominate the decision-making and staff level, sometimes assisted by professionals, who work on an irregular or part-time basis. The exact volunteer-professional ratio depends on the scale of organisation. In small associations and groups the committee members often do all or part of the staff work without any professional assistance.

Organisational Superstructures

In all sectors and combinations of sectors we find many intermediary organisations concerned with the co-ordination of local or regional agencies and groups and the provision of resources for them (training, financial and technical support, research and development). These superstructures are to some extent professionally staffed and may receive subsidies from central government. Most local and regional organisations are affiliated with such parent bodies. In a case study of volunteering in the rural municipality of Noordoostpolder (nearly 40,000 inhabitants) we screened all voluntary organisations which work to some extent with volunteers (about 650 organisations). Almost 80% of these organisations were affiliated with an "umbrella" organisation, mostly operating at the national level (Adriaansen and others, 1991).

The most important national umbrella organisation is the Dutch Volunteer Centre (Nederlands Centrum Vrijwilligerswerk).

The Issue of Funding

By definition voluntary organisations are self-governing and constitutionally separate from government. It will be clear by now that the Dutch welfare system – the five sectors mentioned above – leans heavily and almost exclusively on voluntary agencies. At the same time however it is to a large extent financed by state budgets or collective funds regulated by the state. But this does not apply to what we called "the other sectors". In these sectors the financial sources are much more varied. At least six sources of funding can be distinguished: subsidies from government, regular or incidental; subsidies from central (superstructures) or local government (local organisations); fundraising; private donations; membership charges; client charges (especially for non-members); funding by parent bodies (this applies to local organisations).

The situation is further complicated by the scale of organisation. At one extreme there are agencies with large budgets, on the other there are small voluntary groups with no expenses other than postage and telephone costs which volunteers pay out of their own pockets. At one extreme there are large-scale organisations which can afford to raise funds by means of sophisticated promotional campaigns, whereas on the other there are small organisations which have to make use of fetes and cake stalls.

Characteristics of volunteers and informal helpers

Statistics on Volunteers and Informal Helpers

Problems of definition and measurement. A committee of Dutch government officials in 1981 gave the following definition of voluntary work (1): "Work that is done for others or society, within any organised setting, unobliged and unpaid". Since then most policy makers and researchers are trying to preserve the word volunteer for unpaid workers within an organised setting. In 1988 a large empirical study, using this definition, was done (Van Daal, 1990) within the Dutch population from 12 years onwards. More or less accepted in the Netherlands (but also abroad) are the terms "informal help" or "informal care" (2), that refer to unpaid assisting work, which takes place outside of an organised setting (3). Often the term informal care also covers the mutual aid which neighbours or even members of the household give to each other. Van Daal (1990) however in his study preserves this term "informal help" for "more or less regularly unpaid work done for persons living outside one's own household which, like voluntary work, is not reciprocated" (4).

The amount of volunteering or informal helping can be calculated either in terms of the total hours worked ("volume") or in terms of the number of participants ("degree of participation"). The research technique of the "diary" is one of the techniques available to gather reliable information about the volume of volunteering or informal helping: typically respondents are asked to document, during one day or week, their activities. The survey research method can also be used to measure the volume, but is certainly an efficient technique to estimate the degree of participation of volunteering and informal helping.

It is possible to criticise studies done on volunteering in the Netherlands up to 1988. In particular, the empirical studies of the Netherlands Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) show some flaws: the information gathered was not specific enough; areas where people volunteered were not clearly defined; there were no questions as to the kind of work done by volunteers; volunteering and informal helping are not distinguished; some respondents in the survey about volunteering may have thought that the questions were about their membership of organisations, whereas the term volunteering certainly should be preserved for doing unpaid work for them. Particularly with respect to sportclubs, there seems to be a much too high estimated participation in volunteering: the number of "volunteers" was about 60% of the number of members of such organisations. The Netherlands Central Bureau of Statistics surveyed the life-situation of the Dutch population from 18 years onwards in 1974 and after (about every three years) and consistently estimated that about 45% "volunteered" (that is including informal helping), but because of the technical flaws this probably is an overestimation. To come to a more precise measurement and a more reliable estimation in 1988 a new survey was held (Van Daal, 1990) using more strict and precise operational definitions (5): he registered only people who really did unpaid work (and not people who were just members of an organisation or group); a distinction was made between volunteering and informal helping (in accordance with the above mentioned definitions); with respect to the kind of volunteering, questions were asked about organisational areas as well as about the concrete work done by volunteers.

The extent of volunteering and informal helping. On the basis of the results of a large 1988 survey (Van Daal, 1990) it was estimated that in that year 14.7% of the Dutch from 18 years onwards were doing voluntary work (by definition within an organised setting). An estimated 4.8% of the population could be characterised as informal helpers: someone who gives, outside an organised setting, unpaid and not reciprocated services to other people who do not live in his or her own household. About one half of the informal helpers worked primarily for family members and the other half helped friends, acquaintances or neighbours. There existed some overlap between the groups of volunteers and informal helpers: an estimated 2% of the population from the age of 18 onwards was a volunteer as well as an informal helper. Thus it is estimated that 17.6% of that population either volunteered or gave informal help or did both. Volunteers were estimated spending an average of 5.1 hours a week on their work and informal helpers 4.2 hours.

The profile of volunteers in general. There were great differences in the estimated level of volunteering according to several social and demographic background variables such as level of education, wealth, religious affiliation (especially the level of active participation), age, employment status and size of the community (table 3.1). There was a high estimated level of volunteering among middle-aged people, the well-educated and better off, church-visitors, part-time workers and inhabitants of small communities. There was not much difference in the estimated participation in voluntary work between men and women.

Multivariate statistical analysis with volunteering as a dependent variable in relation to more than one background variable at once shows that women volunteered more at middle and younger age, while men were more active at older age. Volunteering at middle age was most pronounced in small communities. The relation between level of education and volunteering was stronger for women than for men. Particularly within different categories of people without a full-time job it was the highly educated who were voluntary workers.

The profile of informal helpers. It was estimated that women gave informal help twice as often as men. But fully employed women were far less active in this work than housewives or part-time workers. Informal help typically was given by middle-aged women, but among men the older ones were relatively active.

Frequent church-visiting people, well-to-do people, and persons with leftist political ideals were estimated to give informal help more often than others.

(Organisational) areas where people volunteer. In the 1988 research project four broad areas were discerned: "personal and public services", "community service", "contribution to society" and "leisure/creativity". These areas where subdivided into narrower fields. Table 3.2 (6) shows that popular fields to volunteer in were sports, religion, care (in particular care for elderly, sick or disabled people), social services, schools, youth clubs, community centre work and culture.

In the first broad area, personal and public services, approximately 550,000 volunteers (5% of the population of 18 years and older) are active within (a) professional and volunteer organisations in the field of health and care, (b) organisations in the field of social and psychological support (like Helplines, Law Centres, Youth Counselling Centres) and organisations for delivery of public services (like Libraries and Fire Brigades) and (c) day care for children. We estimated that besides the volunteers, there are also 550,000 informal helpers within these three fields.

A follow-up survey was held among people we detected as volunteers (and informal helpers) in the first two sectors (a and b). That made it possible to take a closer look at volunteering in these fields.

In the field of professional health and care, 2.5% of the population (275,000 people) works as a volunteer. This field can be subdivided into institutional (e.g. hospitals and homes for elderly people) and non-institutional care (e.g. home care). In most professional institutions volunteers (together more than 150,000) are active, mainly in the sphere of friendly visiting or leisure. They work mostly inside the institution as members of an organisation of volunteers, but there are also volunteers working directly under the supervision of the professional institution.

The current Dutch health policy aims at creating facilities which will make it possible for people who need care, especially chronically ill and terminal patients, to stay as long as possible in their own home. That implies a growing interest in individualised home care. But because of the shrinking of personal helping networks policy makers are looking for support of informal helpers by volunteers and their organisations. In fact it is estimated that more than 150,000 volunteers work in the sphere of care for people at home, but the activities of most organisations of volunteers (nationally organised ones like the Dutch Red Cross and the Union of Volunteers, or primarily locally working ones like voluntary neighbourhood helping centres) were until recently not aiming primarily to assist professionals or support informal helpers in home care (Van Daal and others, 1992). What they wanted to provide primarily is personal contact (eg long

lasting "friendly visiting"), recreational assistance and (often temporary) non-professional practical support (eg "meals on wheels", transport or shopping). Newer organisations, eg in the field of terminal care or care for persons with AIDS ("buddy-projects") are more functionally specialised and fit better in the new policy to keep the very needy at home.

The second field within the broad area "personal and public services" contains organisations which give social or psychological support and institutions for public service. It is estimated that 253,000 people (2.3% of the population) were working as volunteers in this field. The publicly financed professional organisations which give social and psychological support (Community Mental Health Centres and Social Work Agencies) do not work with volunteers. But there are many organisations in this field which rely heavily on voluntary helpers. Most of these organisations do not have a long tradition. Some of them, e.g. legal advice or youth counselling centres, are rooted in the "counter-culture" that evolved in the sixties, but are now turned into more regular service organisations. Some public service organisations, like fire brigades or public libraries, which are normally professionalised, also work with volunteers, particularly in the countryside.

The second broad area, "community service", with an estimated 220,000 volunteers (2.2% of the population) comprises three fields, youth clubs and centres, community centres and adult education. These fields have a long tradition of voluntary contribution. The goal of these services is to support, train and educate deprived youth and adults or to stimulate social participation of residents of poor neighbourhoods. In the sixties and seventies policy-makers had high expectations of the results of this work and finances were given which made a substantial professionalisation of this area possible. However, in the eighties this area saw a decline of status and financial support. As a result, most existing organisations in this field have become more and more commercially oriented and now many of the youth centres are turned into centres of pop-culture.

The third broad area, "Contribution to society", with an estimated 638,000 volunteers (5.8% of the population), contains all kinds of organisations or institutions in which volunteering can be seen as an active contribution to societal life. It is important to note that the volunteers we detected are actually doing voluntary work for their organisation and not just participating. Within this area churches and schools in 1988 had the largest "garrisons" of volunteers.

The fourth broad area, "leisure/creativity", contains all kinds of associations and clubs, mainly managed by volunteers. In this field of corporate life it is difficult to find out how many people volunteer, because often membership and volunteering are interwoven. In the survey we tried to distinguish between participants and volunteers. An estimated 484,000 volunteers (4.4% of the population) are active in this area, of which most work for a sport-club (3.2% of the population).

The profile of volunteers in separate areas. Between areas and activities there were differences in the profile of volunteers. Life cycle, employment situation and, more generally, people's roles in society appear to be related to the kind of voluntary work people do. Statistical associations between volunteering and background variables like gender, age, type of household, and employment situation are just an expression of that more general relation. Women typically do voluntary work for sick, old and disabled people or for children. Relatively numerous women volunteered in schools or in women's organisations. Men more often volunteered in sport organisations, trade and professional unions or politics.

While many young people were active in youth-clubs, most middle-aged people's volunteering can be seen as active societal participation (by example in schools or in politics). Older people typically volunteered in health and welfare or in churches. The influence of the life cycle can be demonstrated by the high level of volunteering by members of two-parent families at schools, child care and sport organisations. While many full-time employed people, men as well as women, volunteered in sports or leisure, women who do the housekeeping or work part-time were active in organisations for care and child-minding or in schools.

Higher educated and more well-to-do people showed a higher amount of volunteering in nearly all areas. The relatively high general level of volunteering by people who attend divine services regularly is mainly a consequence of their active participation in church life, but also of their volunteering in the areas of health and welfare work. In small communities the high level of volunteering reflects mainly the frequent working for sport clubs.

Kinds of activities of volunteers and informal helpers. Many volunteers were doing work for the organisation itself. An estimated 5.5% of the population (age of 18 and older) are, as a volunteer, doing committee work for an organisation. Many volunteers worked for clients, consumers or members of the organisation, often in the recreational sphere. Activities of volunteers typically differed according to the field of the organisation.

Informal helpers were doing mainly work in the field of home care and personal care, child care, practical services and emotional support. People who help their parents were often giving them home and personal care. People who did help acquaintances or friends relatively often gave them emotional support.

Voluntary activities in relation to background variables. There are many statistical relations between the kind of voluntary activities people do and background variables. Relatively often committee work was done by the higher educated, church-visitors, men, middle-aged people and inhabitants of small villages or towns. Voluntary care was relatively often given by church-visitors, and also more often by women than by men. Male volunteers often did work in the sphere of recreational activities and sports.

Time spent on voluntary work and informal helping in relation to background variables. People who were unemployed, including those who are incapable of working, spent on the average much more time than others on voluntary work. Men, elderly people, people who live alone and inhabitants of big towns and cities who volunteered gave more of their time than the general average. Employed women who volunteer did not spend much time on it.

Why People Volunteer

With respect to the question why people volunteer Van Daal (1990) made a distinction between reasons (influencing factors in general) and motives (inner forces). When we tried to find out why a particular person volunteered in the area of health, welfare or service delivery, typically we detected many different influencing forces operating at the same time. Outer forces often were mentioned by respondents in the first instance. A great deal of the reasons presented as a first reaction were associated with things that were happening in someone's personal surroundings. Twenty-five per cent already had connections with the organisation and more than 50% were asked by someone from that organisation. Often friends or members of the family played a stimulating role. Only 20% of the volunteers actively were in search for a voluntary job. In most cases the decision to begin volunteering was taken without too much thinking about it. However, when people gave us reasons, not expressed in terms of inner forces, often accompanying motives could be discovered. Sometimes religious or ideological considerations were mentioned. So called altruistic (7) motives nearly always went side by side with more selfish ones (mainly in the sphere of meeting people or self development). Intrinsic as well as extrinsic motives were mentioned. Some people were attracted to voluntary work because it was intrinsically interesting to them, but many of them also had extrinsic motivations to volunteer or give informal help. Volunteering can give, for example, benefits with respect to one's labour market value. One in eight volunteers in health and welfare used volunteering as a way to improve their chances to get a paid job in this area.

It seems that manifest "motives" became more important in situations where people were relatively free to decide what they would do. Most family-helpers said their input was self-evident or caused by felt moral obligation. A quarter of them in fact did not like this work very much. On the other hand explicit motives for volunteering or informal helping were frequently mentioned when the reasons were not self-evident: people then seemed to present a motive as a "justification" of their behaviour.

In recent history within Dutch society broad changes in the way people are interrelated took place. The ordained and moral bonds between people became less strong and the resulting personal freedom led to a growing individualism. This seemed to imply that self-evident reasons for volunteering and informal helping went to the background whereas manifest motives became more important. Thus the meaning of volunteering and its place in society changed. Van Daal and others (1992) sketched the impact of individualisation on the supply of volunteers in the field of community care. Still many people liked to do some voluntary work, but most of them did not want to commit themselves too much. Often people liked to come and go when they chose and some even did not want to volunteer within an established organisation any more. Their motivation was not rooted very much any more in a general dedication to their community and often was inspired by a very personal preoccupation. As a consequence motivation seems to have become more and more related to general cultural trends: there was much interest in volunteering for environmental issues, persons with AIDS ("It is exciting and provides high status") and in terminal care ("People are very much interested in matters of death"), whereas there was not much concern for the day to day care for elderly people.

In earlier times giving voluntary care was an important form of social participation for women who did the housekeeping. Some decades ago middle-class women were proud not to be forced to apply for a paid job. Doing voluntary work for them meant belonging to the elite. In some rural areas of the Netherlands this attitude still exists. Women living there say they would feel ashamed if they were not participating in one or, preferably, two or more organisations of volunteers. But the culture of a more urbanised locality prescribes a totally different lifestyle. An interviewed coordinator of volunteers in the field of services in a suburban town said she was suspicious about the reasons why unemployed women nowadays apply for unpaid instead of paid work. Recent years, especially in urbanised areas, showed a dramatic decrease of supply of volunteers coming from the traditional category of housewives. Much of the voluntary work seems to have become a second choice for people who are unable to get paid work. One of these categories consists of women who do not have much chance on the labour market or who try, by volunteering, to learn skills which raise their market-value. In recent times also (ex-) psychiatric patients apply for voluntary work to become integrated into society.

Why people do not volunteer. In 1991 a survey was held to find out why most people do not volunteer. Factors that would stimulate them to volunteer were explored also (Van Beckhoven, 1991). About one-quarter of the non-volunteers said they might do voluntary work in the future. On the average they would be prepared to spend 12 hours a week on that work. On the question why they did not volunteer, people often replied that it was because of lack of time. The most impeding factors were a paid job (for men), children (for women) or going to school (young people). People who did volunteer in the past or who knew volunteers personally, more often were willing to volunteer in the future. The image of volunteering might be an impeding factor as well: 76% of the non-volunteers associated this work in the first place with care for sick, elderly and disabled people and most of them also thought that volunteering costs a lot of time.

Volunteering in the delivery of personal and public services

Introduction

A large part of the Dutch volunteers work within the area of service-delivery. Nowadays there exists a renewed interest in volunteers within this area. While two decades ago volunteers were sometimes ridiculed, now it is recognised that they can fill some of the gaps in service-delivery and make a unique contribution to home care. Typical issues with respect to working with volunteers in the area of health and care are: What contribution to care giving in addition to the one of professional workers can volunteers make? How should their contribution be organised? Should professional organisations recruit their own volunteers or should they invoke the aid of organisations of volunteers? How can organisations recruit and motivate new

volunteers? How could one recruit more men or members of ethnic minorities? What are the pros and cons of payment of volunteers? How does the consumer look at volunteers?

In the preceding section we presented some statistics on volunteering in the area of care giving. In this section we look at the perspective of policy makers and professional organisations on volunteering in home care. Then we will proceed to the perspective of the organisations of volunteers and close with the perspective of the care receivers. Other topics covered in this section are volunteers in refugee work, helplines and fire brigades.

Important Volunteer Initiatives in Home Care

Some older organisations. Most voluntary helping in the Netherlands takes place within the context of the following organisations. Within churches help is given by volunteers, in particular for their own community. The Salvation Army in the first place aids less privileged persons. The Dutch Red Cross, originated in the last century, not only gives nursing and medical help but concentrates more and more on giving social support to isolated people (eg by means of "Telephone Circles"). The Union of Volunteers (originally Union of Women Volunteers) and "De Zonnebloem" (Sunflower) both originated after the Second World War and their specialty is helping in the sphere of personal contacts. From a more recent date are Neighbourhood Voluntary Helping Centres (nationally associated), which give mainly temporary assistance in the practical sphere. Most of the volunteers in home care are to be found in the preceding organisational contexts. Some new initiatives, like voluntary terminal care and AIDS buddies will now be discussed.

Volunteers in terminal care. The last decade saw the rise of about 70 local (or regional) organisations of volunteers in terminal care. One in three has a paid coordinator at its disposal. Most of the 1100 well trained volunteers are middle-aged women who have personal experiences with the dying of a relative or friend. Their supplementary help consists mainly of nightwatching and thereby bringing relief to informal carers. The organisations cooperate closely with professional home nurses, who often bring them in contact with their clients. In cooperation with the (government subsidised) national centre of the volunteer organisations in this field a three year development project has been started to improve the quality and continuity of this work and the cooperation with professionals. In the first stage strong and weak points of voluntary terminal home care were explored and factors which may influence the embedding of this work within the overall organisation of care were studied. The research done so far demonstrated the fast growth of this voluntary work and the resulting large diversity between the different local organisations. Furthermore the volunteers appeared to spend a lot of time on this work. The financial situation of most of the organisations however was very weak: one third received only gifts or temporary funding. In the second stage of the project developmental experiments will be done in six places. On the basis of these experiments and accompanying research, useful prototypes for diffusion will be designed in the third stage. Special attention will be paid to the task development of volunteers (in particular in relation to the tasks of professional workers) and to models for cooperation within professional health care (should volunteers work within their own – often weak – organisations, or should they be incorporated in a professional context?). During the project the feasibility of broadening this voluntary work and the accompanying organisation to intensive voluntary homecare will also be explored (which also includes care for the chronically ill).

Volunteers as "buddies" for AIDS patients. The concept of "buddy-care" originated in the United States in the early seventies where, because of deficiencies in the health care system, home care by volunteers for terminal patients was indispensable. Since in the Netherlands no such gaps in professional care provision exist, the role of volunteers will always be less extensive. Still the buddy model proved to be useful here (De Rijk and others, 1992) and in 1991 350 volunteers gave help to AIDS patients. About one third of the number of Dutch AIDS patients – predominantly homosexual male – was (or has been) a user of this kind of voluntary aid in 1991. What clients appreciate in the first place is the flexibility of the buddies. Buddies also come closer to the client. Often

clients see them as friends. They can give all kinds of support, especially in the social sphere. In practice however their work consists predominantly of "being there when they are needed", the giving of psychosocial support and, in particular in the case of patients who have a partner, also of the giving of relief to the informal carer. Home and personal care is given less often.

An important motive to becoming a buddy is to show solidarity with people who have AIDS. Often buddies knew a person in their own surroundings who did have AIDS. For homosexual men the fighting against discrimination was also a motive. However it looks as if the second generation of buddies is less ideological and more pragmatically oriented than the pioneers. In general their own interests also appear to play a motivating role. Volunteering sometimes gives stress to the buddies, but it also gives them a lot of positive things in return, like fine social contacts.

The buddy model seems to be a good provision for AIDS patients and it is a policy issue whether it can be transplanted to other categories of patients (e.g. cancer or trauma patients). The success of the model however brings with it dangers of professionalisation and deideologisation.

In 1988 in Amsterdam a large organisation for assistance of drug addicts started a project for the support, by volunteers, of drug addicts with AIDS. Volunteers were recruited by way of advertisement in newspapers. The first advertisements yielded a lot of applicants for volunteering, but later ones were not so successful. There also appeared to be a large turnover. Often unemployed volunteers quitted when they got a paid job. Evaluation-research of the project (Driesen and others, 1991) showed that important contributions of volunteers were made in the giving of social, emotional and practical support. They sometimes also stimulated clients to expand their contacts with other people, and thus diminished their isolation. As such they often improved the quality of life of the addicts. The research showed however that not too high demands should be made with respect to emotional support given by volunteers, in particular when there are complex problems. They are not experts in counselling and clients did not want them to be so. Clients saw them more or less as a friend. A somewhat paradoxical finding was that some volunteers, in particular those who aspired to become professional workers in this field, in fact wanted to play a more demanding semi-professional role.

Volunteers in Home Care: the Perspective of Policy Makers and Professional Organisations

Dutch health and care policies stress the importance of home care for several reasons. It is supposed to be cheaper than institutional care and living at home gives a better quality of life than living in an institution. There is even a preference for homecare in situations wherein people need a lot of attention. The Sickness Funds Council (Medical Insurance Board) in 1990 implemented a subsidy arrangement for additional intensive home care, available for a maximum of three months. Intensive home care can from that year onward be offered to patients with an indication for admission to a hospital or a nursing home. As a result of the new policy (intensive) home care can also be provided to terminal patients. The societal trend of shrinking personal networks however hinders the endeavours to keep people in their homes.

According to recent ideas home care should concentrate on the situation and wishes of the applicant for care. Provisions for case management and coordination of services are often necessary. The new policy will probably take shape within the framework of a new Comprehensive Health Care Insurance System, proposed by the government. In the proposed system insurance companies, professional care givers and recipients of care together will shape the care provision. Care givers will have to compete with each other for funding by the insurance companies. Two different types of arrangements for care giving seem to emerge: on the one hand so-called "care brokers" who "buy" care on behalf of the client (which seems to be in accordance with the nature of the proposed system) and, on the other, comprehensive homecare organisations (which are an answer to the need of coordination of care giving). There is however a growing need for home care while at the same time the supply of care stagnates. Furthermore professional home and nursing carers cannot provide all kinds of home care at all possible moments.

As a result there sometimes rests a too heavy burden on members of the personal network of the care recipient.

Because of the shortage of informal helpers policy makers now look hopefully to volunteers to give supplementary aid. They have certain expectations about their contribution. Volunteer organisations and volunteers are supposed to fulfil certain functions and fill the gaps in the service provision. They see new tasks for volunteers in situations where professionals cannot or need not operate and where help in the inner circle is not available or becomes too heavy a burden. Step by step a new system of comprehensive health insurance will be built up in which there is a possible role for volunteer organisations. Some policy makers want them to do odd jobs, shopping, simple housekeeping and so on. In their eyes volunteers have to be more specialised than they are now. Policy makers like to see a stronger cooperation and liability for quality of volunteer organisations. They want organisations of volunteers to be more clear about what they do, and be easily reachable and approachable. In general professional home care organisations like to act as coordinators. But not all professionals do welcome volunteers. Paid home help workers sometimes fear to be ousted from their jobs by them; some professionals also mistrust volunteers, because of their presumed lack of duty or their patronising attitude. Meanwhile however an advice of the Sickness Funds Council made it possible since 1991 to subsidise the coordination and support of volunteer help at regional level for people with a disability or chronic illness. In the future this subsidy might be provided within the framework of the new health insurance act.

Volunteers in Home Care: the Perspective of Organisations of Volunteers

As a result of developments in health care policy demands are made on volunteers and their organisations. Given these claims it is interesting to look at their strategic responses. To get some insight into their reaction a qualitative study was done (Van Daal and others, 1992) to find out which strategic problems volunteer organisations in home care are confronted with in view of their own mission, capacities and changes in their surroundings. We tried also to explore their possible strategic responses to threats and changes, especially with respect to general developments in home care (for an analysis of the strategic process see for example Mintzberg and Quinn, 1991; Bryson, 1988).

The study shows that, roughly speaking, the mission of volunteer organisations in the home care is: to express their concern with the fate of others in need, mainly ill and disabled people and elderly people, especially when they are becoming isolated. Where cooperation with professionals is at stake, it is necessary to point out that the work of volunteers is less task oriented and more diffuse than that of professional personnel. In certain respects it resembles the informal care giving by friends and acquaintances and often certainly cannot be seen as supplementary professional care. Most organisations can be characterised by the small scale on which they work, necessarily attended by a certain amateurism. Volunteer organisations in home care see themselves confronted with several strategic problems, discerned analytically but in reality closely related: supply of volunteers, the cooperation between volunteer organisations, the cooperation with professionals, dangers of professionalism, identity and demarcation, payment of volunteers, dealing adequately with applicants for care, payment by applicants for care, financial problems and government policy. In the study a closer look was taken at some of these problems and possible strategic responses to them. The problems could be covered under three main themes: recruitment, cooperation between organisations of volunteers, and cooperation with professionals.

A. Recruitment problems and strategies

Recruitment of new volunteers in the area of caring becomes more and more difficult. One of the resulting key problems for many organisations of volunteers is their greying. Changes in the supply of volunteers cause problems in accomplishing tasks, especially with respect to management and external relations. Consequently recruitment problems impede the organisations from starting new tasks in home care. Cooperation with other organisations is time-consuming and not many volunteers can be found to do this work. Many organisations are working hard to recruit new volunteers, e.g. by means of mass-advertisement. Sometimes new recruitment categories, like early retired people, are

discovered. Experiments are going on to motivate men or young people to volunteer in the provision of care. The protecting of the identity of the organisation and the demands of voluntary tasks however make rigorous selection necessary. Some people who aspire to become volunteers, e.g. some of the ex-psychiatric patients, have to be rejected. To maintain their own identity many volunteer organisations choose to keep a personal approach in the recruitment of volunteers.

Pros and cons of payment, as seen by organisations of professionals and of volunteers, were explored (Van Daal and others, 1992; Van Daal and others, 1992, a). A small payment for volunteering is seen by many professionals as a solution to the recruitment and motivation problem. Through a system of payment organisations would, in their eyes, not only be able to recruit more volunteers but could also expect more of them. This would mean that the assistance offered to clients could be improved. Professionals want to give payment especially for indispensable tasks, for instance services which are not provided by subsidised institutions, because they are not included in the statutory package of services to be provided such as odd jobs, transport or delivering meals. A reason to pay volunteers may also be that it is felt that they ought to receive a certain compensation, in particular those volunteers who do work which they cannot, in fact, be expected to do. Another argument put forward in favour of payment is that the client would feel freer.

In spite of the presented pros of payment, Dutch law does not give much elbow room. Under the present law, payment might in many cases be illegal. Fixed reimbursements are subject to a number of rules. If they do not exceed Dfl 16 (about £6) per week and Dfl 800 (about £300) per year, they are considered to be a refund of expenses rather than wages, which means tax or social security premiums are not payable on these amounts. Volunteers who are on social security are usually allowed to receive a small fixed reimbursement without their benefit being cut. The large national volunteer organisations wish to avoid this grey area at all costs.

Another argument against payment is that the development of a new class of heavily underpaid workers should not be encouraged. The work will become more interesting for persons with a low income, but it would thus affect its status. It is considered undesirable to contribute to the corrosion of the organisation of labour or to endanger employment for professional workers. Thus at least for several reasons, related to labour market regulations, organisations of volunteers nearly unanimously reject the idea of a small payment for voluntary care. A more fundamental argument brought forward however is that the specific nature of the work should be maintained. In this view voluntary work should be kept pure and people ought to do this out of sheer interest and not for profit. The character of this work, which is centred on interpersonal contact, can only be done justice to if financial interests are absent. The Union of Volunteers – originally Union of Women Volunteers – fears that payment will lead to a split in voluntary work. In that case there will be on the one hand free volunteers who step into emergency situations out of commitment, and on the other a kind of slightly paid auxiliary troops assisting the professional workers. The UVV stresses that volunteers should remain free to leave the organisation or stay in a position to give their own opinion to clients. A free volunteer may, if necessary, even support a patient who is threatened by the professional world. More cons are presented by organisations of volunteers. Defining the work of volunteers as distinct from that of professionals will become even more difficult when the most obvious difference between the two categories disappears. Furthermore payment can lead to a further increase in commercialisation and individualisation of society which is disapproved of.

B. Problems of coherence and strategies of cooperation.

Policy makers desire to have a more coherent package of care provision. In that respect they want organisations of volunteers to work in a more coordinated manner and be approachable. These organisations feel that pressure and see that a more coherent presentation towards the surrounding community does lead to recognition. Organisations of volunteers are now carefully taking steps in the direction of mutual cooperation. Typically they begin by meeting together and by doing so they begin to discover further advantages of cooperation. They can exchange information, prevent the abuse by clients of voluntary care or attune demand and supply. The last mentioned

advantage is in these days more important than it was in times when communities were more tightly knit. In a later stage organisations experience that mutual cooperation also promotes the establishment of efficient collective provisions, in the sphere of public relations or recruitment and support of volunteers. The most important felt advantage however is the fact that cooperation makes the volunteer world stronger with respect to professionals.

Cooperation between organisations of volunteers on a local level however has important drawbacks. These organisations originated in different periods and have their own history, culture and identity. Pillarisation still exists in the countryside. Organisations that are affiliated with churches fear loss of identity, because they think volunteers will feel lost and will withdraw. Organisations with a mission fear that government will try to throw all the voluntary work together but other organisations also cling very much to their own organisation-culture. If cooperation is to become a success, a coordinator (by preference a paid one) is needed who gives regard to the different identities of the participating organisations and who brings about the benefits of working together.

C. Should volunteer-organisations assist professional home care? Strategic dilemmas.

Organisations of volunteers clearly see the benefits resulting from cooperation with professional workers. Their mission can flourish, dispersion of effort can be avoided, their approachability will be increased and there will be more societal recognition of voluntary work. Professional workers can deliver them the care applicants for whom this voluntary work is meant. In this way cooperation is essential for the survival of organisations of volunteers. Cooperation with the professional world however also implies threats, like loss of identity, domination and abuse by professionals, too much professionalism (some volunteers are repulsed by the increasingly professional approach) and overloading (see also Bulmer, 1986). That those threats are real is demonstrated by the fact that some professional organisations take steps to coordinate voluntary work themselves, sometimes with their own volunteers. Organisations of volunteers however say that they want to provide for their own coordination. Sometimes a paid coordinator, working under the supervision of these organisations, can control the communication between volunteers and professionals and in this manner can help to sustain the interests of volunteers. Cooperation can, in the view of representatives of volunteer-organisations, only succeed if professional workers respect the unique contribution volunteers can make to care giving: they want to have a more personal and not so much a task-oriented relation with care receivers. It is also necessary to remove mutual prejudices and to demarcate the domains of the cooperating parties.

Volunteers in Home Care: the Perspective of Consumers

Persons requiring help consider the care relationship as a sort of exchange. Those who receive assistance without there being any relationship of reciprocity owe something to others. People who cannot do much in return experience this as unpleasant and will try to avoid it. The consequence is that they are often hesitant about asking for informal help if this would threaten their own independence or if they expect patronising behaviour. They also think that asking for help will disturb the good relationship with the person they had in mind. This is especially the case when a person needs a considerable amount of personal care or home help. However, disabled people have more aversion with respect to the receiving of help from the inner circle than they have with respect to volunteers. Less often is their any hesitation with respect to receiving professional help (Gorter, 1989). Older persons proved to be, also for the same kind of reasons, reluctant to receive help from volunteers. Generally speaking persons requiring help have quite a number of objections to receiving unpaid assistance, in particular in the case of comprehensive household help or personal care. Their objections are less strong in cases of incidental help or psycho-social assistance. In particular when consumers know that helping is also rewarding for the volunteer objections diminish (Hofstede, 1988). Not all persons requiring help have difficulty with the lack of reciprocity however. Many volunteer organisations are faced with persons who want everything for nothing (Van Daal and others, 1992).

Some Other Initiatives of Volunteers in Service Delivery

Refugee work. The Netherlands harbours about 26,000 refugees. It is the only West European country that leaves the taking care of refugees for the greater part to volunteers. Five years ago this work consisted only of 50 local working groups, but now it forms a national organisation with 120 paid and 6700 unpaid workers. About 75% of the volunteers are women, in general between 35 and 60 years of age and higher educated. Their feelings of solidarity for people in a difficult situation are often religiously or morally inspired, but often also more selfish motives play a role. (Not so long ago a government minister declared that refugees themselves were allowed to volunteer, but only if that did not divert them from cooperating on their asylum procedure.) Volunteers do all sorts of jobs in the sphere of practical, juridical and social assistance or leisure. Training of volunteers is given on a regional and national level. Sometimes experienced volunteers get a paid job within the organisation (Van Boeijen, 1992).

Helplines. Helplines are well known by the Dutch general public at the moment. They fit the needs of the individualised citizen to remain anonymous. Besides the general helplines there can now be found children's lines, women's lines and so on. A recent study (cited in: De Zwaan, 1992) indicated that most of the general helpline volunteers (70%) are women and their average age is 50. One half of these volunteers are church members. One quarter of them has received a helping oriented education. Good telephone exchanges appear to be appraised, but in the long run the atmosphere within the organisation and a volunteer's contacts with other volunteers become more and more important with respect to someone's motivation. Some aspects of the work, like working in the night or receiving indecent telephone calls, prove to be annoying and demotivating.

Fire Brigades. Most Dutch fire brigades work with a mix of professional and volunteer personnel. Most professionals work within brigades in large cities. However 85% of the personnel are volunteers, and on average spend two parts of a day on this work. Much time is spent on training. On the average a volunteer stays for 12 years with the fire brigade. Tasks are becoming more of a burden every year and also selection becomes more strict, in particular in the field of management. Stress is also caused by the growing gravity of disasters. Furthermore the legal status of volunteers, the participation in decision-making and financial reimbursement are not satisfactory. A recent study (Vreuls, 1992) discovered that a shortage of 200 officers is to be expected by 1994. But it also becomes more difficult to find "ordinary" firefighters, which is supposed to be caused by the "embarras du choix" of leisure time activities. The felt moral obligation does not often exist any more. The fire brigades have to make a choice between a more socially and a more task oriented future.

Summary

In this paper volunteering is defined as labour which is unpaid, done in an unobliged way, in favour of other people or society, and within an organised setting.

The rise of modern volunteering in the Netherlands dates back to the end of the nineteenth century. In the postwar welfare state much voluntary work was gradually taken over by professional workers, particularly in health care and the personal social services. On the other hand new voluntary initiatives enabled many people to volunteer in volunteer organisations and, since the sixties, in organisations which arose in the context of a broad protest movement.

Some current ideologies concerning volunteering were discussed: traditionalism, welfare-statism, feminism and neo-liberalism. The coexistence of these ideologies implies an ambivalent attitude towards volunteering in Dutch society as a whole and consequently only moderate societal support. This ambivalent orientation towards volunteering is also reflected in policies of the central government.

The social infrastructure of volunteering is rather complex. We tried to make it clear that the Dutch welfare state leans heavily and almost exclusively on voluntary

organisations, i.e. nonprofit and nonstatutory organisations. At the same time however these organisations are to a large extent financed by state budgets or collective funds, regulated by the state. Volunteers are active in the five classical sectors of the welfare system (social security, public housing, education, health and care and the personal social services) and in other sectors (e.g. sport, religion, pressure groups).

Statistics on volunteering suffer from measurement problems. Estimates of the extent of volunteering range from about 15% to 45% of the population of age 18 or over. It was argued that the 1988 NIMAWO-survey yielded the most reliable estimates till now (15% for volunteering and 5% for giving informal help). Results of this survey were presented with regard to the extent of volunteering, profiles of volunteers, organisational areas of volunteering, kinds of activities of volunteers, time spent on volunteering and the motivation of volunteers.

Volunteering in home care was discussed extensively because of its relevance for recent health care policy. The claims of the government and professional health care on volunteer organisations to participate in home care were discussed as well as the ways in which volunteer organisations respond to these claims.

How volunteering will develop is hard to predict. The same applies to research on volunteering. The improvement of statistics on volunteering, the deepening of insight into the motivation of volunteers and case studies in selected areas deserve special attention.

Endnotes

1 In Dutch: "vrijwilligerswerk".

2 In Dutch: "informele hulp" or "informele zorg".

3 Unfortunately some Dutch researchers (e.g. Tjadens and Woldringh, 1988) use the term "informal care" to cover both unorganised and organised helping.

4 In this study a further distinction was made between informal helpers of family members and informal helpers of acquaintances (including neighbours and friends).

5 The question about volunteering asked to a representative of the household was:

"The next questions are about unpaid work for others who are not members of your own household, for clubs, organisations, in a good cause, etc. This can be done both within and outside of an organised setting. I want to talk with you first about unpaid work that is done within an organisation, club or a somewhat looser organisational setting (like organised neighbour help). On these pages you can see the kinds of organisations and also the kinds of activities where you can think of. Can you take a look at the organisations on the list? Are there persons within this household who are doing unpaid work within such an organised setting? If someone is just participating without doing unpaid work, that does not count!"

6 In the table services included also the informal ones.

7 Often altruism is reciprocated when helpful people get goods, services or at least esteem in return from others (Bulmer, 1986).

Table 3.1a: Voluntary work and informal helping within the population from 18 years onwards, 1988, by personal and demographic characteristics

		number of persons	voluntary work	informal help	unpaid work
Total		36149	14.7	4.8	17.6
Sex	Male	17760	13.9	3.1	15.7
	Female	18389	15.5	6.5	19.4
Age	18-24	6192	8.4	2.9	10.4
	25-34	8197	15.1	5.4	18.5
	35-44	7818	19.5	5.4	22.3
	45-54	5165	17.9	5.4	21.1
	55-64	4229	16.2	5.9	19.5
	65-74	3010	11.7	4.9	14.9
	75 and older	1556	4.2	1.9	5.6
Religious denomination	Roman Catholic	12594	13.7	4.4	16.5
	Dutch Reformed	6252	17.3	5.5	20.1
	Orthodox Reformed	2794	20.8	6.4	24.2
	Other	1889	16.6	7.0	20.2
	No	12110	12.6	4.2	15.3
	No information	510	17.5	5.7	20.6
Type of household	Single	3507	13.1	5.7	16.6
	Couple without children	10051	12.8	4.9	15.9
	Couple with children	20460	16.4	4.6	19.0
	One parent family	1810	9.6	4.8	12.7
	Other	321	13.7	5.3	17.1
Size of municipality	Up to 5000 inhabitants	1088	18.8	5.1	21.1
	5000 to 10,000 inh.	3661	18.4	5.4	21.2
	10,000 to 20,000 inh.	7674	16.0	4.4	18.3
	20,000 to 50,000 inh.	8615	15.0	4.8	17.9
	50,000 to 100,000 inh.	6299	13.1	4.3	16.1
	100,000 to 400,000 inh.	5456	12.8	4.6	16.3
	more than 400,000 inh.	3356	11.6	5.0	14.7
Part of Holland	Amsterdam/Rotterdam/ The Hague	4357	12.2	5.0	15.3
	Rest of the west	10556	15.8	4.9	18.7
	North	4432	17.3	4.3	20.4
	East	7383	16.0	5.0	18.9
	South	9421	12.4	4.3	15.0
Prosperity	A (highest)	7504	21.1	6.6	24.6
	B upper	6735	17.6	5.7	20.8
	B lower	5671	15.1	4.1	17.6
	C	12924	11.2	4.0	13.8
	D (lowest)	3316	7.4	3.7	9.9

Table 3.1b: Voluntary work and informal helping within the population from 18 years onwards, 1988, by personal and demographic characteristics

		number of persons	voluntary work	informal help	unpaid work
Total	(part of the sample)	29245	14.7	4.9	17.6
Education level	Primary school	4120	9.8	5.8	14.0
	Lower secondary education	10897	15.7	5.2	18.8
	Higher secondary	5900	18.4	5.6	21.7
	University/higher professional	3245	26.9	8.3	30.9
	No information	5083	4.5	0.7	4.9
Employment situation	Paid job	9311	18.3	5.0	21.4
	Disabled	706	18.6	5.8	22.2
	Unemployed less than 1 year	237	11.8	6.8	16.0
	Unemployed more than 1 year	404	18.6	6.4	21.8
	Retired	3438	10.5	3.8	12.9
	Student, scholar	2584	9.4	2.9	11.3
	Does the housekeeping	8255	18.2	7.9	22.7
	No information	4310	5.8	0.6	6.3
Number of hours paid work (working people)	Less than 14 hours	375	34.1	11.2	38.1
	15-24 hours	673	23.8	8.9	29.1
	25-34 hours	494	21.1	11.1	28.9
	35-39 hours	3077	17.9	3.7	20.1
	40-44 hours	2985	17.8	4.6	21.0
	45 or more hours	779	20.3	5.8	23.4
	No information	928	8.2	1.4	12.9
Political party preference	PvdA (social democrats)	7234	16.0	5.6	19.5
	CDA (christian dem.)	5731	19.6	6.2	23.0
	VVD (liberal dem.)	2496	19.0	6.2	22.8
	D66 (pragmatic dem.)	1248	20.6	7.8	24.5
	PSP/CPN/PPR (small left)	752	25.4	11.3	32.0
	SGP/GVP/RPF (fundamentalist)	783	25.5	11.1	30.7
	Other	225	12.4	5.8	16.4
	No preference	2622	15.9	7.1	20.9
	No information	8204	5.7	0.8	6.2
Church visiting	Once a week or more	3590	29.5	10.1	34.3
	2 or 3 times a month	1346	28.2	9.6	32.7
	Once a month	1158	21.4	7.8	25.8
	Less than once a month	3716	18.6	7.0	23.2
	Never	9313	15.7	5.7	19.6
	No information	10122	4.5	0.6	4.9

Table 3.2: Voluntary work and informal helping within the Dutch population from 18 years onwards in 1988, sample percentages and estimated number of persons in the population

Area	% of 36,149	absolute on population of 11m
Personal and public services (incl. informal helping)	9.0	990.000
Care for the sick, elderly and disabled	4.4	484.000
voluntary work	2.5	275.000
informal, not to family	1.1	121.000
informal to family	1.4	154.000
Social and public services	4.2	462.000
voluntary work	2.3	253.000
informal, not to family	1.4	154.000
Informal to family	0.9	99.000
Day care for children	1.7	187.000
voluntary work	0.4	44.000
informal, not to family	0.7	77.000
informal to family	0.8	88.000
Community service	**2.0**	**220.000**
Youth clubs and centres	1.0	110.000
Community centres	0.9	99.000
Adult education	0.2	22.000
Contribution to society	**5.8**	**638.000**
schools	1.7	187.000
churches	2.8	308.000
political organisations	0.3	33.000
social action/environment	0.2	22.000
professional and trade unions	0.4	44.000
interest/pressure groups	0.5	55.000
women's organisations	0.4	44.000
companies	0.2	22.000
Recreation	**4.4**	**484.000**
cultural organisations	0.9	99.000
hobby organisations	0.6	66.000
sport organisations	3.2	352.000
Other organisations	**1.2**	**132.000**
Volunteers	14.1	617.000
Gives informal help	4.8	528.000
Does unpaid work	17.6	1,936.000

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4 Volunteering in Germany

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Volunteers und Ehrenamtliche Helfer

Introduction

This paper on volunteering is based primarily on my book, published in Germany in 1989 (1). Although I am not aware of any research or overview carried out since that publication, I apologise for any omissions, in particular with regard to the effect of unification on the philosophy, policies and practice of volunteering in the newly enlarged Germany.

There are many stark contrasts between the steady development of volunteering and self-help in Great Britain and other European countries over the last century and the erratic development of this national resource in Germany. At different points in its tumultuous 20th century history Germany has both profoundly embraced and bitterly rejected the whole concept and practice of volunteering. This paper, through its exploration of the roots, history, definitions, extent, profile and activities of volunteering and volunteers, is regularly drawn back to this fact.

Several references will be made to the evident need for more research to draw out the precise extent and nature of volunteering in Germany; in particular with regard to the situation in the *neue Bundesländer* (old East Germany) and the role and direction taken by the individual federal states on this subject.

In the great post-Maastricht European debate it is evident that Germany has a great deal to learn from the institutions and practice of volunteering in a country such as Great Britain. In this respect I commend this initiative of The Volunteer Centre UK and hope that this paper can contribute, in its modest way, to a European comparative study on volunteering leading ultimately perhaps to a European perspective on the subject.

A definition of German volunteering

Volunteers in Germany are called *Ehrenamtliche Helfer* - a term not easily translated into English and for the Germans themselves one that is misleading and often controversial. *Ehrenamt* stands for "honorary office", the volunteer therefore is the "honorary helper".

Whilst some accept the old term as a temporary, albeit uncomfortable, solution others declare it untenable and outdated, with "honour" referring to the high standing of the offices of the old jurymen or guardians which go as far back as the Middle Ages. Others argue that most volunteering today is characterised by something quite opposite to any *Amt* or "office".

Many are moving away from the term *Ehrenamtlicher Helfer*. With so many voices against the old term all attempts at renaming the *Ehrenamtliche Helfer* have nevertheless so far failed to reach widespread recognition. Perhaps the most promising alternative is the *freitätige Mitarbeiter* (free co-worker) as suggested by M. Urlaub (2) or even the English term "volunteer" (which of course wouldn't be the first English word incorporated into everyday German language). For the time being, however, the term *Ehrenamtlicher Helfer* remains.

Definitions of the term *Ehrenamtlicher Helfer* are rather vague. An encyclopaedia for social work describes *Ehrenamtliche Helfer* as "citizens who offer their services for tasks within the social field, sporadically or on a regular basis, without recompense or with

only a small recompense" (3). Similar to the above is the following definition: "Assistants in the youth and social services who carry out tasks without a fixed contract and not in a professional capacity" (4). Such definitions immediately and inevitably pose many questions, for example regarding the status of German volunteers as low-paid, non-professional helpers. So far such questions remain at least partly unresolved.

Other definitions of German volunteering focus on quite different aspects. For example N. Niedrig who sees it as "the expression of solidarity and responsibility of fellow-citizens for those suffering hardship and in need of support and help" and as " a lively concern for and active contribution to the solution of social problems" and as an expression of "democratic mobilisation for social tasks in the community" (5). Clearly these are interpretative ideas of volunteering rather than definitions but they give a clear indication of the ethos behind German volunteering as seen by some.

Finally, there is in Germany a growing awareness of the close link between volunteering and self-help. This has led some to capture the elusive phenomenon of volunteering by describing it as a continuum between very traditional charitable help for the needy at one extreme and self-help at the other. This acknowledges that volunteering in Germany today is developing and changing.

The extent of volunteering in Germany

Given the lack of just one generally accepted definition of volunteering in Germany and the apparent vagueness as to what exactly is covered by the term *Ehrenamtlicher Helfer* it is hardly surprising that there is no overall statistical data available as to the nationwide extent of volunteering.

In the area of the statutory social services no data has been collated since 1953. As regards the voluntary sector in the old West Germany a stock-taking exercise of the so called "freie Wohlfahrtsverbände" (the major umbrella associations for the personal social services in the voluntary sector) was carried out in 1974/75 (6). According to this research there were 2 million volunteers active in the voluntary sector at that time (the majority of them female; the average age 53 years; the average time commitment 12 to 18 hours per month; equalling an economic value of 2 to 3 million Deutschmark). More recent statistics published by the Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft der Freien Wohlfahrtspflege from 1981, again covering the voluntary sector in old West Germany, give a figure of 1.5 million volunteers (7).

Obviously the above two surveys cannot be compared directly as presumably different concepts and methods were used. However, one cannot help but be curious as to what happened to 500,000 volunteers in the space of 6 years. Similarly the Allensbacher Institut für Demoskopie (a national institute for public opinion research) discovered a decline in the potential willingness to volunteer amongst the general public (8). Whereas in 1962 49% of those interviewed could imagine some kind of voluntary commitment in the voluntary sector this percentage dropped to 37% in 1979 whilst at the same time the percentage of those definitely not interested in volunteering rose from 47% to 59%.

All the statistics quoted above are by no means recent. More up-to-date research is sorely needed - particularly in relation to the situation in the "neue Bundesländer" (the old East Germany).

A profile of German volunteers

Who then are the German volunteers? A detailed and fairly comprehensive study of 4160 "Ehrenamtliche Helfer" commissioned by the local council for the state Baden-Württemberg in 1987 gives some clues:

- Volunteering is the domain of women;
- Men tend to withdraw from volunteering with increasing age whilst women tend to get more involved;

- 32.7% of those interviewed were in full-time employment, 27.3% housewives and 22% retired;
- There is no relation between the individual's education background and their volunteering nor a link to any specific profession. (9)

The latter finding is unexpected. Is it that German volunteers do indeed come from all sections of the community, right across all the socio-economic groups, in the spirit of real equal opportunity and equal access to volunteering for all members of society? It would be rather impressive if this was so. I suggest, however, that a study of a wider number of volunteers would have given quite a different picture.

It is my strong impression that the typical German volunteer (if there is such a thing) still very much fits the image of the middle class "do-gooder"- fairly well off and educated citizens doing "their bit" for the community.

A national survey of volunteering in Great Britain, carried out by J Field and B Hedges in 1984 (10) shows UK volunteers to be typically white collar workers, with a background in higher or further education, owner-occupiers, car drivers etc. I am convinced that wider and more in-depth research also in Germany would uncover very similar traits to those of the UK volunteers. I am also convinced that it would show up clear links between the individuals' education background or employment status and their volunteering even though such links were not established in the above study. Obviously such claims need to be substantiated through research.

Another area that urgently needs further exploration and research but to date seems to have been ignored is the question of the volunteers' ethnic background. No relevant data is available - probably because the vast majority of volunteers see themselves or are simply seen as "German".

Finally, to return to the predominantly female participation in German volunteering, this is confirmed again and again by other smaller studies (as well as the stock-taking exercise by the *freie Wohlfahrtsverbände* in 1974/75 mentioned earlier). It appears that women tend to volunteer predominantly for directly client-oriented tasks involving "hands-on" contact whereas men tend to involve themselves (if at all) more indirectly in the sphere of management, administration and technical help. (And thus traditional role models are perpetuated also in the field of volunteering!)

To sum up, as yet there is no really clear picture as to who these German volunteers are. Assumptions and general impressions need to be backed up by more substantial and recent facts and figures.

The activities of volunteers

With regard to the different activities undertaken by the *Ehrenamtlichen Helfer* no statistics are available covering the whole range of volunteering across the country which would allow some conclusive interpretation and analysis.

Information given by the major so-called *Wohlfahrtsverbände* shows the following picture of the level and kind of volunteer involvement for the caring services in the voluntary sector:

Arbeiterwohlfahrt:	42,000 volunteers involved with fundraising and administration, 28,000 volunteers providing direct personal services to clients.
Caritas:	Volunteers involved in the health and youth services, day centres for elderly people, various counselling and support services; number of volunteers not known.
Diakonie:	No data available as to how many volunteers are involved in which services; overall number of volunteers "several hundred thousand".

Deutscher Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband:	3798 volunteers in homes and institutions, 4655 volunteers in day centres, 16,997 volunteers in counselling and support services, 1872 volunteers in the field of training for the caring services.
Deutsches Rotes Kreuz:	Estimated figure of more than 300,000 volunteers; involved in first aid and health services (eg organisation of events, emergency and accident help, sea and mountain rescue, blood donor service, disaster control, public awareness campaigns) and involved in the caring and personal social services (eg in hospitals, in homes and institutions for the children and youth services, in day and community centres, services for elderly and disabled people). (11)

The above facts and figures give some indication of just how broad the spectrum of volunteering is. Volunteers in Germany - and from the European perspective there is surely nothing unique about this - work both alongside professionals and independently of them in a whole range of services. Inside and outside the *Wohlfahrtsverbände* volunteers work with different client groups and for a variety of "worthy" causes. In many different capacities they are found in areas as diverse as administration, fundraising, management and personal services, in self-help and campaign groups.

The organisation of volunteering

What is perhaps most striking about the review of volunteer involvement in the major *Wohlfahrtsverbände* quoted above (12) is the total lack of uniformity in the data provided - whilst one organisation is able to put exact figures on the numbers of volunteers in each of its activities, another gives a most vague overall figure of "several hundred thousand" and no information on the type of activities they are involved with. In the same review some organisations state that they offer extensive training to their volunteers whilst again others mention only minimal guidance. This diversity is symptomatic also of the way in which volunteering in general is organised in Germany.

When scanning the broad spectrum of the caring services inside and outside the *Wohlfahrtsverbände* again and again one comes across activities and initiatives of different organisations or projects run with the help of or solely by volunteers. Whilst they all involve volunteers in one way or another, to a greater or lesser degree, there again appears to be no uniformity about the way in which this is done. There appear to exist no common policies, no common practice. Some projects follow traditional patterns in the use of volunteers, others are highly innovative. On the whole the majority seem to pursue their own goals and operate in a fairly isolated fashion as regards matters related to volunteering. Such an individualistic approach may indeed lead to some interesting results. On the whole, however, the lack of co-ordination and co-operation is hardly very productive.

No network of volunteer-using agencies has developed. No central national institution such as The Volunteer Centre UK exists which could shape policies and set standards (although the introduction of a *Bundesanstalt für das Ehrenamt* has been suggested (13)). There are no local umbrella organisations which could advocate and carry forward the policies of a central institution and facilitate the involvement of volunteers in general.

Interested individuals are very much left to their own devices when looking for volunteering opportunities. They may follow word-of-mouth recommendations, respond to ad hoc recruitment campaigns by individual local organisations or they may, unaware of many of the opportunities around, most probably approach well known and established organisations such as the Red Cross.

In this context it is of interest that Germany set up its first Volunteer Bureau, very much following the British model, in Munich in 1979. A second one followed in Berlin. Although the *Münchner Helfer Information* in particular is thriving no further Volunteer Bureaux have been set up elsewhere in the country.

Finally, although inevitably working with volunteers must form a considerable part of many professional helpers' workload in the caring services no volunteer co-ordinators or volunteer organisers are employed as such. In fact, many seem to be of the opinion that volunteer organising is rather a strange concept.

The need for research

The need for more research around the extent, profile and organisation of German volunteering has already become apparent. This is pertinent also to other issues, for example to the question of volunteer motivation. Whilst some articles have been published discussing the question of motivation in general terms no detailed study as to why people in Germany volunteer is as yet available.

T Bock comments that "to date in spite of numerous publications volunteering has hardly been recognised as an area in need of serious and on-going research". She points out that "research into the volunteers' motivation, their function, their co-operation with professional social workers and their effectiveness is missing almost altogether" (14). As shown again and again also under the earlier headings most research studies about volunteering, even regarding quite basic facts such as the number of volunteers involved, are to some degree patchy, often not that recent and generally not altogether satisfactory. Based purely on information gained from such studies the overall picture of German volunteering inevitably remains incomplete and hazy.

To bring the picture alive and add some real colour as to what German volunteering is all about it is helpful to take a different approach. Thus, by stepping back and looking at the historical development of volunteering from the early 19th century to modern-day Germany one can learn a great deal. In contrast to Great Britain where volunteering appears to have developed in a consistent and fairly smooth fashion (the "unbroken tradition" of British volunteering) German volunteering has travelled along a rather rocky path (15). Many of the current issues in German volunteering have their roots in the specific history of the *Ehrenamt*.

Historical roots of volunteering in 19th century Germany

Deprivation, misery and distress are problems as old as the human race; likewise compassion, mutual support and self help are certainly not new. Only since the early 19th century, however, has such help and support been increasingly institutionalised in the form of "volunteering". The first decades of that century, with the population growing rapidly, saw an unprecedented increase of social problems with countless families sinking into poverty and squalor as the industrial revolution took its toll. New ways and means for helping those in need had to be found. The roots of modern day volunteering can be traced back to this period.

In Germany at that time voluntary aid, mostly with a Christian orientation, began to be organised more and more by numerous local and regional institutions, often closely linked to the church. (Much later these institutions would form themselves into the above mentioned *Wohlfahrtsverbände*.)

Parallel to initiatives carried by individual volunteers and voluntary organisations the German state endeavoured to back up public assistance for the poor with voluntary help. The so-called *Elberfelder System* from 1852 is often quoted as a particularly successful example for this. Following the model of relief for the poor in Hamburg (here the city was divided into districts each with their own group of voluntary helpers responsible for that district) the town Elberfeld was apportioned into wards. Each ward had a number of voluntary and honorary "overseers of the poor", each in charge of up to a maximum of four families. One of their main roles was the assessment of individual need rather than caring or helping. Very soon this *Elberfelder System* resulted in a considerable drop in the number of people in receipt of public aid - from 8% of the population in 1852 to 4% in 1867. This in turn helped to reduce the cost of such aid by two thirds.

The whole system was clearly not motivated by altruism and compassion for the not so lucky but rather by strict fiscal considerations of the local council. *Ehrenamtliche Helfer* deployed to assist with the streamlining and cutting back of public services! Only towards the end of the century were such voluntary "overseers of the poor" in Elberfeld and elsewhere replaced by professional helpers as general conditions and circumstances changed and much more detailed assessment of need and means testing requiring specialist training and experience was introduced.

Another aspect of volunteering in 19th century Germany has to be seen in context with the so-called *Stein-Hardenberg* reforms at the beginning of the century – a classical attempt at reform from above. As the bourgeoisie of that time demanded more rights and in particular the right to participate in dealing with state affairs the government instead urged them to take on voluntary (honorary) commitments. Here volunteering obviously did not so much serve rationalisation and streamlining as in the *Elberfelder System* above but rather became a means of pacifying and silencing any discontent and unrest amongst the bourgeoisie. It was hoped that in the long run this strategy would have a stabilising and educational effect on the community.

The above then shows volunteering involvement as symbolical power sharing and participation in state business – one again, however, very much determined from above.

German volunteering during the two world wars

The close link in Germany between volunteer involvement and state interest became apparent also during the First World War. Calls for helpers appealing to the nation's patriotism and devotion initially brought forward a wave of willing and committed volunteers, ready to help support the nation and its efforts in the war. In particular the two main patriotic women's organisations (*Vaterländischer Frauenverein* and *Nationaler Frauendienst*) were inundated with offers of help. Yet the exuberance of the early days slowly died away as the war dragged on and brought increasing suffering and also cynicism and uncertainty amongst the population.

During the post-war years again there was talk of building up and expanding volunteer involvement. Soon, however, in the years of the *Weimarer Republik* the number of those in need expanded so rapidly and grew such that many of the helpers found themselves unequal to the task – not least as they themselves became victims of the overall chaotic and economically desperate situation. As less and less people were able to help volunteering itself went into crisis.

The situation began to change again in the early 1930s in the wake of the Great Depression. A voluntary "work service" for the unemployed was introduced and a new concept of "welfare promotion" was developed. This was the strategic use of advertising aimed at getting the masses to internalise the ethos and objectives of the welfare services and, on a much more down to earth level, to challenge them to give donations or offer their services. Both – the state laying claim to an unpaid labour force and the increasing ideological loading of volunteering – were trends which were later taken further by the Nazis as they came to power.

In addition, the beginning of that decade saw expressions such as "the joint battle at the social front" become part of the vocabulary of the welfare services. Thus, although the Nazis were to pride themselves in their total reorientation and break with the *Systemzeit* (the years of the Weimar republic) this new use of language shows clearly how much the ground had already been prepared for them and how the Nazis were able to take at least some of the existing thinking and ideology that one ill-fated step further.

During the Third Reich both voluntary work and professional social work were taken over completely by the state – it became a "service for the German fatherland", a "service for the German people". The recruitment of new volunteers proved tremendously successful. This was due partly to the emotionally charged ideology the whole concept of volunteering had acquired, partly also to the close relationship between voluntary involvement and public prestige as well as professional success in the Nazi society. Compulsory voluntary work in aid of Nazi ideology was introduced

and this voluntary work was made to fit in very smoothly indeed with the objectives of the regime.

And so what had started over a century ago as symbolic participation of citizens in the running of the state (the Stein-Hardenberg reforms) culminated here in the total monopolisation of volunteering by the state.

The above outline of German volunteering during and between the two wars has tried to give some indication of the main trends, developments, issues and problems. To complete this account and give a balanced record it should be mentioned that a relatively small, yet significant number of volunteers did not follow the above pattern of events. They were volunteers who, very much as exceptions to the rule, worked independently from mainstream state-organised volunteering, eg under the umbrella of the *Caritas* or *Innere Mission* (and with great consistency continued to do so after the war).

Volunteering in the post-war years

After the war disillusionment was enormous and once again German volunteering suffered a deep crisis. Some would argue that it has still not quite recovered.

After 1945 the German people had to face up to the ruins of a collapsed regime and country. This included the collapse of what many had believed in or at least gone along with and what they had volunteered for; the people had to face up to the aftermath of destruction, chaos and horror and somehow had to begin a process of coming to terms with and understanding recent history. In this situation, not surprisingly, little energy and motivation was left for volunteer involvement. Many withdrew at least temporarily from a more public life whilst the "family", although in many cases badly shaken through loss of possessions and loved ones, gained an increased importance as a place offering the individual security and reassurance. "Looking after your own", protecting and supporting the family came before volunteering for others.

Scepticism and cynicism regarding volunteering prevailed for a number of years. Also, as Germany made a relatively quick economic recovery after the war, it soon became a comparatively affluent society able to pay for services previously carried out by volunteers. In other words, the need for volunteers was not so apparent. Only gradually was volunteering rediscovered. This, not surprisingly, coincided with the tighter state finances of the last two decades.

The "renaissance of volunteering" – recent and current public debate about the *ehrenamt*

Developments within Germany in the last couple of decades in terms of a "renaissance of volunteering" can be seen most clearly by looking at the public debate of the topic in recent years. Although the discussion is short on what exactly has been happening "on the ground" it is reasonable to assume that the debate itself mirrored a resurgence of people rediscovering volunteering and getting involved.

Let us look then at the recent debate around the *Ehrenamtlichen* as recorded by the specialist press as well as the general media and, interestingly, in the statements of politicians.

Right up to the early 1980s attention of the caring services was focused primarily on the development of professional social work, whilst "volunteering" as a topic for discussion was to some degree disregarded. Discussions of volunteering that did take place were mainly of a socio-political, sociological and rather theoretical nature. Only much more recently have discussions begun to address more practical issues, often in relation to a particular target group.

First, however, a series of comments from politicians addressing the revival of volunteering:

- "We want more self and altruistic help of our citizens for each other." (Prime Minister Helmut Kohl on 13 October 1982) (16)
- "We want a society with a humane outlook: Caring for our fellow citizens means putting our public spirit into practice ... And this is why we would like to encourage all citizens not only to ask: Who is going to help me? but also: Who am I going to help? A society, our society proves its humanity when many offer their services to their fellowmen, when many help others and when not all just look after themselves." (Prime Minister Helmut Kohl on 4 May 1983) (17)
- "It is our opinion that the state should provide and improve the necessary framework for a humane society with a spirit of solidarity. However, it should not at the same time through excessive state intervention restrict the individual's capacity for self-help and cooperation. One of the most important bedrocks of a democratic society is a willingness to share responsibility. Taking responsibility for oneself, responsibility for fellow citizens, commitment for the community, solidarity with those in need - these are some of the tasks of a citizen in a democratic society." (Irmgard Kawatzki, Parliamentary Secretary of State, in January 1985) (18)
- Finally Heiner Geissler, former Minister for Youth, Family and Health, talks of a diminishing sense of duty as regards helping others and claims "that it is about time to revitalise these faculties currently lying dormant in our society." (19)

A very long list of such appeals to community spirit and altruism could be drawn up; these were accompanied by government programmes like "Reden ist Silber, Helfen ist Gold" ("Talking is silver, helping is gold") run by the Department of Youth, Family and Health.

Such calls for increased volunteer involvement correspond closely to the basic concept of Germany's *Sozialer Rechtsstaat* (the German equivalent to the welfare state) and pick up on some of its underlying values and ethos. However, whilst the principles of altruism, charity, public spirit etc are important ones to foster it is rather conspicuous just how much the frequency of these appeals has been increasing ever since state finance has grown tighter. Scarcely hidden behind the celebration of public spirit and shared responsibility looms the financial crisis of the *Sozialstaat* as cut-backs in the caring services are rife. What the government tries to gloss over is the fact that *Ehrenamtliche Helfer* are being used as a stop-gap in aid of a strategy of cutting down expenditure. As the government is short of cash volunteering becomes expedient.

One particular aspect which is being overlooked here is that successful and effective volunteering, eg in the caring services, is most likely to happen in a supportive environment, ie when volunteers work alongside (not instead of) paid workers and, depending on individual circumstances, are being supervised, trained and reimbursed for their expenses. What is not recognised here is that effective volunteering is not a cheap option.

Altogether the above political statements leave a slightly uncomfortable after-taste. Still too fresh in people's memories is the glorification of volunteering in aid of Nazi ideology. Wasn't all this said once before? People are suspicious, people are on their guard and cautious. Many prefer to keep away.

Whilst politicians are pushing volunteering to ease the effects of cutting back state expenditure, another significant impulse in support of a further expansion of volunteering comes from within the caring services themselves. In particular this comes from those critical of the supposed over-professionalisation and over-specialisation of social work. Here volunteers are seen as an important counter-weight to the growing alienation and de-personalisation of the caring services. Their role is seen as compensating for and to some extent slowing down the diminishing client-orientation of the caring services (as some critics perceive it). The volunteer is seen as the one who really cares, the one who can show real compassion.

Of course there is no denying the very real problems and issues going hand in hand with the increasingly bureaucratic, specialised and compartmentalised delivery of care and help. The question, however, is whether volunteers are the answer here. Opponents

argue that to undo or halt the process of professionalisation and specialisation, through the use of volunteers or otherwise, is neither possible nor desirable since the caring services are confronted with ever more complex problems. They argue it is when professional and voluntary helpers work alongside each other, co-operatively, that the client receives the best service. They see volunteers as a crucial, integral part of a high professional quality service.

To summarise then the current debate in Germany about the *Ehrenamt* is characterised, on the one side, by those politicians, theorists and practitioners who call for a further expansion of volunteering - be this for financial reasons or out of concern about the over-professionalisation of the caring services. On the other side there are those who argue passionately against such strategies and abuse (as they see it) of volunteering. The whole debate, according to M. Ebertz, has been "at a standstill for several years now" (20). Put quite simply, the discussion has become stuck. In the meantime those people who want to research current trends in volunteering in a much less emotional way, who want to explore some of the more practical issues and who might be able to show a way forward find it difficult to get themselves heard.

Finally, an account of German volunteering through history must inevitably end with the latest in the big upheavals the country has experienced - German unification. For the old East Germans there is a striking similarity to the situation of volunteering in West Germany after the Second World War. Until very recently East German volunteering was predominantly organised through the Communist Party; with the collapse of the party and the systems built up around it East Germans now face the enormous task of re-defining themselves and gaining a new identity. How volunteering in East Germany will emerge from this process, how this will affect volunteering in Germany overall, are all questions which have not yet been explored.

Conclusions

The original aim of this paper was to give a comprehensive overview of German volunteering from facts and figures regarding the nature and extent of volunteering to a discussion of current issues as well as an exploration of the historical roots. Inevitably though, due to constraints in terms of time and space, and also (as mentioned again and again) the lack of background research, this overview cannot give much more than a first impression and must remain to some degree incomplete.

Ultimately, I hope to have contributed towards raising further interest in German volunteering in general as well as stirring some curiosity about specific questions and issues not yet explored. With regard to my own fellow countrymen and women I would like to see this paper as a contribution towards clarifying our own perception of German volunteering, both as it is now and as it may develop in the future.

A highly ambivalent attitude is one of the main characteristics of German volunteering and also one of its main difficulties. It has been shown here that for some German people the very name *Ehrenamtlicher Helfer*, let alone its history, is a negative one. For others volunteering is about concern and responsibility for their fellow citizens. Such a wide body of opinion inevitably has very real implications for the whole concept of active citizenship and any future developments of volunteering.

A great deal of the present ambivalence towards volunteering can be traced back to the history of German volunteering. The early developments at the beginning of the 19th century were stimulated by strict fiscal considerations and symbolic power sharing encouraged by the state. A century later, during the Third Reich, the government took over control of volunteering altogether, implicating it in ideological manipulation and deceit by the state. With the collapse of that regime volunteering suffered a deep crisis. In the 1980s, however, many politicians, including Chancellor Kohl himself, once again began to praise volunteering as an expression of humanity, citizenship and shared responsibility. Such sentiments which could also be heard in other European countries coincided with the cross-European cutbacks in state expenditure. Volunteering appears to have come full circle!

With or without the encouragement of senior German politicians it is apparent that the German volunteer scene is desperately short of a level of infrastructure provision that would ensure it a higher profile, status and independence. Volunteering lacks organisation at the local, federal and state levels. Incidentally such a lack of networks, infrastructure and co-ordination is in complete contrast to the other aspects of German life.

How German volunteering will develop in future might well depend on resources becoming available for a level of infrastructure provision which could encourage and facilitate volunteering quite independently from the state and the preoccupations of politicians. Perhaps only this will help German people to resolve their great ambivalence about the organised, large scale use of volunteers in areas of state activity led by paid professionals.

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5 Volunteering in the Republic of Ireland

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Introduction

While Ireland has a long tradition of volunteering, to date little research has been carried out which would provide accurate measures of how much time Irish people actually give to volunteering activities and how they compare with others in this regard. This paper presents the findings related to volunteering from a recently conducted national study of charitable giving and volunteering carried out by the Policy Research Centre. The study is based on a representative sample of 1,000 people aged 18 years and over. In exploring the nature and extent of volunteering, respondents were presented with a list of 43 different kinds of activity (for example, organising a sponsored event, staffing a telephone helpline, selling things for charity) and asked for each one whether they had been involved in the month prior to the interview. Respondents were also asked whether they had been involved in any other activity not listed in the interview schedule. In the case of each activity undertaken, respondents were asked how much time had been given and which causes were served. The study also explored the channels through which volunteers had initially become involved in volunteering, what their motivation was and the rewards and any difficulties experienced.

Definition of volunteering

One factor which adds to the difficulties of collecting reliable data on volunteering is the lack of a precise definition which would specify the nature of the activities it embraces and the range of causes which it serves. The parameters typically used to define voluntary activity include:

- activity that is non-compulsory
- activity that is non-professional
- activity that is unpaid
- activity that is carried out for the benefit of others or the benefit of society.

Even within these parameters, however, the boundaries of voluntary work are often blurred. Halfpenny, for example, identifies three problems in defining voluntary work: the distinction between self-help and voluntary service; the distinction between informal care and activity within an organisation; and the distinction between work for non-statutory and for statutory bodies (1). In particular, problems arise in deciding what forms of informal care constitute voluntary work. Informal care refers to unpaid work done on a voluntary basis where there is an existing relationship between the caregiver and the care recipient. Typically kinship relationships have been the predominant source of informal care but are almost always excluded from discussions and measurement of voluntary work. Neighbourhood care which is the second element of informal care is also sometimes regarded as outside the boundaries of voluntary activity.

In the study carried out by the Policy Research Centre, volunteering was defined as activity that is non-compulsory, unpaid, carried out for a social aim and may involve either work within an organisation or informal care which is outside the family. With

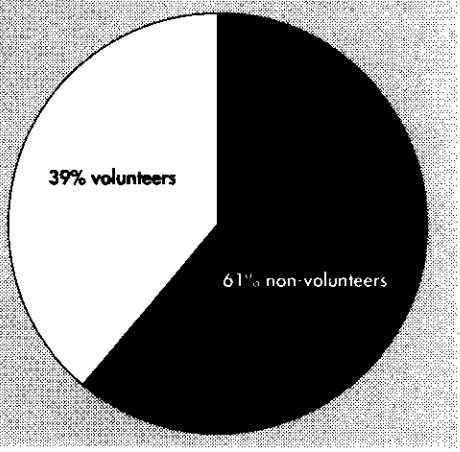
regard to the aim of the activity, the decision on which kinds of voluntary activity might properly be included in the study was based on the definition of "charitable purposes" worked out in the Irish courts. While a number of Acts have been instituted in the Republic of Ireland which refer to charities and charitable purposes – Gaming and Lotteries Act 1956; Income Tax Act 1967; Charities Act 1961 – yet there is no statutory definition of either term. Neither does the legislation of Great Britain and Northern Ireland related to charities provide a statutory definition of the terms. The authors of the 1990 Report of the Committee on Fundraising Activities for Charitable and Other Purposes perceived themselves as not "competent to recommend a suitable definition of charitable purposes" and, likewise, a recently published British White Paper entitled "Charities: A Framework for the Future" also refrained from providing a definition of charitable purposes (2). In the Republic of Ireland, for tax purposes a charity is regarded as a body of persons or trust established for charitable purposes only. The Tax Act does not provide a definition of charitable purposes but follows that worked out through the courts which includes the following (3):

- the relief of poverty
- the advancement of education
- the advancement of religion
- other purposes (of a charitable nature) beneficial to the community, not falling within any other heading

The final category listed above – other purposes – embraces a wide range of charities including those devoted to:

- **illness and disability** (both mental and physical): for example, promotion of medical research; provision of medical advice; establishment of homes, workshops or centres; provision of care and welfare services for people who are elderly, sick or disabled.
- **welfare services:** for example, welfare and development of children; welfare of disadvantaged groups; provision of rehabilitation and resettlement services; prevention of cruelty to children and animals; relief of distress caused by natural disasters or catastrophes; provision of housing to the needy.
- **advancement of knowledge:** for example, promoting research; advancement of science, promotion of the arts; promotion of culture and language; provision and maintenance of museums, art galleries and concert halls.
- **public utility:** for example, provision of public works for the benefit or protection of the community: maintenance of graveyards: protection of the environment and national heritage; and advancement of industry, commerce and agriculture.
- **sport and recreation:** for example, sport and recreation aimed at the wellbeing of people who are sick, disabled or handicapped; or sport and recreation as aids to recovery from illness or injury.

Figure 5.1: Extent of volunteering



As in Great Britain, the category of "sport and recreation" was widened to include activities not specifically aimed at people with a disability or handicap. Voluntary political work or trade-union activities were not included in the study.

The extent of volunteering

In the study carried out by the Policy Research Centre 39 per cent of those interviewed had been involved in at least one voluntary activity within the month prior to interview (Figure 5.1). Taking sampling error into account, it can be calculated at the 95 per cent confidence level that between 831,777 and 970,407 people volunteer monthly in the Republic of Ireland.

The majority (71%) of volunteers had carried out one (50%) or two (21%) activities but 14 per cent had been involved in three

kinds of voluntary work and 10 percent had carried out four (7%) or five (3%) activities. While there are some individuals who do 10 or more kinds of voluntary work, few, however, engage in more than four activities.

Total amount of time given to volunteering

Respondents who were volunteers were asked how much time they had given to each of the voluntary activities in which they had been engaged. The figures need to be interpreted with caution as it can be difficult to specify the time spent on some activities such as collecting things to be sold. The total amount of time given by individuals to voluntary activities over the course of a month varies greatly from less than one hour to 160 hours. Most often, the amount of time given to volunteering was between two and five hours (24%) (Table 5.1). Eighteen per cent gave between one and two hours to voluntary work. A minority (5%) gave less than one hour. Frequently, volunteers devoted up to 10 hours to voluntary activity (18%) while 17 per cent gave up to 20 hours. Smaller groups of volunteers spent up to 30 hours (7%) or up to 50 hours (7%) in voluntary work.

Table 5.1: Amount of Time Given to Volunteering per Month

Amount of Time	N	% (of volunteers)
Less than 1 hour	21	5.4
1.00 – 2.00 hours	70	18.0
2.01 – 5.00 hours	93	23.9
5.01 – 10.00 hours	71	18.3
10.01 – 20.00 hours	64	16.5
20.01 – 30.00 hours	27	6.9
30.01 – 50.00 hours	26	6.7
More than 50 hours	17	4.3
Total	389	100

The mean time given to volunteering by individual respondents in the month prior to interview was 13 hours. However, as a measure of typical time the mean may be misleadingly high; being heavily influenced by the small number of respondents who spent exceedingly large amounts of time in voluntary activities. Most frequently, the amount of time given to volunteering (mode) was one hour. The median time spent volunteering (the mid-way point with half of respondents spending more time and half less) was 6 hours. Taking account of the full 1,000 respondents of the study and not just the 389 who had carried out voluntary activities, the mean amount of time given to volunteering in the month prior to interview by the total sample was 5.03 hours. It can be concluded at the 95 per cent confidence level that the mean amount of time given to volunteering per month among the population at large lies within the range 4.17 hours to 5.88 hours.

When asked how they felt their level of voluntary activity compared with others, over half of the respondents (57%) perceived themselves as being "less involved" than other people. Twenty-six per cent of those interviewed believe they do "about the same" amount of voluntary work as others while 7 per cent say they "don't know" how they compare. A minority (10%) believe they do more voluntary work than others.

Nature of voluntary activity undertaken

Table 5.2 lists the 44 types of voluntary activity investigated in rank order with regard to frequency of participation by the respondents of the study. It emerges that no one type of activity was undertaken by more than 10 per cent of respondents. The kinds of voluntary work most frequently undertaken in the month prior to interview were collecting things at home for distribution or sale for the needy (9.9%) and visiting elderly people outside the family (9.6%), closely followed by helping in a club/club activity (9.1%).

Table 5.2: Frequency of Participation in Different Voluntary Activities

Voluntary Activity	%	Voluntary Activity	%
Collecting things at home to be distributed to the needy/to be sold for the needy	9.9	Conservation activities	0.8
Visiting elderly (not family)	9.6	Caring for people with a disability (not family)	0.7
Helping in a club/club activity	9.1	Sunday school teacher	0.6
Visiting the sick (not family)	8.5	Unpaid office holder in charitable organisation (e.g. chairperson)	0.6
Visiting the lonely	5.8	Campaigning for charity	0.6
Selling raffle tickets/organising raffle	4.9	Voluntary Advisor/Counsellor	0.6
Church helper	4.8	Organising/helping at jumble sale/ bring & buy/car boot	0.5
Serving on a committee for charity	4.6	Baby-sitting for charity	0.5
Organising a fund-raising event	2.4	Unpaid office worker in charitable organisation	0.4
Voluntary community worker	2.2	Serving in a charity shop	0.4
Blood donor	1.9	Meals-on-wheels	0.4
Other voluntary work	1.7	Women's Refuge volunteer	0.3
Selling tickets for charity event	1.5	Organising sponsored event	0.2
Caring for the elderly (not family)	1.4	Deacon/deaconess	0.1
Caring for the sick (not family)	1.4	Rescue services volunteer	0.1
Unpaid driver for charitable organisation	1.3	Rape Crisis Centre Volunteer	0.1
Unpaid sports instructor/coach	1.3	Selling goods through catalogues	-
Making things to be sold for charity	1.0	Answering telephone help line	-
Participant in sponsored event	0.9	Legal aid volunteer	-
Unpaid teacher/tutor	0.9	Information Service	-
Unpaid youth worker	0.9	Voluntary Worker Overseas	-
Collecting things from others for the needy	0.8		
Collecting in the street	0.8		

%= percentage of all respondents. Based on N=1000.

Time given to different voluntary activities

Table 5.3 gives the rank order of the different voluntary activities according to the total number of hours devoted to each in the month prior to interview.

The highest number of hours was devoted to helping in a club; this activity representing 18 per cent of the total number of hours given to volunteering in the month prior to interview. This activity was given almost twice as many hours as the next activity in the rank order – visiting the elderly – which accounts for 9 per cent of the total volunteering time.

It is not always the most popular kinds of voluntary activity which are given the most time. Thus, while collecting things at home for charity, as listed in Table 5.2, was the

Table 5.3: Time Given to Different Voluntary Activities

Voluntary Activity	Total number of hours given to activity by all volunteers	% of total volunteering hours (N=5317)
Helping in a club/club activity	969	18.3
Visiting the elderly (not family)	502	9.4
Serving on a committee for charity	379	7.1
Visiting the sick (not family)	360	6.8
Organising fund-raising event	321	6.0
Selling raffle/organising raffle	312	5.9
Collecting things at home for the needy	298	5.6
Church helper	280	5.3
Visiting the lonely	242	4.6
Caring for the sick	144	2.7
Other voluntary activities	136	2.6
Unpaid Youth Worker	125	2.4
Voluntary Community Worker	119	2.2
Participant in sponsored event	116	2.2
Selling tickets for charity event	108	2.0
Baby-sitting for charity	92	1.7
Unpaid tutor/teachers	91	1.7
Unpaid sports instructor	86	1.6
Caring for the elderly (non-family)	76	1.4
Making things for sale	72	1.4
Serving in a charity shop	61	1.1
Unpaid office worker for charity	54	1.0
Unpaid driver for charity	47	0.9
Sunday school teacher	39	0.7
Caring for people with a disability	37	0.7
Unpaid office holder	34	0.6
Conservation activities	33	0.6
Blood donor	28	0.5
Collecting in street	24	0.5
Voluntary advisor/counsellor	24	0.5
Meals-on-wheels	24	0.5
Rape Crisis Centre Volunteer	16	0.3
Organising sponsored event	16	0.3
Organising jumble sale	13	0.2
Collecting things from others	13	0.2
Women's refuge volunteer	11	0.2
Campaigning for charity	10	0.2
Deacon/deaconess	4	0.1
Rescue services	1	0.0
Total	5317	100.00

most popular voluntary activity in terms of the percentage of respondents involved, this activity accounts for just 6 per cent of the total number of hours given to voluntary work. It should be noted, however, that the amount of time given to an activity is partly a function of the nature of the activity and does not necessarily reflect level of commitment.

Table 5.4: Charitable Causes Benefiting From Volunteering

Cause	N	% (of total number of voluntary activities)	Cumulative %
Neighbours	207	24.9	24.9
Sports	97	11.7	36.6
Needy	66	7.9	44.5
Elderly	54	6.5	51.0
Local community development	48	5.8	56.8
Local church	42	5.1	61.9
People with physical handicap	35	4.2	66.1
Hospitals	34	4.1	70.2
Youth	33	4.0	74.2
Schools/education	31	3.7	77.9
Children's causes	28	3.4	81.3
Religion related	23	2.8	84.1
Homeless	15	1.8	85.9
Parish funds	14	1.7	87.6
Third World	12	1.4	89.0
Disaster Relief	11	1.3	90.3
Specific diseases	10	1.2	91.5
People with mental handicap	10	1.2	92.7
Counselling/information	7	0.8	93.5
Women's groups	7	0.8	94.3
Missions	7	0.8	95.1
Don't know	7	0.8	95.9
Rehabilitation services	6	0.7	96.6
Social services	6	0.7	97.3
Environment	4	0.5	97.8
Hospices	3	0.4	98.2
Job creation	3	0.4	98.6
Animals	3	0 4	99 0
Pilgrimages	3	0.4	99 4
Amnesty International	2	0.2	99.6
First aid	1	0.1	99.7
Rape crisis centre	1	0.1	99.8
People with mental illness	1	0.1	99.9
Forget	1	0.1	100.0
Total	832	100.0	

Causes benefiting from volunteering

Volunteers were asked which charitable cause had benefited from each of the voluntary activities in which they had been involved in the past month. As indicated in Table 5.4, overall neighbours were the most frequent beneficiaries; accounting for one quarter of all instances of voluntary activity. The next most common beneficiary was the sports sector (for example, organising swimming galas, helping in basketball clubs) which accounts for 12 per cent of voluntary activities. "The needy" come third in terms of benefiting from volunteering (8%) followed by elderly people in fourth place (7%). The only other causes accounting for at least 5 per cent of volunteering are local community development (6%) and the local church (5%). These six causes attract 62 per cent of all voluntary work with the remaining acts of volunteering scattered over a wide range.

Table 5.5: Cause Benefitting Most Frequently from Different Types of Voluntary Activity

Voluntary Activity*	Most Frequent Beneficiary	Total Activities	N	%
Visiting the elderly	Neighbour	93	67	72.0
Visiting the lonely	Neighbour	55	41	74.5
Visiting the sick	Neighbour	82	61	74.4
Helping in club	Sports/recreation	91	45	49.5
Collecting at home	Needy	98	41	41.8
Selling raffle tickets	Sports/recreation	49	13	26.5
Serving on committee	Sports/recreation	47	7	14.9
Selling tickets	Local community development	16	3	18.8
Church helper	Local church	47	32	68.1
Making things for charity	School funds	11	2	18.2
Organising fund-raising events	Physical handicap	26	3	11.5
	Sports	26	3	11.5
	Children's charities	26	3	11.5
Blood donor	Hospitals	18	16	88.9
Community worker	Local Community	22	12	54.5
Caring for the elderly	Elderly	14	9	64.3
Caring for sick	Neighbour	14	11	78.6
Unpaid driver	Sports/recreation	13	3	23:1
Unpaid sports instructor	Sports/recreation	14	8	57.1
Other	Local community development	15	3	20.0

* Only activities engaged in by at least 10 respondents are induded in the table.

Table 5.5 shows the most frequent beneficiary for each type of voluntary activity in which at least 10 respondents were involved. Visiting elderly, lonely and sick people appears to be largely a matter of informal care with neighbours, in each case, being the most frequent beneficiary. With regard to caring for sick people, again neighbours are the most frequently helped. The sports/recreation sector is the most usual beneficiary with regard to helping in a club, selling raffle tickets, serving on a committee and being an unpaid driver and – as might be expected – being an unpaid sports instructor. The cause of poor people is that most frequently served by collecting things at home while the local community most often benefits from selling tickets, "other" unspecified activities and, obviously, being a voluntary community worker.

Profile of volunteers

Differences in Volunteering Between Men and Women

Among the men of the study, the percentage involved in voluntary work (37%) is slightly less than among the women (41%) but this difference is not statistically significant. Neither is there any significant association between gender and the amount of time committed to voluntary activities.

However, some differences do emerge between men and women in the types of voluntary activity undertaken. Of the 44 types of voluntary work investigated, a significant association with gender emerges in the case of seven. More men than women help out in a club, more men are unpaid sports instructors and more men engage in conservation activities. On the other hand, more women than men are involved in visiting and caring for sick people, more women collect things at home for those in need and more women make things for charity.

Differences in Volunteering By Age-Group

Some variation is evident between age-groups with regard to volunteering with the percentage involved increasing from those aged 25 years or less up to middle age (aged 41-60) and then declining among the older age-groups. The age-groups with the highest percentage of volunteers are 41-50 years (51%) and 51-60 years (50%). The lowest percentage of volunteers is found among those over 70 years of age (18%) followed by those aged 25 years or less (31%).

With regard to the amount of time devoted to volunteering, those in the 51-60 year age bracket most frequently give up to 20 hours or more. Those aged 25 years or less are least likely to give this amount of time. At the other end of the scale, the highest percentage giving 1 hour or less to voluntary work occurs among the 26-30 year old group followed by those in the 61-65 year age bracket. The association between age-group and the time devoted to volunteering is statistically significant.

Some variations also emerge between age-groups with regard to the most frequent types of voluntary work undertaken. For example, among the youngest age group (25 years or less) the most frequent activities engaged in are helping in a club (10%) and selling/organising sale of raffle tickets (7%). Amongst the older age group (81 years and over) the most frequent voluntary activities are visiting elderly (5%), lonely (5%) and sick (5%) people. The most frequent activities among the "young elderly" (aged 66-70 years) are also visiting sick (15%) and elderly (13%) people. Middle-aged respondents (aged 41-50) are most frequently engaged in visiting elderly people(14%), helping in a club (13%) and visiting sick people (11%). Among those aged between 31-40 years the most frequent types of volunteering include collecting things at home for those in need (14%) and helping in a club (10%). A similar pattern is evident among respondents aged 26-30 years.

Differences in Volunteering By Employment Status

The highest percentage of volunteers is evident among those working outside the home on a part-time basis (47%). The lowest percentage of volunteers emerges among unemployed people with 25 per cent engaged in voluntary activities. Next to unemployed people, those who are retired show the lowest percentage of volunteers (33%).

No significant association is evident between employment status and the amount of time devoted to voluntary work. Some variation exists with regard to the most frequent activities undertaken by those in different employment categories. For example, among respondents working outside the home full-time, the most frequent activities are helping in a club and collecting things at home for charity whereas for those working part-time the most frequent activities are church helper and visiting those who are sick. Unemployed people also visit sick people most frequently while visiting elderly people is most frequently undertaken by those who are retired. Respondents working within the home are most often engaged in visiting elderly or sick people and collecting things for charity.

Differences in Volunteering by Occupational Level

The lowest levels of volunteering are exhibited by the two groups at extreme ends of the occupational scale with 33 per cent being volunteers both among those in the professionally qualified and high administrative group and among those in routine manual jobs. The highest percentage of volunteers is among those in managerial and executive positions (57%) followed by those in inspectional/supervisory jobs (higher grade) (52%).

A significant association emerges between the amount of time devoted to volunteering and the respondent's occupational group.

Volunteers who are professionally qualified or in high administrative positions are most likely to devote up to 30 hours or more to voluntary activities with none devoting less than 10 hours. Volunteers most likely to give one hour or less to voluntary work are in skilled manual positions.

Some variations also emerge between occupational groups with regard to the type of voluntary activity most often undertaken. Among those at the highest occupational level the two most frequently undertaken activities are visiting lonely and sick people. Those employed at managerial and executive level or in higher level inspectional or supervisory posts are most frequently engaged in club activities and collecting things at home to be sold for charity. The latter activity is also the most frequent among respondents in lower grade inspectional/supervisory positions and among routine non-manual workers. Among those in manual employment, organising a raffle is the most frequent activity for skilled workers while visiting the elderly is most frequent for semi-skilled workers. The most frequent activities among those in routine manual jobs are visiting the sick, being involved in a club and organising a raffle.

Means by which respondent became involved in volunteering

The respondents of the study who participate in voluntary work became involved initially through a variety of different means. Most usually respondents became involved because they felt themselves that they wanted to help out (22%) or they acted out of a sense of being neighbourly (12%) (Table 5.6). Often the respondent had been specifically asked to help, particularly by a friend (9%), by the local school (7%), or by a local group or organisation (7%). In other cases the respondent was asked to help by a priest (4%) or a neighbour (4%) or a child (2%). Nine per cent began volunteering through family members or relations while smaller groups started through their membership of particular organisations (5%) or through their work (4%).

Table 5.6: Means of Initial Involvement in Volunteering

Means	N	%*	Cumulative %
Through own motivation	85	21.9	21.9
Through sense of being neighbourly	45	11.6	33.5
Asked to help (unspecified by whom)	41	10.5	44.0
Asked by a friend	36	9.3	53.3
Through family/relations	34	8.7	62.0
Asked by the school	28	7.2	69.2
Asked by local group/ organisation	28	7.2	76.4
Through membership of an organisation	18	4.6	81.0
Asked by priest	16	4.1	85.1
Through work	16	4.1	89.2
Asked by neighbour	15	3.9	93.1
Asked by children	9	2.3	95.4
Through attending a meeting	6	1.5	96.9
No particular thing	6	1.5	98.4
Through a leaflet	4	1.0	99.4

*Percentages based on N=389; the number engaged in voluntary work. Categories of response representing less than 1 per cent of respondents omitted from the table.

Main reasons for involvement in voluntary work

It is clear from the responses of those interviewed that people become involved in voluntary work for a wide variety of reasons (Table 5.7).

Table 5.7: Reasons for Involvement in Voluntary Work

Reason	N	%* (of all reasons given)	Cumulative %
To help others	126	28.8	28.8
Belief in the cause	37	8.4	37.2
Should be doing something	32	7.3	44.5
Enjoyment	31	7.1	51.6
To be neighbourly	29	6.6	58.2
Benefits self/family	25	5.7	63.9
Special liking/concern for those being helped	21	4.8	68.7
No particular reason	16	3.7	72.4
Spare time	15	3.4	75.8
Know those being helped	15	3.4	79.2
Family/friends also involved	12	2.7	81.9
Better off than others	11	2.5	84.4
Feeling of doing good	11	2.5	86.9
To cheer people up	10	2.3	89.2
Out of religious belief	8	1.8	91.0
Interesting	8	1.8	92.8
Asked to help	8	1.8	94.6
It's an interest outside the home	7	1.6	96.2
Because of involvement in organisation	5	1.1	97.3

Percentages based on N=438: this representing 366 respondents who gave 1 response plus 66 who gave a second response plus 6 who gave a third response. Categories accounting for less than 1 per cent of responses excluded.

The single most outstanding reason for volunteering (29%) is altruistic in nature; the respondent simply wanting to help others. In some cases a relationship of some kind appears to underlie the volunteering where it is undertaken out of a sense of being neighbourly (7%), or because the respondent has a special liking or particular concern for those being helped (5%) or because those being helped are known to the respondent (3%). In 7 per cent of cases the reason for volunteering is based on a sense of duty - a sense that one "should be doing something" - while guilt or a feeling of being better off than others is the main reason in 3 per cent of cases. Some respondents are involved in voluntary work because there are benefits for themselves such as enjoyment (7%), benefits for the family (6%) a feeling of doing good (3%), interesting work (2%) or it provides an interest outside the home (2%). In a small number of instances respondents are volunteering just because they were asked to help (2%), or they had time to spare (3%). Four per cent indicate that there is no particular reason for their involvement.

Main rewards in volunteering

Generally, the rewards of volunteering appear as intangible being connected with feeling states in the respondent. For example, the three most frequently noted rewards which account for almost half of all responses (47%) – are a feeling of satisfaction (18%); the feeling of doing something good (15%); and the feeling of helping others (14%). Others (6%) simply say that volunteering makes them "feel good". For some, the chief reward lies in seeing the relief being brought to those in need (10%). For others there is some personal gain such as enjoyment (9%), or the experience of success or achievement (5%). Some respondents say they "don't expect any reward" (1%) while others perceive that the rewards "will come later in heaven" (1%). Eleven per cent of respondents feel there is no reward for volunteering.

Experiences of dissatisfaction in volunteering

Among those involved in volunteering, the majority feel that their work is very much appreciated and valued (65%) while a further 25 per cent feel that they are valued at least to some extent. Some (5%) are unsure but only a small minority feel that their work is not valued (4%). A minority (11%) have experienced dissatisfaction in carrying out their voluntary activity. It emerges that there are two primary causes for this dissatisfaction: a negative outlook among the people of the organisation (27%) and a sense of being taken for granted (22%). Other frequent sources of complaint include an insufficient number of volunteers in the organisation (16%) and lack of governmental support (11%).

Respondents who have stopped volunteering

Nineteen per cent of respondents indicate that they had at one time been involved in volunteering but have since stopped for one reason or another. Most frequently respondents stopped volunteering because of new demands on their time; this accounting for over one-third (34%) of the group in question. Seventeen per cent of the respondents are no longer involved in voluntary work because of increasing age and a further 11 per cent stopped due to illness. A further frequent reason for cessation of voluntary work was that the respondent left the area where s/he had been involved (14%). Only in a minority of cases is the reason for cessation of volunteering related to the voluntary work or the voluntary organisation itself: for example, the activity was abandoned (5%), a new committee was elected (2%), or the activity was seasonal (2%). In isolated cases the respondent stopped because of "fear of attack", because s/he did not feel appreciated or because it was felt that the voluntary work was preventing paid employment.

The State and volunteering

The pattern of voluntary activity in Ireland reflects many of the traditions of the Catholic Church towards family care, service and charity (4). The charitable tradition in Ireland has been closely intertwined with the contribution of the religious orders. The early nineteenth century saw the establishment of religious-run voluntary hospitals, the growth of voluntary charities (for example, the establishment of the first branch of the St. Vincent de Paul Society) and relief-giving agencies. In the early twentieth century the religious orders set up institutionally-based residential services for children and adults with mental disabilities (5). The historical dominance of Catholic organisations in charitable services continued into the 1960s. Until this decade religious orders were the principal providers of hospitals and schools and were active in childcare, care for the elderly and those with physical and mental disabilities. The character of Irish voluntary organisations began to change in the 1970s with an increasing emphasis on welfare rights and an increase in the number of community development and self-help groups (6).

In a recent review of voluntary activity, Faughnan pointed out that (7):

"The voluntary sector plays a major role not just in complementing and supplementing state provision but it is the dominant or sole provider of particular services".

In addition, the voluntary sector in this country has a tradition of pioneering new services which often are subsequently recognised and supported by statutory agencies. Current policy emphasis on care in the community and the growing desire among local communities throughout the country to be involved in defining and meeting their own needs and solving their own problems, suggest that voluntary activity will grow both in terms of extent and in terms of new forms of development. However, there are a number of key issues which play a very significant role in determining the future effectiveness and development of the voluntary sector. A fundamental problem is the absence of a clear concept of the role of the voluntary sector and its relationship with the statutory sector. There is concern that voluntary organisations are being used to make up for the failure or inability of state services to fulfil their duties and that the voluntary sector is drifting towards being perceived as substituting for, rather than complementing, public services (8). The two key issues in regard to the relationship between the voluntary and statutory sectors are funding arrangements and partnership structures which allow for consultation and shared planning and decision-making. A Charter for Voluntary Social Services is currently being drawn up by the Department of Social Welfare which suggests a formal recognition at state level of the importance of the voluntary sector and represents an attempt to address some of the issues involved.

Partnership between voluntary organisations and statutory agencies

In 1971, the National Social Service Council (now Board) was established to encourage the growth of voluntary organisations in the Republic of Ireland. The expansion of voluntary organisations was facilitated by the establishment in 1972 of the regional health boards and the creation of community care teams within the health board structure. The expansion was aided by financial support from the health boards through grants paid under Section 65 of the Health Act 1953. Section 65 empowers health boards to support voluntary organisations providing a service "similar or ancillary" to a health board service. In 1988, for example, Section 65 grants to voluntary organisations amounted to IR£33 million.

The latest edition of the Directory of National Voluntary Organisations published by the National Social Service Board lists 600 organisations. In a submission to the 1988 Working Party on Services for the Elderly, the National Council for the Elderly identified a number of shortcomings in the relationship between voluntary organisations and statutory agencies. These shortcomings are:

(i) the contribution of the voluntary sector has been largely taken for granted and has not been sufficiently recognised or supported by statutory authorities. Health boards do not always give sufficient support to voluntary organisations providing high-quality services. Some voluntary groups providing services receive no health board aid, although such aid might enable them to make a more effective contribution;

(ii) there is inadequate co-ordination of services at the point of delivery and a lack of integration of the voluntary sector;

(iii) in some instances volunteers are being asked to take on too much responsibility without adequate direction, funding or support from health boards and the rationale may not be apparent;

The recent Housing Act 1988 places a statutory obligation on local authorities to consult voluntary organisations when assessing housing needs. The Working Party on Services for the Elderly recommended a similar obligation on health boards to assess health and welfare needs in consultation with voluntary organisations so that voluntary bodies may have a voice in planning services. The Working Party further recommended that the relationship between a voluntary organisation and a statutory agency should be formalised as a contract between them for a period of two to three years. The contract

should set out the services to be provided by the voluntary organisation, the financial and other resources to be made available to the voluntary organisation, and the method of accountability to be used. Care should, however, be taken that the introduction of contracts for services does not undermine the flexibility and discretion of voluntary organisations in dealing with issues to which they attach importance (9).

The concept of partnership is often posited as the ideal way in which local and central statutory agencies can involve voluntary organisations in the planning and delivery of services. The increased involvement of the voluntary sector in the provision of services previously undertaken by statutory agencies has created a shift in opinion concerning roles and expectations. The voluntary sector is no longer considered as a mere receiver of State funding and provider of services at a reduced cost to the Exchequer. Instead, there have been calls for increased involvement of voluntary organisations in planning and decision making and in the development of close partnerships between the two sectors.

Partnership has been defined as a contract between people engaged in a common purpose or business. It assumes agreed objectives, joint planning and decision making, frequent consultation and discussion, shared evaluation and agreement as to the progress and continuation of any joint venture. Partnership is therefore concerned with more than funding, it is concerned with styles of interaction and the sharing of power and responsibility.

In relation to the social services, a partnership would imply a co-operative and consultative relationship with both parties working towards common, agreed objectives. This would suggest the necessary involvement of voluntary organisations or their representatives in the planning and policy-making process. In reality, this type of relationship does not currently exist but aspects of consultation and joint planning are being introduced into the relationships currently existing between voluntary and statutory bodies. In keeping with this, partnership has been practically defined as

"the arrangements made to facilitate, enable and assist a practical involvement by the voluntary sector in both policy development and planning as well as the actual operation of services" (10).

In this context partnership has been portrayed as a:

"mechanism by which a 'third arm' is created to work between the public and private sectors, drawing skills and resources from both as a means to make suitable responses to perceived socio-economic, welfare and care needs".

Acceptance of partnership requires the adjustment of centralist administrative systems to allow for participation by organisations at the appropriate level. It has implications for local government, as structures are necessary to facilitate the consultation required for effective partnership in the planning and delivery of services.

In the absence of a clear policy framework in relation to the voluntary/statutory relationship, including its funding, the State exercises a position of power over the voluntary sector. Dependency on funding from the statutory sector by voluntary agencies has, in the past, reinforced feelings of helplessness on the part of the voluntary sector in relation to future development of their own service delivery. It has been suggested that the current method of funding in Ireland has also operated as an obstacle to the development of partnership arrangements since voluntary agencies cannot plan adequately (11).

Section 65 funding has been the subject of much criticism, in so far as the absence of guarantees of funding from year to year creates planning problems and delays in decision-making relating to services. The lack of a coherent funding framework has led to uncertainty, mistrust and competition and inhibits the formation of good working relationships between different voluntary organisations and with the State. It has been pointed out by the National Social Services Board that the grant-aided funding of voluntary effort is, at times, an over-simplified view of partnership on the part of the State. Instead, what is required is a clarification of the role of the voluntary sector as to whether it is an inferior service provider or a partner with particular strengths, energies and talents, which can be deployed to provide specific services perhaps more satisfactorily and with greater flexibility than the State.

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6 Volunteering in the Czech and Slovak Republics

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Introduction

While voluntary organisations had a long tradition in pre-war Czechoslovakia, the nearly forty years of "forced volunteerism" and the legal system of the communist regime severely restricted and, in some areas, almost completely destroyed the tradition of voluntary and self-help activities. Remnants of the tradition continued, however. Environmental organisations, for example, provided legitimate opportunities for political dissidents to meet, express and gain active support for their views. Dissidence was, in fact, volunteerism.

Since 1989, the voluntary sector has been recreating itself. Scores of new foundations and organisations have emerged as individuals seek to re-establish one of their significant pre-war rights, the right of voluntary association. This has been accompanied by a renewed sense of responsibility. Individuals are associating with one another in order to "repair" the social, environmental and political damage that is painfully evident. Some are utilising these new opportunities to openly express their religious beliefs and are motivated by these to aid individuals or institutions. Hundreds of new informal groups and formal organisations as well as revitalised pre-war or underground organisations and even some formerly communist-controlled associations make up this new voluntary sector in the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

It is a relatively easy thing to establish a foundation or an association of citizens. It is quite another to build widespread support, obtain the active involvement of individuals and secure the legal framework for voluntary activities. After three years of democracy volunteerism, as it is known in the West, is still perceived as a novelty. Voluntary organisations are struggling to establish themselves. Yet significant, if modest, advances have been made. It is the purpose of this brief presentation to evaluate the current state of voluntary activities in the Czech and Slovak Republics.

Since volunteerism has been reborn so recently, it is understandable that there are no formal studies of volunteering in Czechoslovakia. There are no reliable statistics that we can cite to characterise or demonstrate the extent of voluntary activities in the country. Research is difficult due to the decentralised process by which voluntary organisations are registered. Information concerning volunteers has not been systematically collected, even by voluntary organisations. This cursory survey is among the first to attempt a synthetic overview of the voluntary sector in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. It is based upon information obtained from the publications of voluntary organisations and foundations, from questionnaires sent to a number of organisations, from conversations with leaders in these organisations and from the personal experiences of its authors. This investigation has revealed several specific features and an indication of the scope and problems of volunteerism.

The definition of volunteering

Currently there is no generally accepted definition for the terms "volunteer" or "volunteerism" in the Czech and Slovak Republics. They can mean almost any kind of unpaid activity for the well-being of the public. Literally translated, the term used for "volunteerism" in the Czech *dobrovolnictví* and the Slovak *dobrovolníctvo* languages is

"good-willness." In general usage it can mean formal, organised unpaid activity, informal neighbourhood actions, mutual aid and self-help, political campaign service, unpaid or low-paid work for charities and even foreigners who work for an average local salary. The burden of the past is carried by many who negatively associate the term "voluntary" with the unpaid activities previously organised and expected by governmental or party authorities in order to fulfil their plans or projects and as a "service" to society. Thus, it should not be surprising that many individuals view volunteerism and the activities of voluntary organisations with some misunderstanding and even mistrust. Some doubt the motives of and distrust anyone who claims to be acting for the common good. They are suspicious and have questions about the sources and use of the funds and resources at the disposal of voluntary organisations. But, as more and more individuals comprehend the tremendous social, economic, environmental and health problems confronting the Czech and Slovak Republics, they also recognise that non-governmental, voluntary action groups are necessary to mobilise public awareness, to obtain resources for specific projects and to take concrete steps towards resolving problems within the community.

In building contemporary voluntary organisations some have emphasised the pre-war tradition of "service to the nation" and have revived the use of pre-war terms such as "civic" *obecni* or "meeting place" *beseda* in their names. While the national revivals of the Czechs and the Slovaks initially were linguistic and literary movements, they did foster the emergence of civic and voluntary organisations. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Czechs and Slovaks formed a wide variety of associations *spolky*. Beekeepers and sport enthusiasts, literary devotees and ordinary craftsmen established clubs or associations. These social, cultural, political, religious and other organisations were founded to serve the interests of a particular group, local communities or the nation as a whole. For instance, the National Theatre in Prague financed – and then re-financed after a fire – entirely by voluntary donations is a noteworthy example of the voluntary activity fostered by the Czech national revival. The establishment of the Matica Slovenska, the Slovak cultural foundation, and the donations made to it by Slovaks from all social strata and even from abroad reflects the same spirit at work among the Slovaks.

However, save for those individuals directly involved in voluntary organisations, it is doubtful that many in the Czech and Slovak Republics readily recall the pre-war traditions of volunteering. Therefore, the challenge currently facing voluntary organisations in both of the two new countries is the creation of a new understanding of volunteerism, one which builds upon the past but focuses on present challenges and future aspirations.

The extent of volunteering

The supposed number of individuals and the proportion of the population formally identified as engaging in voluntary activities is still quite small, especially when measured by western European or North American standards. However, if all individuals who in some way contribute to formal and informal voluntary activities are considered, the number of individuals actually involved in volunteerism or the voluntary sector, even though they do not identify themselves as volunteers, is more than one might initially assume. It is evident that many individuals are sufficiently moved by specific events and concerns, such as the disaster at Chernobyl, the suffering of the peoples of former Yugoslavia or Armenia, or the evident needs in the Czech and Slovak Republics, to devote their time, money, goods and services to alleviate human suffering and improve the quality of life.

In terms of the extent of volunteering in voluntary or not-for-profit organisations, some conjectures can be made. Voluntary organisations are usually registered as either foundations or associations of citizens, but they can also arise as a "political movement", an "organisation with a foreign element," or other such difficult-to-trace registrations. However, most of the voluntary organisations can be divided into two categories.

The first category includes those voluntary organisations which have obtained funding,

have offices, paid staff, and some programme support. These types of organisations typically use a few volunteers. Most of the work is done by paid staff who are just now beginning to develop ways to involve more volunteers. Perhaps two to four hundred of these organisations exist in the Czech Republic and Slovakia and most of the more well-known organisations fit this pattern.

The second type of organisation, far more common, is a total volunteer effort. These are associations of individuals who use their free time to provide mutual aid or work for the public good. Many of these groups are hoping to find funding to "professionalise" and to hire staff. It is estimated that between 1000 and 3000 organisations in this category currently exist.

In addition, there may be a considerable amount of informal voluntary activity which takes place without the establishment of a formal foundation or association. Many of the people involved in such activities may not consider themselves volunteers although their activities clearly would be considered such in other countries.

Who are the volunteers?

It is difficult, at this stage, to identify specific categories of individuals involved in the voluntary sector. Certainly some groups, such as the environmental and humanitarian movements, have wide support. It seems that others, especially those with more narrow interests, draw their support from individuals who are directly or indirectly affected by a particular problem. For instance, organisations concerned with various health or medical problems often attract people who have a friend, a relative or are themselves afflicted with a particular disease. This is quite in keeping with the pattern in the West.

In voluntary organisations with a paid staff, the volunteers usually are retired people and students, while the staff may be professionals who accept much lower salaries characterising the not-for-profit sector. The majority of the foreign volunteers work for this type of organisation. In voluntary associations without a paid staff, most of the active participants have been personally affected by a particular problem. They may be lovers of nature in regions polluted by industrial and domestic waste, the relatives of a disabled child, or teachers concerned about educational reform. Such groups can be found throughout the country.

There is, however, a new category of "volunteers" which is unique. It is made up of foreigners who have come to the Czech Republic and Slovakia to donate their services or, more usually, to work for salaries substantially less than they could receive abroad in order to assist in the transformation of Czech and Slovak society. Many are involved in the activities of the voluntary sector but there are those, including some in governmental offices, who do not view them as "volunteers" in the strict sense since they receive remuneration for their work.

This is the situation faced by the participants in probably the largest voluntary programme in education in central and eastern Europe, Education for Democracy. This programme has brought more than 1,500 "volunteers" from the United States, Canada and Great Britain to assist in the teaching of the English language. They pay an application fee and their own overseas travel costs. They receive housing and an allowance from host organisations to cover their living expenses. The administrators of the programme in the United States receive no salary for their services. The local administrative services in Slovakia have been provided by the Slovak Academic Information Agency. While in the strict sense of the definition given above, these individuals are not volunteers, they are viewed as such by the organisations and individuals benefiting from their services. Individuals provided by other organisations, such as the Peace Corps or Students for Czechoslovakia for similar purposes or under similar conditions are also called volunteers.

These individuals, whether or not they are to be considered volunteers in the strict sense of the word since they receive a modest living allowance for their services, are participating in programmes which are recognised as voluntary. They also are among the most visible representatives of the spirit of self-help and community service at a

personal cost or sacrifice which characterises the voluntary sector in North America and in Europe.

At the same time, these foreign volunteers can generate problems for the emerging voluntary sector in the Czech and Slovak Republics. They frequently do not speak Czech or Slovak and have little understanding of the country's history, traditions and culture or of its peculiar problems. Some are primarily seeking a new adventure or wish to take time out between completing their education and the start of a regular employment. Many are young and do not have the expertise or experience which would enable them to contribute substantively to the resolution of problems in the country. They want "to get things done," in a typically Western manner or the way it is done "back home," and become frustrated or even create problems when this proves difficult, if not impossible. Even when they do possess the required skills and knowledge and have the ability to communicate effectively with the population, their stays in the country are often too brief to allow them to train adequately local individuals.

The activities of volunteers

According to our modest survey and conversations with representatives of voluntary organisations it appears that volunteers are used in several specific ways. In both formal and informal voluntary activities, the majority of volunteers are actively involved in specific projects or actions, such as raising funds, providing information and education, protecting nature, restoration of historical buildings, archaeological excavations, cleaning up waste in the environment, providing leadership in youth organisations such as the scouting movement, assisting retired individuals or people with physical disabilities, in providing fire-protection, in collecting blood, clothing, food and other materials for the less fortunate. Volunteers often provide office services to established organisations. They do the typing, copying, correspondence and mailings. They also use their influence to assist the programme of the organisations. Some provide their specialised knowledge and offer legal, computing or accounting services. They sometimes serve on the board of directors and engage in fundraising in established organisations although utilising volunteers to help raise funds is a skill that is only slowly being learned. Only a few organisations have formal volunteer Boards of Directors which actually take the legal responsibility for and an active role in the management of the organisation.

Motivations to volunteer

The motivation of volunteers in the Czech and Slovak Republics is similar to those of others in the West with an obvious significant difference. Individuals have become involved in the voluntary sector because they want to "repair" the damage caused by the decades of totalitarianism. Thus, volunteers usually are responding to a problem or a situation that affects them directly, whether it is a polluted environment, a child suffering from cancer, the needs of those who are physically disabled, the need to provide for the less fortunate or to repair the social damage and injustices inflicted by the past regime. They have a vision of a more just and equitable society untainted by the deformations generated by communist ideology. They are founding service clubs and societies, such as the Rotary and Kiwanis, and Zonta clubs, they have refounded the scouting movement, or are involved in projects to secure human rights and foster minority interests and cultures of minorities. Other significant motivations for voluntary and especially charitable activities are religious faith and humanitarian concern. This is being expressed through a wide variety of religious or humanitarian organisations and agencies which have increased in number since the restrictions imposed by the previous regime were abolished. It is also important to note that alongside the traditional Christian groups, new religious movements, especially those from the eastern tradition, or ethical societies are emerging and provide an impetus for community service.

The organisation of voluntary activities

Certainly a large number of so-called non-governmental, voluntary organisations have emerged since the revolution of 1989. They include charitable, environmental, educational, and religious organisations which utilise the unpaid or low-paid services of their supporters to enable them to implement their programmes. As indicated earlier, these generally fall into two categories of organisations, based upon their size and the formality of their administrative operations. Some groups are relatively well established, have an office, a small paid staff, some financial resources and utilise a few volunteers for some administrative or organisational tasks. Others have not yet reached this level and are primarily groups of individuals using their free time and borrowed space to work for the public good. Almost all of the groups in the second category hope to find "sponsors", that is donors, who will provide them with sufficient money in order to professionalise their activities and to hire a staff.

Almost no organisations have formal programmes for soliciting or attracting volunteers. The vast majority of volunteers become involved in a particular organisation because of personal contacts and at the requests made by relatives or friends. This is especially true for smaller groups and actions. Occasionally, particularly in the case of larger or well-known organisations, the volunteers themselves seek out the organisation. Only a few programmes have tried to obtain volunteers by targeted publicity. People who are motivated by a sense of mission to assist voluntarily the work of already existing voluntary organisations are still not very common and most of the volunteers are members of the organisation itself or are friends which are called upon to help as needed.

At this point in the recent development of the voluntary sector in the Czech Republic and Slovakia, voluntary organisations are beginning to realise common interests and are coming together to form associations for mutual benefit. There has been and still is a reluctance to form umbrella organisations since the memory of the National Front and its tight control of all supposedly independent associations of citizens lingers on. However, in 1992 the voluntary sector has begun to show signs of shaking off its initial post-revolutionary revulsion at anything which implies centralism, including coordination. Some umbrella organisations, networks, newsletters, and information centres are thriving.

One example of coordination and cooperation is the Czechoslovak Council for Humanitarian Cooperation, a re-vitalised pre-war organisation. It has two chambers, a Czech and a Slovak chamber. The Slovak chamber maintains a secretariat of paid professionals, has 81 organisational members and is "a centre of cooperation for charitable organisations in the Slovak Republic." Another umbrella organisation with a small professional staff is the Slovak Union of Nature and Landscape Protectors (SZOPK) which includes about 14,000 individual members in 385 local groups organised into 29 regional committees and is coordinated by a national executive committee.

In addition, it has been recognised recently that voluntary and not-for-profit organisations on the whole and in general require greater opportunities to share information, coordinate their activities, increase public knowledge of their programmes and to heighten the awareness of governmental officials and agencies of their importance to society. This has led to the creation of information centres for foundations or voluntary organisations in Prague for the Czech Republic and in Nitra for the Slovak Republic. Specialised newsletters are being published, such as NON-PROFIT, produced by the Czechoslovak Committee of the European Cultural Foundation and Charter 77 Foundation in Bratislava.

However, these umbrella organisations have not yet begun to provide assistance in recruiting, reaching or placing individual volunteers. One project, which has been developed in Prague, attempts to help place foreigners who would like to become involved in volunteer work. This International Volunteer Network only places resident, foreign, part-time volunteers. The Slovak Academic Information Agency in Bratislava maintains an office for volunteers which arranges placements for foreign volunteers in the field of education.

While the proportion of the population directly involved in voluntary activities is small, it is growing and a considerable number of organisations have or are in the process of formally establishing themselves. At the same time, as the leaders of these movements speak about the need for sponsors and the professionalisation of their activities, they often indicate that the leadership of such organisations should be paid or, at the very least, have their expenses reimbursed. While this is in accord with models frequently followed in more developed countries it does raise a suspicion of "self-seeking" among the general public.

Contemporary problems related to volunteerism

The Czech and Slovak Republics are still undergoing dramatic political, social, economic and even cultural and moral changes. People are facing tremendous economic difficulties which significantly affect inter-personal relationships at all levels. Thus, it should not be surprising that many are unable to see how they can sacrifice their resources or time for the general or common good. The time of most people is devoted to earning money. At the same time, the new states are confronted with reshaping the economy, encouraging democracy and, most recently, with resolving questions of competence and compensation arising from the recent division into two separate countries. This has produced three significant problems for the voluntary sector.

A The Problem of Organisation

People in the Czech Republic and Slovakia are unaccustomed to managing independent organisations. After more than a generation of centralisation, it is difficult for them to adjust to a situation in which the group determines the programme for the leadership and not the other way round. They also lack the knowledge and many of the skills required to build effective, widely supported organisations, have practically no experience with fundraising and the complex regulations which govern organisations.

B The Problem of Public Relations and Public Mistrust

The awareness of the public of the role of these organisations in fostering a democratic and more just society is quite low. The voluntary sector organisations have found it difficult to coordinate their activities and to work together in generating the support of the general public, governmental agencies and decision makers. This has resulted from the low consciousness in the media of the voluntary sector and the unfamiliarity of the voluntary organisations with the means of utilising the media and carrying out a public relations programme. The problems with effective communications, and the significant social dislocation which have occurred, have generated some distrust of the motives of private voluntary organisations and made it difficult to attract individuals to serve as volunteers to raise the funds necessary for their activities.

C The Problem of Financing

In 1987, the "income" of non-profit, public benefit organisations in the United States was $289 billion. Of this, 17 per cent came from private gifts, 32 per cent from government sources and 44 per cent from non-taxed fees and charges made by organisations. Similar precise figures do not exist for the Czech and Slovak Republics since statistics on the voluntary sector are not being gathered. However, it has been estimated that the Czech and Slovak governments provide approximately only seven to ten per cent of the needs of the non-profit public benefit organisations in the country. These organisations have to raise the rest of the funds they require from other sources and have to do this at a time when individuals and corporations are facing tremendous financial difficulties. At the same time, the governments have not yet provided substantial tax relief to these voluntary organisations nor have they extended significant tax deductibility to those who are willing and able to make contributions to voluntary and not-for-profit public benefit organisations. The scope of legitimate fee based on income producing activity is quite restricted. This has placed these organisations in a double bind. Sources of gifts are few and income producing activities are severely restricted. Until the governments in the Czech and Slovak Republics provide tax incentives to individual and corporate donors to encourage contributions to the

voluntary sector, until they provide tax relief to organisations in the sector by granting them tax free status for income generated by fees and services, and until they increase the proportion of their contributions to their budgets through grants, the not-for-profit, voluntary public benefit organisations will continue to face considerable financial difficulties and find it difficult to grow. The current text of the new law on foundations which is being prepared does not substantially address or alter these financial difficulties confronting voluntary organisations although it does clarify the legal structure and guidelines for their organisation.

Trends in volunteering

The re-birth of voluntary activities and organisations in the Czech and Slovak Republics is both a revitalisation of pre-war traditions and the natural response of citizens as they seek to overcome the momentous challenges confronting them. It is to be anticipated that voluntary organisations will continue to proliferate and to grow as they seek to establish a democratic, prosperous and just society. It is also hoped that as the economy and the political situation stabilises and improves, these organisations will become increasingly more effective. Certainly, people working in these organisations are learning by experience how to manage them and are establishing networks and an awareness of voluntary organisations nationally. They are establishing contacts with similar or partner organisations abroad from whom they are seeking guidance and assistance.

In the Czech Republic and Slovakia at this time, a promotion only of the idea of "volunteerism" as such has no sense; individual voluntary organisations must be encouraged and assisted. They must receive support from the Czech and Slovak governments, international institutions, the business sector, and the public. The voluntary organisations need assistance if they are quickly and effectively to learn how to organise, to publicise their activities, to strengthen and professionalise their administration, to utilise their human and financial resources and to engage the broader public in support of their activities.

This is why the initiatives of foreign and international organisations, which seek to foster and strengthen the third or voluntary sector in the post-communist societies of central and eastern Europe, are so welcomed by voluntary organisations throughout the region. They are trying to identify effective ways they can directly support the voluntary, not-for profit sector in the region and promote a pooling of knowledge and skills which will strengthen volunteerism in the country. Two examples of this are the programmes being developed by the European Community through PHARE and the Johns Hopkins University Third Sector Project.

Despite the difficulties within the country both the Czech and the Slovak Republics seek to become truly democratic countries with free market economies and effective institutions through which the population can express its needs and will. Voluntary, not-for-profit organisations are among the most effective in assuring both democracy and the common good. The support of voluntary organisations is crucial to reestablish a civil society.

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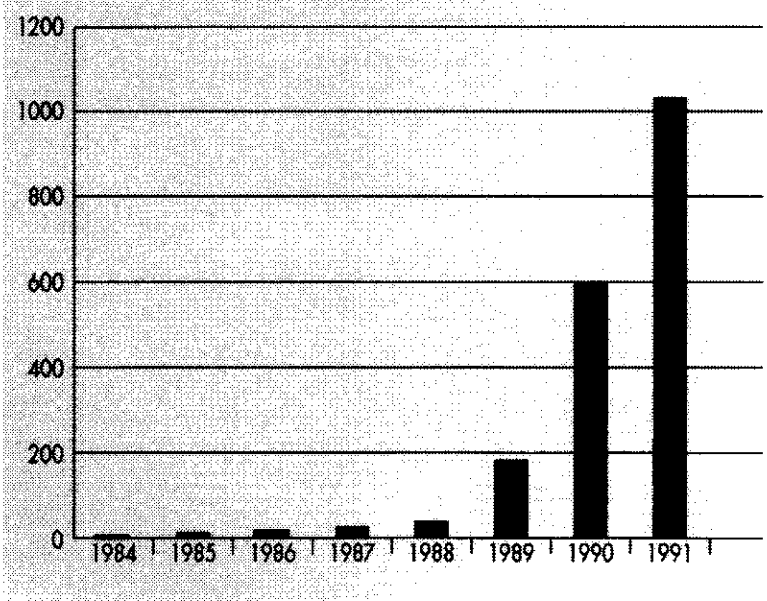
7 Volunteering in Poland

One of the main obstacles in describing Polish volunteer actions is the lack of Polish tradition – any clear definition of the concept of volunteer action itself. It is not clear whether it concerns the behaviour of individuals, or implicates the presence of a social movement or an organisation. It is also uncertain what type of behaviours or actions can be described as voluntary and what is the deciding factor, the intention of its participants, working without pay or maybe pay without profit? Is volunteer action a sum of episodes involving individuals or does it have to be established and organised? To what extent can the political activity conducted in the Polish "Solidarity" style be regarded as having features of volunteer action? What are the relations between altruistic, pro-social or voluntary actions? All these and more questions require answers. While awaiting solutions to the above we shall now deal with these actions which without the risk of a misunderstanding may be classified as being voluntary.

The phenomenon of volunteer action was never subject to detailed studies in Poland. Information on this subject can be indirectly obtained from the data on the studies on the activities of non-government organisations in Poland, because a majority of these organisations are based on the endeavours of volunteers.

Speaking about the non-government sector we shall limit this concept to the non-profit institutions though including those institutions which from the formal point of view have not been registered and thus are neither foundations nor associations. Taking into account the actions of such informal (or "borrowing legal personality") groups one may not claim that the above actions, and especially the self-help actions, are the result of the transformations which have been taking place in Poland since 1989. They have been conducted, so to say, "always" although due to the lack of data it is hard to compare their scope with the present. It is evident though that since 1989 one can observe a rapid growth in numbers and forms of such actions.

Figure 7.1: Number of registered foundations, 1984–91

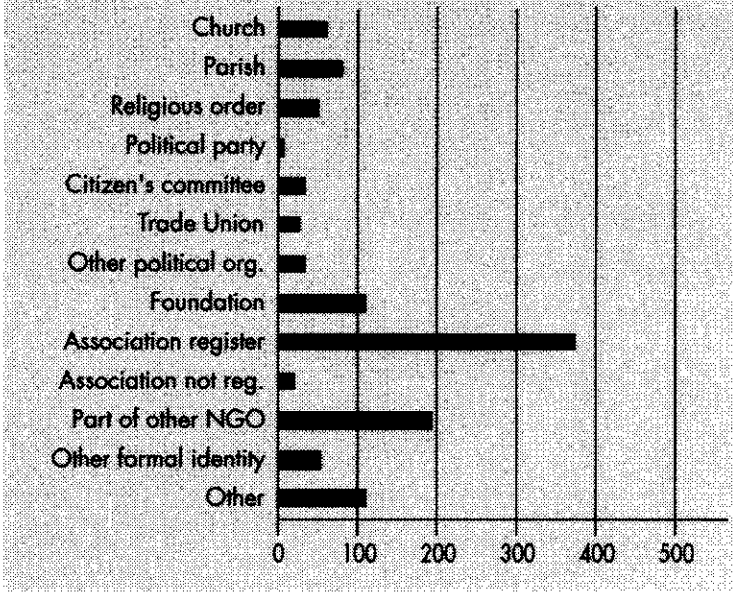


A certain indicator of this process, though it is not a simple relation, is the almost "avalanche-like" growth in numbers of newly registered organisations. In the legal sense this process has been made possible by the 1984 Foundation Act (with later amendments), the 1989 Associations Act and the 1989 Relations between Catholic Church and the Polish People's Republic Act. The tempo of this process can be illustrated with the number of foundations registered in subsequent years. Naturally, there is no simple correlation between the number of organisations and the quality of service. Some of them do not even pass the registration process, some do not survive more than a year. Finally some are established only to benefit from the privileges which are legally guaranteed by the framework of a foundation or an association and in no manner serve the public.

At present, among the 10,000 non-government organisations 3,000 are active in the broadly defined area of social assistance (including rehabilitation and health protection). The attempt at a systematic classification of their actions was made in the middle of last year by the KLON study. More than 750 organisations (if one was to include their regional branches and centres this number would amount to 1,500) were studied on the basis of direct interviews conducted by a national network of interviewers with the use of a very extensive and detailed questionnaire. This collected data formed the KLON Database which has been functioning from the beginning of 1992. During 1992 another study of these organisations was conducted on the same basis. When the results are published, it will then be possible to analyse in detail the dynamics of the actions of these organisations. What we know today is the fact that the 1992 study includes more than 3,000 organisations, thus twice as many as in 1991. However, the 1991 data presented below may be, on some conditions, extrapolated. In analysing the data one should be vary cautious, remembering that in the statistics presented here the objects taken into account are of very diversified "weight" (size, number of clients, development of inner structure, etc). Full standardisation of data in such a simplified description is practically impossible.

Firstly, what is the origin of the social assistance actions and who manages them? Among the many possible institutions, for the needs of this information, we have selected only the basic categories. It is clear that besides the traditional actions of the Church assistance is provided by foundations and associations. The advantage of the latter two is obvious but it should be remembered that this is partly the result of the possibility of the so called "double legal personality". It is also clear that political and professional organisations take a modest part in help actions. What is more, due to the end of the activities of Citizens' Committees, of which only some have transformed into help organisations, the picture of the actions of institutions, which for many are almost the only actors on the public scene, is getting quite grim. It is not even the question of a lack of help actions – because that should really be done by someone else. It is rather an issue of remembering that in thinking and in talking about Polish aspirations to a civic society it would be worthwhile to find some time for others.

Figure 7.2: Self-definition of NGO: "NGO is NNN or NGO is a part of NNN"



The second issue concerns the types of situations, possible "clients" with which the organisations work. Clearly, the majority of Polish non-government organisations focus on the broad issues of the family (incomplete families, large families, families of those who are ill, finally families from the so called "social margin"). Another important group of "clients" constitute those who are disabled, handicapped or sick or children in need of special care – generally, those suffering because of their health. The third group is constituted by the syndrome of poverty, hopelessness and unemployment. The fourth is composed of addictions, alcohol and drugs. The above categories are of course separate and it is not only a matter of "misfortunes happening in pairs". The above data have been significantly simplified for the needs of this information – their detailed analysis indicates also that for the "problems" of many categories of clients there is still a lack of specialised "answers" on the side of non-government organisations (though not only), and thus the assistance they provide is mostly an intervention on the side of "results" and not "causes".

Figure 7.3: Types of clients in NGOs' activity: organisations which claimed that they specialised in the following categories of clients

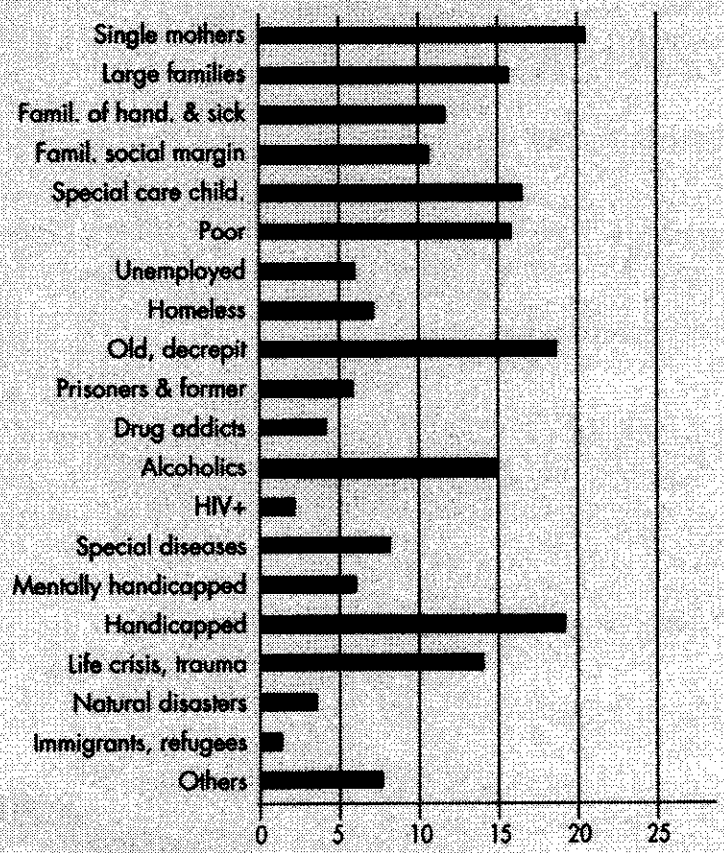
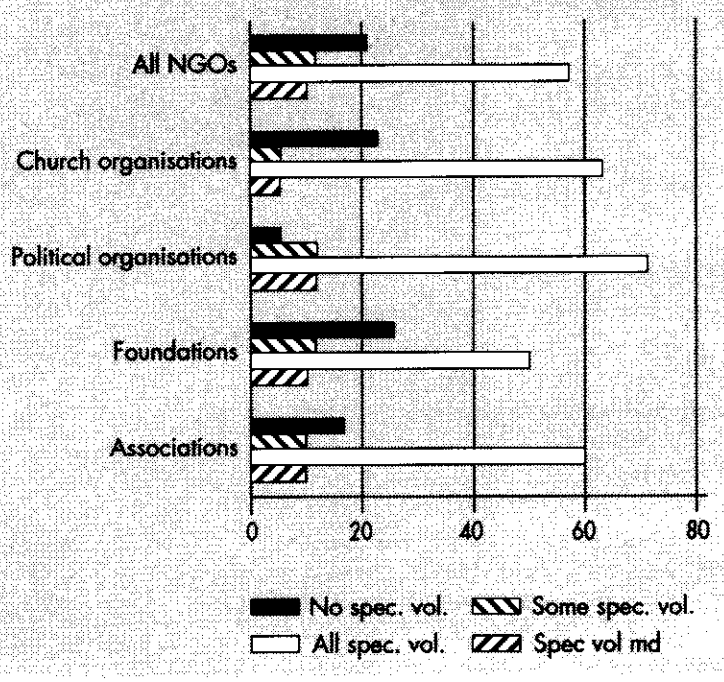


Figure 7.4: Specialist volunteers in NGOs' activities.
(Sample = 407)



In the KLON study we made the attempt to find out who, on what principles and in what roles, engages in the actions of NGOs. In regard to 407 organisations we asked if their work is assisted by:

a) specialists (specialist education in respect of the specific activities of the organisation) and how many of them are volunteers

b) staff – and what number as volunteers

c) volunteers (apart from those who work as volunteer specialists or staff).

In the study we differentiated four sub-groups of organisations: a) organisations connected with the church; b) para-political organisations (trade unions, citizens' committees, etc); c) foundations; d) associations. We asked all these organisations about the various groups of people engaging in their actions and where we received a positive answer we asked how many of them work as volunteers. The results are presented in figures 7.3 to 7.6. It is clear that in the case of about 20% of organisations none of the specialists work as volunteers, in about 10% some specialists work as volunteers, and in the remaining 60% roughly all specialists work as volunteers.

There is no comparative data, but it does look impressive. It is also clear that the type of the organisation does not strongly differentiate the answer to this question, though it is noticeable that the highest proportion of organisations with volunteers only over those with no volunteers is in the sub-group of para-political organisations. They are followed by Church organisations and organisations connected with the Church, then the associations, and the foundations at the end. It should be noted that the level of specialisation of the different groups adopts an exactly reverse order, which makes us ask (but leave without an answer) a number of questions on the relation between the quality of actions of the different persons as specialists and the fact of performing these actions by volunteers.

A similar question has been asked about the staff. The results are clearly different here. The percentage of organisations where there are no volunteer workers among the staff varies from 23% to 52%. Those where some staff work as volunteers amount to about 8% and those where all staff do volunteer work take up

from 17% to 38%. It can be noted that in all of the sub-groups (except for the para-political organisations) the number of organisations where no staff work as volunteers is higher than the number of those where the whole staff does volunteer work.

The comparison of both categories (specialists and staff) clearly indicates that it is much more frequent for specialists to work as volunteers than for the staff, or, to put it another way, the roles of volunteer specialists are more readily played than the roles of volunteer staff. These hypotheses are not contradictory.

The survey investigated the use of volunteers by the organisations, other than as specialists and staff. It seems clear that a large number of Polish organisations include volunteers in their actions, or maybe it is the volunteers who take part in their actions. The above statements might seem as paraphrases but in reality they point to one of the basic dilemmas of "Polish volunteer action".

Figure 7.5: Volunteer staff in NGOs' activities
(Sample = 407)

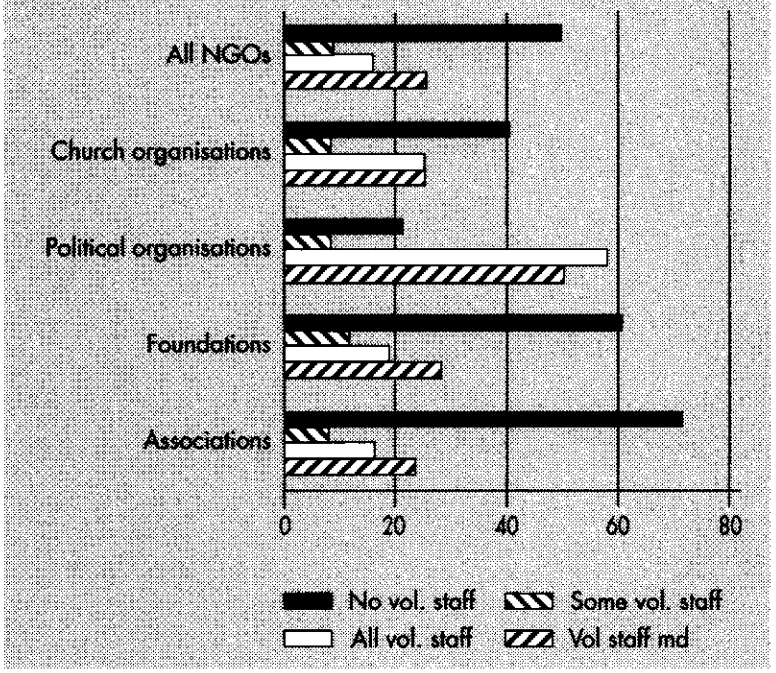
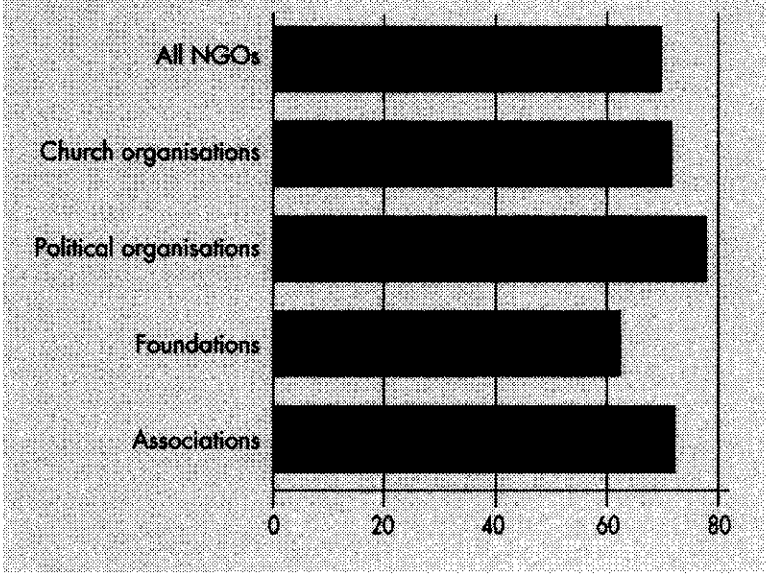


Figure 7.6: Volunteer staff in NGOs' activities
(Sample = 407)



The attachment of individuals to the organisation they work for also seems to be special to the "Polish model" of volunteer action. That means that individuals are active in one and only one organisation – they often are its founders. The still prevailing model or action is to focus all one's endeavours on a well defined programme of the organisation, or in other words, on not looking at others, counting only on oneself and stubbornly striving to achieve the set objective. True, for many years this was the condition of success. At present, the lack of an institution at the level of a "meta-organisation" which could assist other organisations seems more and more painful. Thus, there are not many organisations conducting training, providing advisory services, organising the flow of information and coordinating actions. There are also no institutions which would match the undertakings of individual organisations with "human resources" required for their implementation. In other words, many programmes are not implemented because it is impossible to find people – volunteers who could consider them their own and engage in their implementation.

An example of such a situation could be the up to now futile attempts at organising a "social emergency" service for people who are chronically ill and who live alone. For such people Saturdays, Sundays and holidays are a nightmare, because on these days the State social assistance practically does not function. Our analyses show that to implement such action in one of the districts of Warsaw with about 400,000 inhabitants about 100 volunteers would be needed. Doctors have already made themselves available but there still is a need for people to perform simple actions. There is no question about the

availability of 100 people of "goodwill" in the above described district, though the question how to reach them and how to coordinate their actions still remains unanswered. There are practically no organisations grouping volunteers as such and organising their work to meet their expectations. Thus there is no institution which would collect information on the needs of specific organisations, public institutions or communities on the one hand and "allocate" volunteers in respect of their expectations on the other. Paradoxically, a specific feature of Polish non-government organisations active in the field of social assistance is the surplus of motivation and will over the ability to use them effectively. The result of this surplus and the lack of clear action procedures and division of competencies is often the destruction of organisations "from the inside". It is not a coincidence that these organisations (excluding political organisations) are the most prone to conflicts. Undoubtedly, one of the reasons for this state of affairs is the "uncleared" field of motivations of participants and the frequent celebration of one's involvement. What we need is a breeze of "freshness", involvement out of one's free will and without any pretences to "exceptionality", is based on the conviction that helping others and participating in community life is something natural. Right now it is hard to image a student who, without being thought as weird, could go on a Saturday to a hospital and declare his or her wish to help, in anything like a soup kitchen.

Speaking about the volunteer actions in Poland one should remember about the harm done in this area by the 40 years of communist rule. It is a fact that the rebuilding of the country after the war was largely based on the enormous effort of volunteers – such enthusiasm could not be generated by any police officer. The ideology, at least in the first period, seduced many. Until today the intellectuals cannot fully understand how effective could have been the "Hegelian sting", but it should be remembered that it was not their hands that rebuilt the country. Very soon the authentic, to a large extent, enthusiasm of the people had begun to be "administered". No state can find a better legitimisation for its actions or indeed its mere existence, than the free involvement of its citizens. Poland, luckily, never belonged to those communist countries which were in the forefront of the most ingenious states in respect of such collective actions. However, even in Poland the so called "social works" were organised. People who once were told to fake enthusiasm on behalf of a community will experience an aftertaste in respect of this community for a long time, and if they gave in they will feel no better about themselves. Until recently the word *spolecznik* (social activist) had negative connotations in the common language. It is possible though that the biggest harm has been done to the language itself in which all the words used naturally to describe actions on behalf of others have been taken over and stripped of their proper meanings. There are simply no words which allow for the "transparency" of language and for expressing exactly what one wishes without any grins or perplexing memories. Thus, the first source of inhibitions in showing pro-social attitudes is in that "which is already behind us". We have to deal with a notion of European, or rather "West European", identity which includes the conviction that camouflaged social darwinism is proper for Europe, that what counts are the categories of effectiveness, individual responsibility and risk, that there is no place for a notion of community other than a community of common interests. Let us not go into the issues as to what extent this picture is primitive and false and to what extent these may be partly correct intuitions and "worries" of the citizens of Europe themselves.

The above sketched picture of Europe and modernity is accompanied by a general need, especially among the young generation, for a symbolic reaction to the years of abuse of national sacred objects. It is not a coincidence that today there are more declarations to leave the country than at the time when life in Poland was much more difficult, not to say unbearable and dangerous. A young person who several years ago said that his motherland was "where the bread is" would surely arouse general contempt. Today, when one hears such a confession it is thought to be a credo of modern thinking and European identity. What is happening in the heads of many Poles cannot be described as anything different than a "trash of consciousness". The collapse of the former sources of authority, the military, which in the public opinion polls appears as an institution enjoying the highest respect, the tamed demon of communism replaced by the still unknown demon of consumerism, accompanied with a highly irresponsible manipulation of Polish consciousness and national tradition – all this makes it extremely difficult to find oneself in the world of values and inclines oneself to focus on one's own business.

8 Volunteering in France

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Definitions

A voluntary action

- is not paid
- is free: nobody can force somebody to volunteer
- is directed towards the community.

In my book *Bénévolat et Solidarité* (1), I used the word *bénévolat* because the phrase "voluntary action" is too near, in its meaning, to the word "volunteer" and designates the paid workers inside voluntary associations. In France, another meaning of the concept has to be mentioned: the *volontaires* were those who had freely chosen to go to wars (to be enlisted). The word *bénévole* is archaic but it forces people to think that our society is obliged to a return to charity and voluntary action because of the lack of success in many public institutions. The social contract is operated by the different components of the work force; volunteers and paid people.

The French volunteer centres use the word *volontaire* and the word *bénévole*. We can read the two words in the papers. After many years of silence the word *bénévole* is more and more frequently used. It is less and less stigmatised by the idea of charity. Playing an active and visible role, voluntary action has a new positive image.

I have proposed a definition with six dimensions differing from one society to another.

Relation to Somebody Else, to the "Fellow Creature"

One can volunteer to help an individual or many people; somebody known or somebody unknown, as in Somalia, or somebody who shares the same problem as the volunteer.

When people know to whom or for whom one gives time or money, this form of action is different to the payment of social security, even though in doing so one is indirectly helping somebody who is ill. Volunteers would prefer to help people who have the same age, the same situation, the same problems... many would prefer to act towards people in misery or people very ill or very old. In traditional charitable activities, the distance between those who give and those who receive (the deserved) is bigger in social terms, than in the new forms of mutual-help or self-help.

Volunteers act alone or provide help in a group. Generally, voluntary action is performed in a voluntary association covered by the law of 1901 although volunteering also takes place as an expression of self-help.

Norm and Constraint

Volunteers are not obliged to volunteer. In some societies, the culture is such that it is difficult not to participate in voluntary actions (2). In other societies, there is far less cultural pressure to volunteer. This is the case in France where volunteering really is a voluntary action. The motivations of voluntary workers are important to study as they indicate how much voluntary action is directed by individual ethics or cultural norms.

The State can motivate groups and individuals to volunteer by passing special laws or giving them fiscal incentives. Churches, trade unions and voluntary associations also

play a role in encouraging voluntary action. Since the 1980s there have been very few official incentives to encourage voluntary action in France. The situation is slowly changing due to the changing welfare state. As the State looks to the non-profit organisations to play a larger role in social welfare provision so the demand for volunteers is expanded.

Gift and Salary

Many volunteers do jobs that have been recently paid and many paid staff (for example social workers) do jobs that have been carried out by volunteers in the past. With the increase in poverty, more and more people are in receipt of supplementary benefit and many people who are retired are still young and in good health: they act as volunteers but they receive money from the state or from the pensions schemes. This sort of involvement is explained by the economic situation, in other times they would do the same things (helping elderly people, working in environment to protect rural spaces) as paid workers. Through voluntary work they pay symbolically their debts to the nation and remain inside a "pseudo-enterprise" with "pseudo-colleagues". They participate in the social exchange.

Social Valorisation

Many people volunteer to obtain a new identity and social "promotion"; to chair an association, to act in a social field when they are working in commercial activities. Others look for "expiation"; such as managers or high civil servants working in charitable organisations doing very simple and modest activities and helping the poor. To be a volunteer gives way to many "salaries", such as symbolic rewards, new friends and new "colleagues". Many volunteers are recruited by neighbours or friends and obtain a new and better image of themselves through a better recognition of their local community.

Social Project

Voluntary action can be targeted to change society or just to provide solace for lonely people. There are two different forms of voluntary action: one is "activist", the other is more passive. One is near the traditional form of charity as described negatively by Jane Addams, or the provision of a service such as a library or a soup kitchen. One, more frequently in France, is near the militancy of Amnesty International or SOS racism. Not all associations are interest groups but many have a common project and want to reform a system or to change a situation. They identify priorities and have a role in restructuring some sectors and in reforming situations but also in evaluating policies.

Relations to Others: Forms of Solidarity

The lack of space of voluntary action in France can be explained by the other forms of solidarity; actions made by friends, neighbours and public workers. There is a market of actions to be done; the little role of volunteers is explained by the answers given by other social factors. For example, when in a city there is lack of public services for one parent families, the voluntary associations will develop homes or centres. When in the same city the homes for homeless are numerous, the ordinary citizens will be not concerned by the problem.

Extent: how many, how much time?

There is no official data on volunteering in France (3).

We know a lot about French people; their health, their votes, their debts, budgets, clothes, values, their education, their work or non-work, their new forms of family, how many times they crashed on the highways or what they smoke or look at on the TV. (See Données Sociales de l'INSEE or Gerard Mermet, Francosopies 1991 Larousse) But as to whether they volunteer, we know very little. Is this subject too private?

Fondation de France suggests there are 8.3 million volunteers, that there are more men than women, giving time to cultural activities, to social activities, to the environment, to churches, training and civic rights; but I don't agree with this statistic which is too generous.

According to various enquiries 8.2% of associations in France employ 50 volunteers or more, 31% between 11 and 49, 39% from 1 to 10 and 20% none.

I suggest a figure of 2 million volunteers which is a third of the equivalent of full-time jobs. I propose that number with the help of a group of experts but it is really an unknown planet!

Profiles and activities

The volunteers act in many sectors; in the numerous associations that teach French or maths to foreign people or those who help children at school (Auxillia); in the organisations that struggle against racism (organisations des banlieues unies, Amnesty International, SOS Racisme); those acting to help disabled people or children at risk (Sauvegarde de l'Enfance) or those numerous and active, working as volunteers in hospitals (Fondation Pompidou), in homes for elderly people (Accueil et Service). Many volunteers are older than 55 and volunteer in specific associations such as ECTI (Echanges et consultations techniques internationaux) or EGEE (Entente des générations pour l'emploi et l'entreprise) or AGIR (Association générale des intervenants). Many people volunteer in cultural activities or in the environment (Volontariat au service de l'art, les associations de soutien à des musées ou à des monuments historiques). Numerous are those who act in other countries as doctors or nurses (Médecins du Monde, Médecins sans Frontières). Volunteers have a growing role to play in the struggle against poverty and in urban social development and community action. Often volunteers work to help the poorest people in our society and to give better equity (Secours Catholique, Secours Populaire).

More and more retired people work as volunteers; women who have brought up their families or men who want a new activity when they are retired. I have studied the case of people older than 55 acting in cultural activities. I have noticed that they try to do social projects to create new jobs for young people, they try to help people in hospitals or in deep misery, they want to engage in real social action. Retired people give a lot of time to voluntary work compared to younger people and in comparison to other generations who had worked more years and more hours. Among them women have an important share of tasks. Immigrants are active in many associations where they adopt a traditional pattern of solidarity out of the State.

The sisters (Catholic ones) who have been nurses, upon retirement have formed an association (REPSA) and organised training, seminars and the provision of information. They give a lot of time to humanitarian action and voluntary activities for children, addicted people, people with AIDS, and elderly people. They are excellent in volunteer programmes, being very clear about the values of voluntary action, but also having the strong experience of professional life in medical and social institutions.

Young people do not volunteer a great deal but one can notice the growing role of people coming from immigrant families and who share the problems of their friends and families in the communities. In the public schools they respond to the specific needs of young immigrant children. They bring the specific quality of self-help in human interactions.

Many volunteers act in the sector of sport, leisure or culture. They run local associations. There are 400,000 towns and villages in France, that means millions of volunteers with responsibilities on a local level; the majority of these local associations are run totally by volunteers.

The issue of poverty has changed the problem of voluntary action (4). New volunteers are meeting social demands in their communities. Students from the middle classes, company business executives, public servants such as police officers, postal workers and nurses – with all of them voluntary action reveals a deregulation of the system and the failure of the State. The failure of public institutions to meet the needs of citizens in need is a trend that exists in many countries. But in France, the fall-out is intensified because in the past the state had the trust of the people who are now having to return to what were seen as archaic attitudes, such as giving money to the beggars. Many new

volunteers, who have been convinced by the terrible situation, act in this field and bring new skills. Many want to remain anonymous and are reluctant to publicise their voluntary actions on behalf of the marginalised in society. But such is the attraction for humanitarian action, many young people choose to volunteer in this field due to the charisma of Bernard Kouchner and other people. Voluntary action is perhaps specially targeted to the margins of society, to the poorest and the loneliest people, the public sector having other beneficiaries.

Motivations

Individualism is the core of French society, according to Gilles Lipowetsky. The country where I live is not this uncivic land. Modern altruism has emerged paradoxically along side the welfare state and the competitive system. The echoes of many voluntary associations reveal treasures of day to day "benevolence". Justice, democracy in the Tocqueville sense, equity, are still valuable in our country.

In my book, I suggest socialisation as a profound motive for volunteering. For a retired person, to meet other people and to find an occupation is important. But it is only one explanation of the phenomenon that pushes people to volunteer.

People volunteer to help others, for altruistic reasons; without giving a lot of thought to this attitude, which is very deeply rooted in our tradition. It is natural to put a great emphasis on philanthropy and voluntary action. Few will say "pleasure" is a motivation for volunteering.

To have power and to find new identity is also a strong motivation but some social actors will choose to volunteer for "expiation" because they feel guilty of their wealth or comfortable standard of life when they take the metro and see the homeless people. The interest for these indigent or poor people would be better served by a change of the system. That is why many volunteers are still militants and want to change the society. They are nurtured by their social project which gives them self-respect (5).

But looking at various researches and enquiries the strong motivations change; for example many unqualified people become volunteers to be trained and to gain experience. Volunteering is seen as a route to a job. This pragmatic motivation is a path to voluntary action.

In voluntary action it is still possible to work with an aim and for values, which are not so common in paid work. Commitment to organisations which have philanthropic motives is morally comfortable. It is difficult to always be far from one's values. Jobless people will discover volunteerism through their experience of unemployment when they find an activity or a "pseudo-job" in special structures that provide training to people living on special benefits.

Organisation of volunteering

The volunteers in France are working in associations (6). These associations receive money from public funds, and add to it from private sources and individual donors. The structure of the non-profit sector is specific in France because of the legal structure and because of the law of 1901. The role of the churches, the roots of the solidarity system in workers movements, the role of the enterprises in the 17th century and the organisations of the biggest associations (some have informal connections with the State) explain the structure of the sector and the place given to voluntary action. For a long time, volunteers disappeared; they were no longer useful and their action met with great suspicion. But they have changed rapidly with the demographic and economic changes, and with the crisis of the social budgets, reflecting the urgent need for a supplementary system to the caring society.

France has a safety net. The social security system provides a lot of money, is efficient and answers many problems. Compared to the non-profit sector, it is a wealthy, huge bureaucratised machine. France is still in a dual system, with two categories of clients.

Many people at risk remain on the margins, excluded from our society of abundance. The poverty which has expanded significantly has created a gap between the different classes of our society, which is visible in the urban segregation.

The non-profit associations would have the original possibility and method to provide non-cash assistance, the public organisations would give rights and money.

The State prefers to give money to private associations than to create permanent civil servant positions. But many interest groups related to churches or ideological movements prefer to run voluntary associations. The pattern of our system is not subsidiarity but a mixed combination. A new element has occurred with decentralisation and with the increasing redistribution of responsibilities towards the municipalities. The relationship between the bureaucratic central authority and the flexible units is one of complementarity.

The relations between professionals and volunteers have been difficult, they are now better; we are in a state of transition. They work more together. Some volunteers are retired professionals; that improves the system and the concertation. In my view, the characteristics of the French system are due to the old suspicion and to the conflicts between lay charity and religious charity, between the private and public sector.

The State and volunteering

In the past four years, a number of research reports have been commissioned by the State from the Conseil Economique et Social. M T Cheroutre has written a fruitful report "l'essor et l'avenir du bénévolat, facteurs d'amélioration de la qualité de la vie", Henri Thery is writing a second one more specifically on elderly people as active citizens. The Secretary of Social Economy asked me for a second report in 1990 (the first was in 1986; "Moderniser le Bénévolat"), and I hope to prepare a third one on the subject of "the market of volunteers". I have also done a report for the services of Jack Lang on the role of elderly people in cultural voluntary activities with a comparison with the UK.

In official speeches such as the one given by Michel Rocard on 4 December 1990 the altruistic action is described as citizenship useful for the State and the 700,000 voluntary associations are congratulated.

They are flexible, they know the problems, they answer the demands. The socialist government has given new fiscal exemptions to volunteers and protects those who take free time during their work hours to participate on the board of associations. Few will receive special fees to compensate financially what they have lost as a result of their voluntary work. The State and especially the local authorities will encourage volunteer centres. The State needs the volunteers and will encourage them to participate as citizens and as professionals.

Voluntary action in France: Is it a dissidence?

"God has been replaced by others absolute – State, race, the future of a given people, if not a mankind, to which the present generation must be sacrificed."

(K Wolff)

Volunteerism in France is a system so different from the world of work that one could say it is another culture, ignored by a lot of people. Every volunteer finds in voluntary action another tribe, another system of ethics, an innovative way of life, an archaic but human and face to face system of relationships more warm and more direct. In voluntary action the normal system of class relationships is totally reversed. One can be the chairman of a voluntary association when being a manual worker in a factory. The civil society is disturbed by the volunteers, having new models of functioning and identities. The emphasis on giving allows many people to enter the social competition with new arms. We could note the role of humanitarian action that determines new goals even in international politics towards peace and war. We could note the role of

health interest groups in the determination of new policies, the same in the field of environment, urban development, culture, sport and the protection of children. Voluntary action is the secret dynamism of our society; giving way to innovations and flexible organisations across a large field of services and leisure groups. Voluntary action is giving new answers to social demands. Volunteers are free to struggle against bureaucracy and societal intertia. Strong ideologies sustain support groups but others would be very much free from every type of ideology.

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9 Volunteering in Spain

Alvaro Luque
Plataforma para la Promocion del Voluntariado en España

Introduction

Although voluntary activities have been in existence for many years in Spain, it was only after the death of General Franco in November 1975 and with the subsequent advent of a democratic regime that charities and other social organisations employing volunteers were able to take off, so to speak, and attain a greater impetus and a dynamic of their own. Thereto, legal restrictions on the right to associate for any purpose whatsoever had been a major obstacle to the free emergence of private groups, outside the mainstream of the Roman Catholic Church and the State itself, desirous of going down to the social arena and helping other people to come out of situations of poverty, depression and marginalisation. The Catch-22 was that while initiatives of this kind would appear politically suspect in the eyes of the authorities unless proven otherwise, the process involved in obtaining legal recognition and being able to prove political orthodoxy was so cumbersome and lengthy that many aspirants would not even attempt to associate and if they dared do so, they would often soon get fed up and drop out of the race.

With the foregoing in mind, it is not surprising that volunteering awareness is not yet as strongly developed in Spain as in other West European countries, and that the information available to compile a document such as this is rather scanty and incomplete, particularly from a statistical angle. It was mainly to try and fill the existing gap that in December 1986 fourteen leading charities and social organisations took the initiative of creating this Platform for the Promotion of Volunteering in Spain (hereinafter to be referred to as PPVE), with the overall objective of striving towards the promotion of a genuine and strong volunteering awareness in Spanish society and cooperating with existing and emerging voluntary organisations in the achievement of their ends.

After this brief preamble, I will attempt to give as broad and comprehensive a review of the current Spanish situation as possible.

Definition

There is yet no legislation on volunteering at national level in Spain and, for that matter, no legal or officially recognised definition of volunteering. Nevertheless, we in PPVE will accept that a volunteer is "any person who, apart from his/her domestic, labour or professional activities, is prepared to give part of his/her time uninterruptedly, freely, unselfishly and responsibly to any social activity which, not being conducive to his/her personal benefit, is geared to helping others or to the collective social good and interest, within a project which shall not be an end in itself but aim at the much broader goal of uprooting or modifying the underlying causes of poverty, necessity and marginalisation. And that by so doing he/she will also help bring forth the beneficiaries' own energies so as to lead them to take a more active part in their personal development both as individuals and as groups".

Admittedly, a very lofty and ambitious aspiration but by setting the goal as high as that we hope the volunteer will attract the consideration and recognition from society he or she deserves as a social agent striving to turn the traditional passivity of beneficiaries

into a more active role with a view to bringing about social change, and thus cease to be regarded merely as a Good Samaritan providing just spiritual and material help to the needy. In short, this definition takes the longer term view of stirring up a firmer awareness of the solidarity at all levels, as solidarity, a much abused term on the other hand, is for us "the name of the game".

The extent of volunteering

The lack of reliable statistics (no figures are yet available from the six year old Spanish Ministry of Social Affairs) makes it rather difficult to put the current extent of volunteering in Spain into a proper perspective. The quantification problem is compounded by lack of any formal structure in a good part of the volunteer work, particularly in small local communities. In this connection it may be of interest to note that, conscious of this shortcoming, PPVE had planned to carry out some formal research in 1992 to establish the importance of this loose and scattered voluntary set-up and its interaction with more formal volunteer organisations, but lack of financial support from the Ministry of Social Affairs has forced us to shelve this project for the moment, until a more favourable opportunity arises.

By our own assessment, the number of Spaniards doing volunteer work in some form or another can be set at over one million, although the number of those integrated in a well established charity/social organisation may be around half a million. As an indication, the number of volunteers enrolled in the R.C. Caritas Española, which does provide some statistics, was stated to be 26,625 in 1990 with 1,583 paid employees to handle them.

The profile of volunteers

Some more information is available in this respect, even though the relative youth of many of the existing Spanish volunteer organisations causes our perception of the volunteer profile to be in constant evolution. From 1983, when a survey then carried out evinced the typical volunteer to be "predominantly female and still undergoing formal education; slightly leftist politically; very varied professionally and mostly middle class, though some would place themselves on a lower middle-class or just working-class bracket; acting within private organisations as opposed to public ones in a ratio 6:1, and employing on average 12 hours weekly, mainly on week-days", up to the present time the input of volunteers has undergone substantial changes both in numbers and in profile. Nowadays, two clearly defined groups, age-wise, can be perceived. One between 18-25 years of age, predominantly female, of middle socio-economic level and with an important student component, and the other, mostly made up of pensioners around 60 years of age and over, in which the main component is male, and who by virtue of earlier retirement and longer life expectancy are breaking into the volunteer field with force.

The activities of volunteers

In a society like the Spanish one, still struggling to achieve West European living standards in the face of an acute economic recession and with the highest unemployment rate in the EC, the volunteer action has of necessity to take a particular view, and pay special attention to the fight against poverty. The situation is further aggravated by growing drug addiction and, consequently juvenile delinquency, problems which in addition to an increasing ageing population make more strenuous demands on existing volunteering resources. Thus, the number of volunteers electing to work in the more clerical jobs of fundraising, campaigning or committee work is rather small as most volunteers prefer to work closer to the problems they want to do something about. For the reader's guidance, I list below the main areas of work which PPVE has identified:

- Community Development
- Physic, Psychic and Sensorial Disabilities (Social Integration, Transport, Education/Training, Sport/Recreation)
- Health, Welfare and Accidents (Prevention, Home Help, First-aid)
- Transient/Homeless People (Food & Shelter, Health/Social Assistance)
- Children & Youth (Social Exclusion Prevention, Education/Training, Leisure)
- Refugees and Migrants (Food & Shelter, Integration)
- Culture (Educational Programmes)
- Drug Addiction (Prevention, Assistance, Rehabilitation & Reintegration)
- Older People (Company, Care, Home Assistance, Visiting)
- Human Rights (Defence of Minorities and Ethnic Groups)
- Cooperation to Development (in rural and depressed urban areas)
- Environment (Preservation and Enhancement)
- Unemployment (Placement, Training and Updating)
- Prisons (Inmate Education/Training, Visiting, Reintegration)

Other new spheres of action are the following:

- Civil Protection (Catastrophe Prevention/Rescue)
- General Cultural and Scientific Work
- Olympic and Paralympic Games, Barcelona 92
- Forest Fires (Prevention/Fighting)
- AIDS (Awareness Campaigns, Treatment, Home Assistance/Help)

The motivation of volunteers

The reasons behind a decision to volunteer will obviously vary from one person to another and no common pattern or set of patterns can be found, although some specific traits can be identified, albeit unequally, in some of those offering to volunteer. I have thus attempted to classify the motivations of volunteers along two main axes, although there may be people falling under both classifications in one way or another.

Neighbourhood-Oriented and Altruistic Motivations

- Solidarity or a human desire to help.
- A conviction of taking part in collective action.
- Religious beliefs.
- A personal prior experience through contact with other volunteers, or some specific event which triggers the urge to lend a hand.
- The nature of the programmes, activities and objectives of the organisation the volunteer decides to join.

Self-Fulfilment-Oriented or Related to Personal Development Motivations

- Filling leisure time.
- Need for recognition by, or of belonging to a group.
- Self-gratification.
- A desire to acquire new knowledge or techniques.

As a final remark, sometimes the volunteer is not clearly aware of his/her reasons or

may be unable to put them into words, but as a general rule he/she requires to have another identifiable person as target for his/her services in an interaction where not only the beneficiary is on the receiving end.

The organisation of volunteering

As already mentioned, PPVE was brought into being in an attempt to fill the existing gap in promoting and adequately channelling new volunteers to those organisations most amenable to their preferences, calling and skills. As an overall objective, PPVE set itself the task of promoting a volunteering awareness throughout Spain, apart from strengthening the role of volunteers already at work. To this end, PPVE's master plan of action comprises the following points:

- To interchange experience and cooperate in the preparation and execution of joint programmes.
- To study the legal position and promote such legal instruments as may be of help to strengthen the role/presence of volunteers.
- To contribute on a permanent basis to the preparation of proposals, policies and programmes involving volunteers to be carried out by the Government.
- To act as focal point in the defence of the interests and independence of associations in the promotion of volunteering.
- To speak on behalf of the Spanish volunteering movement both at national and international forums.
- To promote and support the creation of similar platforms at provincial and regional level.

In this latter connection, we would point out that the decentralised nature of the Spanish State which is divided into 17 Autonomous Governments, gives special importance to this last objective which has become the backbone of our strategy and thus one of our main priorities. A sustained effort in this direction over the past years has resulted in the establishment of several provincial platforms which in turn join forces with other provinces of their region to set up an autonomous organisation, providing similar services to ours at both provincial and regional levels.

PPVE's plan to set up a Volunteer Centre proper, which was put in hand in 1990 with the financial assistance of the Ministry of Social Affairs, has not yet come to fruition as the Government has stopped all financial support due to the austerity programme that the current economic recession has brought about.

The State and volunteering

Apart from some financial support to recognised charities/associations which has now also been severely curtailed because of the need to reduce public expenditure, the role of the State in promoting and developing volunteer action has so far been very modest. To start with, no intention is yet perceived to enact legislation that will define, protect and regulate the rights of volunteers and, consequently, tax allowances and other forms of incentives or protections are just not even contemplated. This rather loose legal situation gives rise to some grey areas where genuine volunteer work and jobs of some other nature do sometimes dangerously overlap, particularly in small local communities where volunteers are, although very occasionally, employed in tasks unrelated to their true nature in exchange for some financial reward.

Recent trends in volunteering

It is indeed a fact of life that the welfare state as originally conceived and practised by most West European countries is coming to an end, and Governments do look more

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The Commission and voluntary organisations

I am not going here to make a list of all the programmes of the Commission including voluntary organisations. Let me just say that almost all the programmes include voluntary organisations as partners: PHARE (programmes for Eastern European countries); NOW (for women); LEADER (development of rural areas); Poverty programmes; at DG VIII dealing with development there is a Liaison committee of NGOs to coordinate the actions of the Commission with the ones of NGOs; in DG XXIII a regulation proposal is proceeding for a legal status for European associations, an enquiry started on associations and volunteering. It is now too early to talk about the results because our questionnaire to associations is just coming back and we have not yet analysed the results. But we got many answers from associations whose activity is voluntarism, promotion and support. Almost all other organisations answering the questionnaire use volunteers.

There is another good reason for taking volunteering into account. According to social economic studies the time spent at work only represents 20% of waking life. So called "free" time is increasing. How to use this new free time? There are more and more organisations of retired people offering their services for all kinds of purposes. They are in good enough health to consider that they still can be useful.

Demographic figures show that the population of Europe is ageing rapidly. At the same time advances in medicine and the standard of living mean that on average we are all living longer. "Retirement" will more and more take a new meaning – not the end of "work" so much as the start of a new phase of potentially fruitful life. There is an immense challenge here. How can we use the immense fund of goodwill, experience and expertise that this growing group of still active people represents? How can we help them towards a fulfilling existence and at the same time use their energies and experience in the service of our societies?

I have tried to say something about the spirit of volunteering and there is no doubt that spirit derives from precious traditions in all our societies which we need consciously to strive to preserve and reinforce. But setting aside perhaps the sort of spontaneous voluntary action which takes place daily in any community – most of the time without being recognised as such – volunteering needs structure as well as spirit. In sophisticated, perhaps particularly in urban, societies the matching of need to volunteer availability requires organising. Suitable skills need matching to particular groups in need. Often volunteers themselves need training – they may need support in situations which for one reason or another are not familiar to them.

There are more and more contacts and seminars about volunteering in Europe. It is very important for your organisations and members but also for all the European citizens who have the advantage of exchanging experiences and developing together the idea and the strength of solidarity.

- Most of them express a concern by individuals as citizens with collective life, for example being a militant in a trade union to fight for the interests of a group, being a political militant to fight for a better society, joining an association for all types of activities or causes: environmental protection, helping immigrants in their administrative steps, fighting racism, giving one's blood in case of natural disaster or, to give a recent example, bringing a pack of rice to school for Somalian children.
- Sometimes they express a need or a deficiency: training, teaching immigrant populations to read and write, self-help, ...

This shows very clearly that in our consuming societies between public authorities and profit making companies there is a need for other structures. There is on one hand a need expressed by people who are excluded (and since the economic situation is not very encouraging we should be better prepared for more difficult times), and on the other hand a need expressed by people who are not satisfied simply with the idea of getting more and more goods. We have to try and bring these two groups together to make use of this natural complementarity. Our societies need experienced and available persons ready to give part of their time and to share their skills whatever they are, for others. It is simply a question of stability of our societies. It would not only be a pity not to listen to what voluntary organisations have to say or not to use cleverly their experience, their know how, their networks and their availability, it would criminal.

European construction was mainly the realisation of a space of exchanges and economic prosperity, the common market, then the single market and maybe someday the economic and currency union. But since it was created the Community had the ambition of joining men and people and by this means to promote at the same time peace, democracy and social progress.

The member states and the Community refer to values of solidarity, of justice, of human dignity and of social equity and consequently have developed a number of institutions, dispositions and acquired social experiences which witness, beyond the diversity of national situations, the existence of a European model of society. It is an increasing challenge, because the member states and the Community are involved in economic, technological and social changes which bring desirable development but which can also result in exclusion for groups and territories.

It is first of all the responsibility of member states, of national, regional or local authorities, to guarantee solidarity on their territories. Nevertheless the Community can and should contribute, always respecting the principle of subsidiarity, in the limits of its competence and means. This does not mean that following the principle of subsidiarity should be a listing of fields of competences. It implies that the Community should get involved determinedly to support and to sustain the member states and their local administrations and groups in the exercise of their responsibility in the promotion of social cohesion and of human dignity.

The fight for social equity and solidarity needs the largest mobilisation of all the actors, their cooperation in an effective partnership if the best results of all the initiatives are to be achieved. At local, national, European level, non-governmental organisations, social partners, local authorities and social institutions express their will to collaborate in such a mobilisation whose aim is not only to give a solution to situations of emergencies but also to prevent their development and to arrest the processes.

Volunteering and citizenship

It is difficult to identify what motivates individuals to participate in the life of the city. Here, in the question of volunteering, what incites anyone to get involved in communitarian or social affairs? Whatever the answer is, every individual acting in a voluntary action must have an answer of their own, volunteering is a school, a way and a guarantee for individuals to become citizens. In belonging to an association for the protection of civil rights for immigrants, individuals are taking care of the citizenship of others, they are not seeking any profit for themselves. In belonging to a non-governmental organisation individuals are using *contre pouvoirs* opposed to public authorities. They are safeguarding democracy.

Nicole Weismann
Commission of European Communities

15 Volunteering in Europe

A View from the European Commission

Introduction

This paper outlines the Commission's view of the role of volunteering in Europe. As an introduction it should be said that I am not sure that we are yet at the stage where we have formed any general view as such concerning volunteering.

We do though have a lively interest in the Europe of citizens – the "people's" Europe if you like – in the building of which the social economy and therefore volunteering has such a vital role to play.

In this spirit the Commission deals with many voluntary organisations. There are many examples of programmes, of relations, of consultation, of subsidies between the Commission and voluntary organisations.

Of course it is difficult for the Commission to deal with individuals, so we deal generally with coordinating structures, and in particular with associations and NGOs, the bodies which generally coordinate volunteering actions.

One has, of course, to keep in mind that volunteering is not regarded in the same way in all the member states. In the UK volunteering is such a tradition that voluntary organisations are used to dealing with public authorities, and public authorities consider voluntary organisations as interlocutors without any discrimination. In France one is still looking for the word without a patronising connotation. Should it be "benevolent" or "volunteering"? In France again, one can hardly separate volunteering from associations. In Italy there are apparently two distinctive types of legal status: one for associations and one for voluntary organisations. As far as I understand it the situation has changed very much in Denmark. Now the state is beginning to ask the voluntary sector to organise part of the social protection.

Despite the economic and social importance of volunteering, I know of no specific knowledge or study about volunteering at the European level. There are various studies in some member states at national level. They reflect a very different reality from one to the other.

From these different studies, it appears that volunteering is particularly developed in the UK and more generally in the Anglo-Saxon countries. A study estimated that 40% of the British population was involved in a voluntary activity through associations. This amount would represent in working hours the equivalent of 750,000 full-time jobs. In Denmark, 24% of the population appears to be involved in volunteering and 21% in Italy. According to a report from the Economic and Social Council written in 1989 by Marie Thérèse Cheroutre 20 million French citizens and residents were at this time involved in associative life.

Volunteering principles

When one observes the different ways of volunteering, one notes strong tendencies:

- Most of them express a concern about others, for example a non-working mother taking care of children from the neighbourhood, the tutorship of elder schoolboys, visiting of people in hospitals.

- a programme of consultation with media decision makers and regulators to identify mid to long term opportunities for collaboration
- the preparation and distribution of guidelines and training materials on volunteering media campaign management for use by local and national agencies
- the establishment of a unit, perhaps something like the recently formed Audiovisual Eureka Media Observatory, to monitor developments; gather, store and disseminate information
- an investigation of the feasibility of the European volunteering movement producing and distributing, in association with the media partners, its own programming and multimedia materials to promote and support volunteering.

The framework should be flexible enough to take full account of the special needs of individual countries, especially those in eastern Europe.

Media strategies in the public and voluntary sectors are often relegated to the margins of managerial minds as being frothy, insubstantial affairs which distract from the more pressing concerns of continuing to exist in the first years of a public sector ice age. Governments are, though, beginning to recognise the vital role of the media in promoting their policies to electorates. The UK Government was, until recently, the biggest spender on advertising in the country. Politicians and administrators at all levels in Europe should need little convincing of the role to be played by the media in promoting volunteering. Their support, and that of the commercial sector, for work in this area should be in direct proportion to the strategic priority they give volunteering and to the extent they are convinced that the volunteering movement can make imaginative and effective use of the media to achieve its objectives.

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1 Lynn, P., and Davis Smith, J., *The 1991 National Survey of Voluntary Activity*, The Volunteer Centre UK, 1992.

2 *On Volunteering: A Qualitative Research Study of Images, Motivations and Experiences*, The Volunteer Centre UK, 1991.

the agencies in each country to exploit fully the unique qualities of their media systems. But it should already be clear from the brief account of issues surrounding volunteering and the media in this paper that their similarities are greater than their differences.

There are, too, more examples of Europe-wide intervention in public service media campaigns. An early example was the CEC's support for media initiatives on employment. More recently, it has made some attempt at supporting the coordination of media activity for the European Year of Older People (1993). Its MEDIA Programme, though primarily intended to develop the independent television in Europe, has initiatives which could serve the purposes of volunteering through, for example, fostering the independent production and distribution of transnational programming.

Another example from the United States illustrates the scope in this area. Group W, a national, commercial TV channel, developed Time to Care, a series on local volunteering for its Boston station. The series became so popular that it is now sold to over 70 stations across the country in a package adapted to take local material. Europe's linguistic diversity would make this exercise more difficult but if its audiences can share co-produced detective series and American soap operas surely there is hope for shared programming on a theme as universal as volunteering.

Account should also be taken of European developments in a related area of communications. The combination of information technology and telecommunications known as telematics is transforming public service as well as commercial activity on a global scale by making possible the rapid and cheap transfer of large amounts of data. This area is growing at frightening speed. Aware of its strategic implications, the CEC is investing three and a half billion ecus over the next few years in research and development programmes designed to explore the public service and commercial potential of this technology in, for example, health and rural areas. Its application to volunteering has scarcely begun to be tapped. Is there sense, perhaps, in a database of volunteers as well as one of volunteering opportunities (similar to the one now established by The Volunteer Centre UK) which would reduce recruitment and wastage costs by allowing individual volunteer careers to be tracked over time and help to ensure that increased labour mobility does not result in an overall loss to the European pool of volunteers? As broadcasting and telecommunications technologies converge, closely followed by the industries which exploit them, the scope for synergy is great and should be systematically explored.

As the European single market takes off multinational business and the foundations it supports are strengthening their pan European promotional strategies. There is now a European Association of Foundations. The volunteering movement could play an important part in these strategies through its media campaigns and will increasingly need the support of this sector. The nature of partnership and sponsorship relations needs careful consideration.

Towards a European media strategy

These few random examples should hint at the potential which could be unleashed by a European volunteering media strategy. It is beyond the scope of this paper to set out such a strategy. Some of its elements have, however, been identified here and would provide at least the beginnings of a framework for the discussion of how helpful the exercise would be and what it should embrace. These elements include:

- a programme of information gathering and dissemination on volunteering media initiatives
- the identification from this programme of research priorities and of the resources available to implement them
- the systematic exploration of sources of support among CEC programmes and other parts of the public and commercial sector for media and telematics based campaigns and projects

In many countries, especially in northern and eastern Europe, these systems have enjoyed total or virtual monopoly over the air waves. In those countries where direct government or licence fee finance has been supplemented by advertising revenue commercial TV and radio stations have been heavily regulated, with a few exceptions. This means that, while Norway's broadcasting system differs greatly from Italy's, there are some assumptions about the purpose of broadcasting and its role in national culture which the inhabitants of these countries share with each other and with those of all the countries in Europe. These assumptions are being challenged in some countries more rapidly than in others by the changes at work in the European broadcasting industry.

These may briefly be summarised as:

- a shift from national, publicly funded, heavily regulated media to internationally owned, commercially funded, lightly regulated conglomerates competing more fiercely for audiences and advertising revenue
- more air-time, especially at local and international levels through local radio stations, cable and satellite TV
- more independent production and cross-border co-production
- more imported ready made programming
- an attempt by the Commission of the European Communities (CEC) to stimulate a single European TV programme market through initiatives like the MEDIA Programme.

The opportunities and threats posed by these changes to volunteering agencies wanting to use these media for campaigns include:

- more capacity for exposure
- the potential for closer targeting of minorities, communities of interest and local audiences
- more scope for syndicating programming within and between countries
- the chance to gain greater control over content and, perhaps generate income by participation in independent production and distribution ventures
- greater pressure from broadcasters to buy time
- a tendency for the initiative in mounting campaigns to move from the broadcasters to the user agencies, calling for a greater expertise in media strategy and techniques.

It should again be stressed that these are overall trends in Europe whose impact varies greatly between countries. In eastern Europe, where the media are being redesigned from scratch in some cases, these trends are still apparent as countries introduce western style commercial broadcasting with, sometimes, great speed.

To exploit these changes the European volunteering movement has to make a rapid and thorough appraisal of the opportunities it has to offer. Even in the UK, with its long and substantial tradition of public service broadcasting, agencies are having to think very carefully about their future role in a fast changing broadcasting environment. There are some lessons to be learnt from the United States whose not for profit sector has grown up with commercial media. The success of the Independent Sector and the Volunteer Connection in attracting commercial sponsors for their advertising and public service announcements; their energy in persuading TV and radio stations and newspapers to give advertising time and space; the impressive response levels all suggest there is potential for positive results for volunteering from a commercial media system.

But these initiatives and others like them are highly culture specific. American society places a high premium on community participation by commercial enterprises. It is possible that Europe is inheriting American business practices in its media without the accompanying goodwill. Moreover, the public service ethos is still strong in European broadcasting and will not disappear for some time. Just as the perceptions and practice of volunteering vary widely between countries in Europe so does the media ecology. It may be tempting, then, to argue for a series of national volunteering media strategies enabling

How are response objectives to be set? Should targets be set for skills, socio-demographic characteristics, locations or should emphasis be placed on attracting flexible volunteers to substantial, long term commitments who can be directed to areas of greatest need? How will these decisions affect the screening process and to what extent should attempts be made to prescreen respondents through message content?

What mechanisms should be used to refer respondents to user agencies? Freephone numbers linked to answering machines were commonly used in the American campaigns. These are an option for most European countries but they may be less culturally acceptable to target groups than in the United States where the public is more conditioned to direct marketing techniques. Should the cost to the agency of mechanisms like these which are free at the point of use be offset by the need to reach low income groups or should the cost of response be a screening device? How much information should respondents be given as part of the referral process and who should bear the cost of providing it? How far should local user agencies be involved in planning and handling response? How far can their involvement be coordinated within the framework of a national campaign? If screening and/or counselling is to be provided at this stage should it be done locally or centrally, by whom, what are the recruitment and training implications and who will bear the costs?

What expectations is the media campaign likely to set up in potential volunteers? How far will these differ from reality? What effect will this have on volunteer recruitment and whose responsibility should it be? High profile recruitment campaigns, especially those organised centrally, are notorious for raising expectations which cannot be met in local opportunities. This effect is made worse by the loose structure of volunteering organisation which makes it very difficult to exert quality control or uniformity of response. Even if it were possible the cost of achieving it may not be reflected in the added value it yields. How, in any case, can the lost contribution of a potential volunteer alienated by a hostile reception from an agency be costed? Can these be preempted by the campaign messages? Experience suggests that, quite apart from alienating individual volunteers, the mismatch between demand and supply created by a high profile campaign can damage relationships between local user agencies and those responsible for organising the campaign.

What would be the cost implications of screening and training for various levels of response and who should meet them? How are these activities to synchronise with campaign response so that enthusiasm is not lost? How will the additional resources needed to manage extra volunteers be found?

How can wastage be minimised? What mechanisms exist for redeploying volunteers who are surplus to need? How can their goodwill be kept and usefully channelled? The response to several campaigns has included individuals who have left or been rejected by other agencies. Does it make sense to think of a finite pool of potential volunteers who, once enlisted, should be kept at all costs or should campaigning effort be directed at meeting needs as they arise?

This list of questions prompts the thought that successful campaigns create more problems than failed ones. They can, however, be avoided by the preparation of a strategy based on carefully set objectives which takes full account of available resources. Most of the questions apply equally to small local and large national campaigns. They are common to the development of volunteering in any country. But they do not provide sufficient basis for a strategy at European level. Before an attempt is made to identify the elements of such a strategy it will help to be aware of the forces shaping the media across the continent.

Changes in the media

This brief review is confined to the broadcasting media, with some reference to telecommunications. The television and radio industries are undergoing the greatest changes. Newspapers and magazines are not subject to the same processes. Europe's broadcasting systems have largely developed as national publicly financed enterprises.

All these functions allow the media to play a vital role in the promotion and organisation of volunteering at both strategic and operational levels. Although there are examples of each of them in practice, their concerted application as part of a coherent campaign has yet to happen. It would require a degree of coordination and collaboration extremely hard to achieve, even at local level. Yet if the media are to play their full part in realising the potential of volunteering by helping to implement national and European policies this ambitious exercise should be attempted. With this in view, it will help to consider in more detail the factors involved in such an exercise drawing, where possible, on experience.

The nature of volunteering campaigns

Volunteering campaigns, especially at local level, tend to be reactive: a need is identified, an appeal is made, the need is met (or not) by the response. While such campaigns may be successful their effectiveness is often limited by lack of planning time. A reactive approach is, in any case, not appropriate for strategic objectives. Campaigns at this level tend to be generic, promoting the idea and benefits of volunteering. Perhaps the most ambitious example of this approach was the Independent Sector's Give Five campaign in the United States in the late 80s.

Even this major, advertising-led initiative had some quantifiable goals: to persuade people to give five hours a week of their time or five per cent of their income. The problem with solely generic campaigns is that they are expensive to mount and hard to evaluate. Perhaps this is why campaigns tend to combine generic promotional goals with recruitment objectives. Where the intention is only to promote the idea of volunteering a clear picture of target profiles and motivation is needed for success. Without these no media campaign, whether advertising or editorial, can hope to work. As media competition increasingly fragments audiences the choice of media for a campaign becomes dependent on this information. The difficulty of gathering this information, its reliability, currency and comparability across regions are problems all too familiar to any organisation that has tried.

Even if the information is to hand the diverse pattern it will typically reveal poses another set of questions: how much effort should be routed into local media to reflect local diversity of need? how difficult is it to orchestrate a national campaign delivered at local level? which media offer better coverage opportunities? how much resource should go into reaching ethnic and other minorities through specialist press and programming? what is the most cost effective balance of editorial and advertising? how will media choice affect response and the means of gathering it? The answers depend on the media ecology of the country or area concerned. In the United States the Volunteer Connection was a nationally organised, locally delivered campaign reflecting the mainly decentralised organisation of both media and volunteering agencies. Local agencies organised their own media initiatives and response mechanisms but within the carefully planned framework of a national strategy including a comprehensive training manual and newsletters. The recent UK Volunteers Week campaign was largely based on a national BBC radio network, reflecting the dominant national emphasis of public service broadcasting in the country. A comparative awareness of media ecology across Europe, together with the opportunities and constraints it offers, should be a major component of a European volunteering media strategy.

Media choice decisions will also be influenced by concerns about control over content and distribution. The simple decision between editorial and advertising is increasingly blurred in both print and broadcast media. Agencies are having to decide the price they are prepared to pay for adequate exposure. Both advertising and independent production may give them greater control over the content of messages but this may in turn be compromised by the need to share the cost with sponsors.

The hardest part of any volunteering campaign is the response mechanism. The Volunteer Connection campaign boasted average volunteer referral rate increases of 35% but a deeper analysis must be made of figures like these and the processes underlying them if campaigns are to be truly successful. This can be approached through a series of questions.

broadcasts had broadened their awareness of the range of volunteering activity needed. While a causal link has yet to be shown between awareness and action it seems likely that one will encourage the other, either through the recruitment of new volunteers or by increasing the commitment of existing ones.

Attitude change – The media's role in changing attitudes is far harder to evaluate. Research suggests that primary groups are the key agents of attitude change while the media play an indirect and long term role by informing and influencing discussion in these groups. Research into volunteer motivation suggests that face to face contact is by far the main stimulus for volunteering (2). The same research has also identified many of the factors which prevent people from volunteering or make them abandon it. Experience in health promotion and other public service campaign areas suggests that long term media campaigns can contribute significantly to attitude change. They will be effective to the extent that they are based on motivational research.

Opinion forming – The purpose and extent of volunteering are controversial issues in many European countries. The Danish Volunteer Centre reports that the issue of volunteering as a substitute for the welfare state has been hotly debated in politics and, therefore, the media. Versions of this debate will take place across Europe as the established regimes of the west and the newly formed ones of the east face their own forms of structural change. If this debate is to engage the full and informed participation of Europe's citizens and the support of politicians, administrators and industrialists is to be won the media must present the issues strongly and clearly. Media professionals themselves will need to learn about the policies and practice of volunteering now and in the future.

Training – The demand for volunteer training is large and will grow in proportion to the number of volunteers recruited and the number of tasks they are asked to perform. Effective training, especially in the interpersonal skills basic to most voluntary work, will always depend on face to face contact. But as distance learning develops the role of the media in promoting and supporting this training becomes more important. The dissemination of training content through broadcasting and print also contributes to screening by demonstrating to potential volunteers the qualities they would need.

Fundraising – Telethons and other media fundraising fests at local, national and international levels are now familiar. They have a key role to play in both funding and publicising volunteering. Media based volunteering campaigns and programmes are themselves attractive vehicles for public or commercial sponsorship. The 3M Corporation sponsored the placement of advertisements for the Independent Sector's Give Five campaign in the United States. Elements of the UK Volunteers Week 1992 campaign were sponsored by leading British companies.

Recruitment – This is the most sensitive area of media involvement because its success depends on the effective cooperation of different agencies whose objectives, timescales and ways of working do not coincide. At the same time, it carries the most obvious appeal because the principle, as suggested at the beginning of the paper, seems both simple and powerful. The various models which have been tried and the factors affecting their success will be examined below.

Information gathering – The need for more information about the demand for volunteers, their profile and motivations as well as those of non and ex volunteers, has already been demonstrated. By stimulating a response from agencies as well as potential recruits the media can help provide this information.

Advocacy – Once gathered, the information can be used in several ways. Research is one obvious use, as are planning and resource allocation. These are essentially top down activities. But if the volunteering movement is to retain its organic structure in the face of the increased demands placed on it, ways of keeping the devolved, bottom up decision making which is a central feature of this structure must be found. "Advocacy" in this sense refers to the process by which the needs, interests and experience of large numbers of individuals is used to shape provision and allocate resources. The media have a role to play in this process not only by helping to stimulate response but also by disseminating its results back to the respondents and other interested parties.

between volunteering and, say, dog food or shampoo is clear enough, the techniques used to sell them through the mass media are inevitably similar.

This may not be a popular argument among volunteering organisations whose cultures are often radically opposed to those of commercial enterprises. The issue must, however, be resolved if resources are to be deployed on a national or transnational scale. It is, in any case, only one of several issues arising from the conflict between the loose, organic structures of voluntary associations and the more formalised ones of government and commerce now being faced as volunteering moves up national agendas.

Creating the profile of a volunteer will be expensive. While dog food manufacturers can offset their market research costs against increased sales volunteering organisations find the economic case harder to make, especially when there are so many claims on the limited resources available. The case for economies of scale achieved through shared research is strong.

It would be wrong, however, to use volunteer profile data simply as a means of targeting mass media messages. The organic nature of volunteering, surely one of its greatest strengths, would quickly be lost if the techniques of commercial marketing were too freely borrowed. The essence of the volunteering relationship is that the individual helps shape the organisation and its mission in a way far less true of more hierarchical structures. This interactivity calls for a more responsible model of media use if its distinctive quality is not to be lost. The simple "bullet" model of communication in which a sender aims a message at a receiver is inadequate to analyse the full range of functions the media can perform in volunteering promotion. At the very least, a feedback model is required in which the response modifies the stimulus generating it. While this model is appropriate to conventional mass media practice it will be argued later that changes in the media themselves are calling for a network oriented model.

The media and volunteering

Experience of media use in volunteering campaigns suggests they perform the following functions:

One way (sender > receiver)

- awareness raising
- attitude change
- opinion forming
- training

Two way (sender < > receiver)

- fundraising
- recruitment
- information gathering
- advocacy

A brief consideration of these functions in practice will show the implications they have for campaign design and management.

Awareness raising – Perhaps the most obvious role for the media, this function calls for careful planning and research if it is to be fruitful. Both BBC audience research and The Volunteer Centre UK's independent evaluation of the recent UK Volunteers Week showed high proportions (55% and 66%* respectively) of respondents claiming that the

*the second percentage is of respondents who said the campaign booklet had changed their impression of volunteering

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14 Role of the Media in Volunteering

Towards a European Strategy

Introduction

You need volunteers in large numbers. You appeal for them through the mass media. They respond. It ought to be easy but the reality, as anyone who has tried will know, is more complex. Yet if volunteering is to play a key role in our societies the media should play an important part in its promotion. But which media? How and at what cost? Who will pay? Does the approach work and is it cost effective compared with other techniques? These are the questions addressed in this paper.

To explore these questions it will be necessary to review the limited experience available in Europe and the United States. This will involve a brief analysis of the radical changes transforming the European media landscape, especially in broadcasting. For just as the trend towards more volunteering is part of a larger process of social change across the continent, so the role and capabilities of the media across that continent are changing fundamentally in ways scarcely understood by those who work in them, let alone other professionals who are trying to enlist their help. But the effect of these changes must be fully reflected in any strategy for it to stand a chance of succeeding.

Before even those deceptively simple questions raised at the beginning of the paper are tackled an even more deceptively simple one must be faced: what is a volunteer? Australia's serious music station is, apparently, largely run by amateurs who arrive with plastic bags full of their favourite records to share them with a wider audience. The idea would not appeal to the broadcasting unions in this and many other countries. The whole of BBC local radio was called out on strike a few years ago because the football commentaries on one station were being done, very well apparently, by a greengrocer. Other papers in this publication yield many other examples of volunteering's cultural relativity. Answers to the question become even more fogged in the move from a particular culture's view of volunteering to that of the individual. A recent survey by The Volunteer Centre UK showed that the proportion of UK adults volunteering increased from 51% to 75% when informal activity was added to organised work (1).

However complex and diverse may be the response, the question must be addressed systematically if the media are to be successfully enlisted in promoting volunteering and recruiting volunteers. One reason for this is the importance of self concept in mobilising large scale public support for volunteering. The evaluation of a recent volunteering campaign run by The Volunteer Centre UK and the BBC suggests that a significant proportion of volunteers recruited by the campaign (41%) had volunteered before. If the range of activities perceived as volunteering is extended more people may be prepared to increase their commitment. The National Association of Carers in the UK recently ran a successful media campaign designed to make carers aware of their status as a first step to mobilising them to lobby for more support. The case of volunteering is similar.

There is another reason for gaining a clearer picture of ways in which societies see individuals and individuals see themselves as volunteers. If the mass media are to be used, even in a limited way, the messages they carry must be carefully composed and targeted. To achieve this communicators need valid information on the motivational and socio-demographic characteristics of their target audience. While the difference

The motivations to volunteer

The question of motivation to volunteer has not been explored in Sweden at all.

The organisation of volunteering

A person in Sweden who wishes to volunteer joins an organisation corresponding to his/her interest. Thus, there are neither "volunteer bureaux" nor channelling activities through the state/municipality aiming at helping people to engage in volunteer work.

The State and volunteering

The question of the State and volunteering has a particular profile in Sweden. In spite of its earlier lack of interest for alternative solutions to problems concerning "help and care", the State gives extensive financial support to organisations in this field. This pattern is even more true for local authorities. In comparison to many other European countries, the Swedish State may probably be considered as rather "passive" and it has until now been acting in a non-intervention way in relation to the voluntary sector.

Recent trends in volunteering

Recent trends in the field point to a growing importance of volunteering, concordant with certain European trends. This must, to a great extent, be attributed to recent developments in the welfare state: today, when public expenditures must be cut and the shortcomings of the welfare state become apparent, politicians as well as ordinary citizens look for the kind of solutions that voluntary organisations can offer. New social problems have, in the past two decades, emerged for the solution of which no pre-established structures existed. Here, volunteer services have proved to be successful. This is another reason why volunteering is becoming more and more important.

Conclusion

As shown by this inventory volunteering as a phenomenon has, to date, not been a focus of serious research. With this background in mind we would like to mention that a group of scholars has recently been created. Our aim is to pursue research in this field. As a first step a general survey of the voluntary sector in Sweden will be performed. The programme, however, includes several studies, in a 3-5 year perspective.

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13 Volunteering in Sweden

The definition of volunteering

At the outset it is necessary to make a distinction between volunteering in the broad sense, on the one hand, and the subject of our study, on the other hand.

Sweden is a country where popular movements have a long and strong tradition. Choral singing, the temperance movement, the workers educational movement, are all typical components of Swedish society. Surprisingly enough, these phenomena have attracted little interest from a scientific point of view. The subject of this paper is voluntary work in the "help and care sector".

Volunteer work with regard to help and care in Sweden has to date been a rather invisible sector of society. Nobody knows exactly how extensive and important the voluntary sector in Sweden is. This is partly due to the hegemony of the welfare state and the kind of discourse that emanates from that. As a consequence, questions concerning more specific definitions in the field of volunteering have not been addressed until now. Furthermore, there has been an absence of serious debate on this issue.

When the question of volunteering in the help and care sector finally came into the picture, it was a highly politicised issue, brought forward by the more aggressive right-wing politicians.

Sweden is a solidly constructed welfare state. Continuous economic growth and prosperity for many years made it possible to extend the responsibility of the state, encompassing most aspects of life where situations of vulnerability were at hand for the Swedish population. The social democrats – the ruling party for most of the past 50 years – showed a lack of interest, even suspicion, when it came to alternative solutions to social problems.

These are some of the reasons why the intense interest in volunteering which exist in other European countries does not have its counterpart in Sweden.

Extent of volunteering and the profile of volunteers

There are no comprehensive studies in Sweden concerning volunteering. This means that there are no national surveys concerning this issue. Consequently, the extent of volunteering is unknown. Nevertheless, limited studies concerning specific aspects of voluntary work are at hand.

The activities of volunteers

There is a lack of comparative data and thus a lack of global knowledge in our country concerning what volunteers actually do. Nevertheless, there are limited descriptions, follow-ups and evaluations concerning specific volunteer activities and organisations. In our opinion, few of these studies have an interest to the broader public or to the scientific community.

During this period the church seemed to disappear from the country's life. Under a special decree the Soviet government declared the separation of the church from the state. Its participation in the social life of the nation was forbidden. People who continued going to church were regarded as retrograde, ignorant, and enemies of the socialist society.

Also during this period private charity, at least in the form in which it had existed before the Revolution, disappeared, largely because of the dislocation of wealth in the nation.

In fact after 1917 only the official charity, changed of course, kept on going. Immediately after the Revolution, under a special decree of the Soviet power, free education and medical service was declared. Of course, it was not charity, it was the policy of the new government. The innovations themselves were progressive. A real scope and success of this activity, that gave truly impressive results, falls on the first years of the Soviet Power. Later the desire "to be ahead of the whole planet", the sincere belief that there was no country better than the Soviet state, led to the situation when the reports on the work done became more and more impressive, and the real results more and more oppressive.

In the Soviet period a new word appeared in the Russian language, *subbotnik*. Aiming to restore the country from the ruin of the civil war, soviet people worked "voluntarily" on their days off. They worked in the usual working places, and in the streets, equipping them with modern amenities, reconstructing houses, hospitals and plants. It was their sincere desire to see their country beautiful, that made them work; but gradually, as is often the case, the spontaneous action of the *subbotniks* turned into more formal, state sponsored measures, timed to coincide with such events as Lenin's birthday or the Communist party congresses.

Even during the Soviet period, however, some traditional charities continued to exist. The Red Cross Society was one such example, and survived partly from the members' fees, partly from selling stamps, but mainly from government money.

Since 1985, charity has gone through its second birth. One cannot yet say there is a system of charitable institutions in place, but one can see efforts to restore these traditions. In modern Russia charity organisations can be loosely divided into the following groups:

- public organisations (such as Red Cross, Blind People Society, All-Russian Society of Disabled Persons, and some others);
- church organisations (the law on liberty of conscience takes away the veto on church activities);
- private organisations.

This division is quite arbitrary. Where public and church organisations work on the grounds of a previous system (public actions, restoration of the monuments of church and civil architecture, preservation of the environment), the newly born class of businessmen and women tries to find out their own ways of work.

Sometimes events happen that unite the efforts of the three groups, and their deeds become really nationwide actions. Examples are the charity events that took place after Chernobyl, and the voluntary work to restore the towns destroyed after the earthquake in Armenia.

It is very difficult to systematise facts about charity organisations and their activities in modern Russia. New organisations are trying to find their structures and ways of work. And usually they work separately, not because they want to work that way, but because they know very little about each other. You do not find reports about their activities in the press.

The last thing we would like to mention are terms. I deliberately did not use in these notes the word volunteering. In Russian translation this word has a different meaning. I used the words charity and mercy, that correspond more closely with the word volunteering used in the West.

- nine orphanages;
- shelter for children;
- four shelters for old women and almshouses for 3765 people; 75% of expenses were on the city authorities account, and 25% from private donations;
- temporary shelters for children, before they could be placed into the city orphanages (5 in number) and day children shelters (4);
- warehouse (1) and wash-house (1);
- the city industry house and its branches provided jobs for more than 12,000 people;
- sewing workshops for women (3) and needlework shops for children (2);
- cheap flats, houses and hostels for single young women and women with children;
- city doss-houses (13) for 2974 people;
- free (7) and cheap (13) dining-rooms. Besides, at the guardians' expense they gave food in 29 private dining-rooms;
- 2169 scholarship holders. Scholarships were given on studies and upkeep in industrial, trade and commercial schools, city and private gymnasiums, higher institutions, city orphanages and private shelters.

A totally state charity institution was the Department of Institutions of Empress Maria, which, according to item 2 of the Articles, approved by Nickolai II "has to take care of reforming, upbringing and training to work of boys of all classes and religions from 7 to 17 years old, who showed vicious inclinations". A special committee of the Department organised its own industrial shelters and workshops, and put the teenagers into educational and industrial schools and trustworthy families; the committee members took care of those children after they had left the schools.

A major role in charity activities was played by the church. Parishes, monasteries and communities had 227 hospitals and 153 almshouses. Orthodox parish charity was based on assistance societies (38 in number), existing in all the churches.

Funding for the charity activities of churches came from members' fees, donations, charity-box collections and income from real estate. Assistance societies started their activities with giving money to the parish poor, taking care of children and old people, and building parish shelters, almshouses and schools. All the supported people had a place to live, food, laundry and medical service at public cost, and were given money for clothes, shoes, tea, sugar, and other needs. At Christmas and other church holidays they were given special presents. In children's shelters there were not only primary schools. Girls learned dressmaking and embroidery, boys learned bookbinder's and shoemaker's trades.

The third main group of charity institutions consisted of the public, or private organisations. These were funded totally from the donations of wealthy people and companies. An example would be the Russian merchants Eliseevs. In 1913, celebrating the hundredth anniversary of their company, they donated 500 thousand roubles to the poor of their city. The money went on the building of the first oncologic hospital in St Petersburg. Medical services in that well equipped hospital were free. The Eliseevs also supported an almshouse and a poor-house.

All the members of the Russian Tsar family took part in charity activities, particularly in the work of medical institutions. Her Majesty Empress Alexandra and her four daughters worked as nurses in military hospitals during the First World War. Grand Duchess Maria Pavlovna took part in organising help for soldiers, wounded on the battlefields. Representatives of famous Russian families, Viazemskis, Obolenskis, Trubetskois, Paneevs, put their money into the development of medical institutions, especially maternity hospitals.

Such was the state of charity and mercy in Russia at the time of the October Revolution of 1917. After the Revolution a new stage began, a stage which has been described elsewhere as one of forced charity and volunteering, and which lasted until 1985.

12 Volunteering in Russia

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Problems of charity and mercy are the subject for a serious research work. These notes are not in any way a result of such work. There is much more information and documentation on the history of the problem than data about its present condition. That is why I will pay here more attention to the traditions of Russian charity, and only give general description of today's activities. This approach, however, has good reasons, as the structure and activities of many charity organisations resemble closely the structure and activities of such organisations in pre-revolutionary Russia.

We could divide the history of charity in Russia into three stages (this division, of course, is quite relative): before the October revolution of 1917, the Soviet period 1917-1985, and after 1985 (sometimes they call it the period of perestroika and post-perestroika).

Mercy, compassion, charity are words and ideas that after the October revolution went out of use, partly due to the appearance of new official forms and systems of public care, medical service and social security. In the last edition of the Big Soviet Encyclopaedia there is no reference to the word "charity". In the previous one of 1952 it is defined as "assistance, hypocritically rendered by the ruling class representatives to the poor sections of population, in order to deceive them and draw away the workers' attention from class struggle".

And only now we try to remember that in St Petersburg and Russia the situation was different. In these notes we will pay more attention to St Petersburg, as the situation in the city was similar to that in the whole of Russia.

At the beginning of the twentieth century there were more than 500 different charity organisations. Charity in Russia began with the acceptance of Christianity, and at first was the personal religious charity of Russian princes, monasteries, nobility and the rich, and consisted of the feeding of poor people and giving of alms. With the development of parish life Russian charity began to be a more organised form of help to those in need, based not only on religion. In the sixteenth century Ivan IV organised almshouses on the state treasury account. In 1705 and 1715 during the reign of Peter I the first church and secular shelters for children and foundlings were opened. By the end of the eighteenth century those organisations were united under the roof of the public Department of Institutions of Empress Maria. In 1911 there were 781 such institutions in Russia.

In 1802 Alexander I organised the Beneficial Society, later renamed the Imperial Philanthropic Society. During the reign of Nickolai I in 1837 a special Committee on the Supply by Charity to the Poor was established.

In the early years of the second decade of this century about 4762 charity societies were in existence in Russia and over 6000 institutions. Approximately 60 million roubles were spent each year on public charity.

The three main groups of charity institutions were those founded and guarded by the state, the church and on the initiative of wealthy citizens. We should, however, mention that there were no totally public, church or private organisations. In the board of guardians of any of them were representatives of all the mentioned categories.

State charity at that time resembled closely the system of social security we have today. On 1 January 1912 St Petersburg authorities had on the city budget the following institutions:

Olsen, Bennedichte (1989): *Omsorg mot år 2000.* Frivillige organisasjoners rolle i omsorgsarbeidet. Norges Røde Kors, Skriftserien nr.3.

Olsen, Bennedichte (1991): *Integrasjon og Konflikt,* ISF-rapport nr.5.

Olsen, Bennedichte (1992) *Fra isolasjon til aktivitet.* En studie av dagsentre for funksjonshemmede, drevet i regi av frivillige organisasjoner. NOTA BENE 1992:2.

Scheldrup, Liv E (1992) *Hjelperrollen i frivillig arbeid – drivkrefter of dimensjoner,* Noat, Sosialhøgskolen i Stavanger.

Smedby, Jens Christian (1988): *Selvhjelpsorganisering i sosialsektoren.* INAS-notat nr. 8.

Thorsen, Kirsten og Arnhild Skre (red)(1984): *Eldre, omsorg og nærmiljø.* Universitetsforlaget, Oslo.

Vislie, Anne (1988): *Frivillig innsats, hvorfor og hvordan?* NIBR-notat nr. 122.

Wikborg, Mette (1988): *Undersøkelse om deltakelse i frivillige organisasjoner,* Vedlegg til NOU 1988:17.

The organisation of volunteers

The infrastructure of volunteering in Norway seems to be less developed than in many other countries, such as the UK and the Netherlands. To date, Norway has no volunteer centres and only few volunteer bureaux where people can enrol as volunteers. The number of volunteer bureaux throughout the country is less than a hundred. The volunteer bureaux came into being only a few years ago, financed by the state, the idea being to develop establishments which could promote voluntary care-work within the local communities, as a supplement to both public care and care carried out by voluntary organisations. Both voluntary organisations and municipal councils are in charge of administration of these bureaux. There is, in Norway, an ongoing evaluation of the work of these bureaux.

Voluntary organisations, like humanitarian, religious, disability-organisations, sport-associations and the like, have up till now been the agencies facilitating most of the involvement of volunteers in Norway. The broader aspects of unpaid voluntary work are normally carried out within the local branches of these organisations. On a national level, most of the organisations have volunteers only as high-ranked committee representatives.

The Norwegian State and volunteering

As already stated in this paper, there has been a rediscovery of the voluntary sector in Norway. Both politicians and others view voluntary action as something which adds an extra dimension to what public authorities do. Both national and local government have tried to help promote voluntary activities through the setting up of volunteer bureaux and through earmarking grants to organisations. The goal is to motivate members to participate more actively in different types of voluntary work, self-help groups, advisory counselling, visiting services and similar activities.

By and large, the state does not play a major role in terms of supporting volunteering through any fiscal policy or protection of social security entitlements. The act of volunteering does not entitle the volunteer to formal benefits, such as access to higher education or other social profits.

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Danielsen, Kirsten og Åsmund Langsether (1984): *Gammel i storby*. INAS rapport nr. 4.

Drevland, Wenche (1992): *Taushetsansvaret i frivillig sosial arbeid*, Notat nr. 3, Sosialhøgskolen i Stavanger.

Daatland, Svein Olav (1980): *Frivillig arbeid i eldresentre*. NGI-rapport nr. 5.

Fosser, Kari (1986): *Uformell sosial støtte og ulykker*. Hovedfagsoppgave, inst. for sosiologi, Universitetet i Oslo.

Lingsom, Susan (1985): *Uformell omsorg for syke og eldre*. Samfunnsøkonomiske studier nr. 57, SSB.

Lingsom, Susan (1988): "Du skal ha noe for det." *I Fra ansvarsdeling til delt ansvar* av Randi Kjeldstad m.fl (Red) INAS-rapport nr. 5.

Lorentzen, Håkon (1988): *Mellom Byråkrati og Vekkelse*. De frivillige organisasjoners rolle i sosialsektoren. INAS-rapport nr. 3.

Lorentzen, Håkon (1990): *Velferd og Verdier*. Utviklingen av en behandlingsinstitusjon under Kirkens Bymisjon. ISF-rapport nr.1.

NOU 1988:17 *Frivillige organisasjoner*.

Profile of volunteers in Norway: who are they?

As with many other questions about volunteering in Norway, we still have a rather incomplete picture of who the volunteers are. Unfortunately, the annual reports from the voluntary organisations do not give much information about who are the active members involved in organisational work on different levels.

However, the nationwide survey of 1988, which does not differ from a few local based research works, shows the following:

1 Administrative Unpaid Work and Fundraising Activities

As already referred to, unpaid administrative work and different kinds of fund raising campaigns amount to 41,000 person-years, among the organisation-members. Among non-members the figure is 7000 person-years.

The unpaid administrative work is more often undertaken by men, while the fund raising activities are more often carried out by women. In these two fields of activities, we also find clear differences with regard to educational level among the volunteers: those involved in administrative work have a higher educational background than those undertaking activities connected to fund raising and similar activities.

2 Unpaid Training and Instruction of the Members of the Organisations

The time for training and instruction of organisation-members constitutes 13,000 person-years among members, and 900 person-years among non-members.

In this area of action, the data does not indicate any significant differences between men and women. If the data could be broken down in terms of specific training activities it is likely that gender-differences would appear.

The time devoted to this kind of activity increased with the level of education.

3 Unpaid Care Work

The direct care work towards clients or members is carried out mostly by women and this accounts for about 4400 person-years. Not only are women the majority, they also devote far more time to care work than do men. Women are over-represented as voluntary leaders in all kinds of social care-groups where the aim is to console the group members in their depression and sorrow. Women constitute the majority of volunteers in day centres for elderly or disabled people.

The time devoted to social care activities increases with age but decreases with the level of education.

The motivation of volunteers

Very few studies in Norway deal with the question of why people get involved in volunteering. However, local studies of the development of voluntary organisations in different parts of Norway show that people seem to volunteer more because of personal needs than to promote collective interests (Brandal & Selle 1983).

A small scale study on voluntary parish work (Drevland 1992) shows that the reason for volunteering varies to some extent according to professional background. Those having a professional background within the social and health care sector emphasise the professional benefit of their voluntary work. Those who themselves have experienced the same sorrow or loss as have the group-members, consider their voluntary help as being the most important aim.

Even if we do not know all that much about the motivation among volunteers in Norway, it is not too speculative to assume that both access to personal benefits and the altruistic wish of helping others are motivating factors.

3 Volunteering in Social Care. General Aspects

As the Norwegian welfare state has developed, the central and local authorities have been increasingly regarded as principal care givers within the field of social welfare. Norway, together with the other Scandinavian countries, exemplify the so-called "state-driven model" of social welfare, emphasising public solutions to welfare problems. Within this ideology, there has been little room for debating the role of volunteering in social care. However, voluntary organisations within this sector have contributed, not only by institutional services but also through their voluntary activities, their share to the growth of the welfare state.

Data from the nationwide study by Wikborg (1988) reveals that only 2.2% of the sample was involved in voluntary care-work within the frame of a voluntary organisation. Based on these results it can be calculated that the Norwegian population between 16 and 74 years are delivering unpaid care work corresponding to about 4400 person-years. The tasks undertaken by the volunteers included help to elderly and disabled people, visiting, shopping and the like. These unpaid services were mostly delivered by humanitarian, religious and social organisations.

This study shows that voluntary care-work undertaken by voluntary organisations is rather limited. An examination of the situation among elderly people in Oslo gives us the same picture on the home-care front. Only 1% of a sample of elderly people in a recent study claimed to have received direct help from voluntary organisations (shopping help, home-care) (Lingsom 1988).

In addition to these voluntary organisations one finds that social group-work throughout Norway takes place with unpaid leaders as a part of the welfare services of the Norwegian church. The volunteers' tasks can be both to help and support those in need and to promote the Christian message. Often voluntary parish work will include meeting people who are depressed or grieving, for instance after the death of one's spouse, separation, divorce or the like.

4 Volunteers in Day-centres

A study of 34 day-centres run by organisations for disabled people shows that the use of volunteers is not arranged to maximum benefit (Olsen 1992). The tasks of the volunteers in those centres were normally very routine, such as buying food, washing up after meals or making coffee. Only in one centre did volunteers undertake tasks that closely related to the handicraft which was the main activity of the centre. None of the centres had tried to find volunteers who were not already members of the owner-organisation.

Six of the centres had none or few volunteers connected to the centre, apart from the users themselves. Only three centres had 8 or more volunteers.

The situation at day centres for elderly people is different. Both the centres owned by the municipality council and those run by voluntary organisations have volunteers. The research done in this field reveals clearly that centres for elderly people are very much dependent on voluntary work, which is contributed mainly by other elderly people from the community. In Norway, there are approximately 300 centres for elderly people and there are between 7000 to 9000 volunteers connected with these centres. To date, we have no nationwide study which can tell us how many person-years the volunteers contribute, but it can be roughly estimated that the amount of voluntary person-years is three times the amount of paid person-years at the centres.

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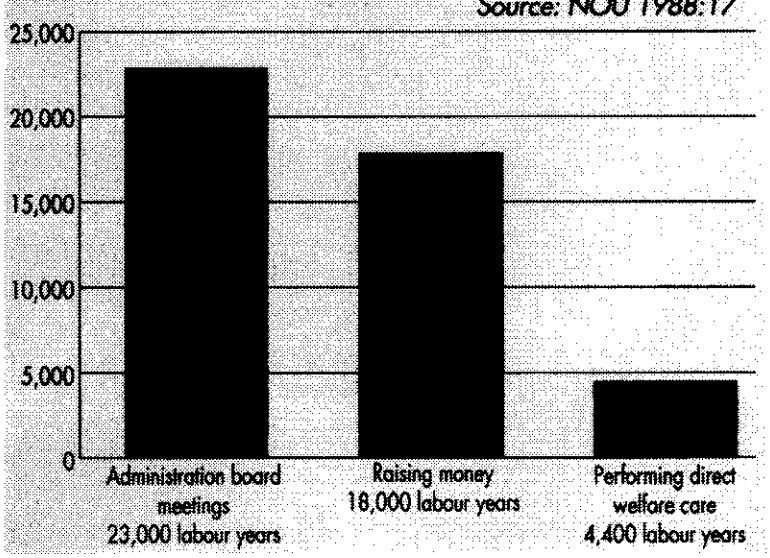

mainly on organisations of disabled people, confirms this view. In many organisations it seems to be mostly the representatives of local boards who volunteer. Because it is known that board members often have to do most of the organisational work themselves, it is difficult to find members willing to take on responsibility and committing themselves to volunteering.

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Wikborg's study showed that unpaid administrative work within the local branches of the organisations and board meetings account all together for 23,000 person-years among members. Non-members account for 2300 person-years.

Estimated time given to different kinds of fund-raising campaigns amounted to 18,000 person-years among members, while the same kind of unpaid work by non-members accounted for 4700 person-years.

Those non-members devoting unpaid work within the frame of an organisation are very often parents or other close relatives of family-members benefiting from the actions and tasks undertaken by the association.

Studies on voluntary organisations of disabled people and other more general local studies show clearly the same trend, i.e, that active members in the organisations devote much more time to administration and fundraising than to direct client-work. From annual reports from county and local branches, one can get the impression that activities mostly are related to:

- attending board meetings
- preparing members meetings
- preparing open meetings
- attending seminars and courses offered by the county office or the secretariat
- providing information services to newcomers and members
- providing general information about the organisation
- raising money.

Far less weight seems to be put on visiting services and other forms of client or member-directed care-work.

During the last decade organisations of disabled people have emphasised through their policy-programmes the pressure group role of local groups. The activity of the local branches is more directed towards politicians and the political administration to influence and improve the conditions of disabled people in the community. The local branches are viewed as more important today than before. This is because of the decentralisation within political administrations which has occurred in Norway. To meet this challenge a corresponding decentralising of strength within the organisations has been expressed as an utmost necessity. Thus far, only a few organisations of disabled people have succeeded in developing an effective local organisational network. Despite administrative decentralisation of public social welfare, it is still within the central secretariats that we find the main growth during the last decade (both in number of employees and in number of tasks undertaken). Locally, both the client-service and the pressure-group activities, are still rather limited. The coming together, *the social function* of the local affiliates, is in reality still one of the most significant aspects of disability organisations.

2 Unpaid Training and Instruction of the Members of the Organisations

In voluntary organisations many forms of training are undertaken, these are educational training and instruction in running organisations. In leisure and sports-related organisations, a major activity is training and instruction. The nationwide study already referred to revealed that about 13000 person-years are used by members in these kinds of activity. Non-members use 900 person-years to train and instruct members of organisations. Again, we find that the non-members are parents whose children benefit from the programmes of the organisations.

3 Persons with higher education (college and university level) were more likely to be members of voluntary organisations than persons with less educational background.

4 Geographical differences in Norway on a whole are small with regard to involvement in organisations. Nonetheless, people from the north of Norway seem more likely to be members of voluntary groups than people from the southern parts of the country.

5 Urban districts have less members of organisations than rural districts, but this difference is not significant.

6 Approximately one in four members of organisations were elected representatives on committees. Men again formed a higher proportion, that is, 27% men to 23% women. In rural districts of Norway, more members were found to be involved in this activity than was the case in urban districts.

7 More than half of the members (55%) claimed to devote their unpaid time to the organisations, either in internal or external activities.

What do the terms voluntary and volunteering refer to?

The voluntary sector in Norway covers a wide scope of agencies and movements, ranging from ideologically inspired movements with commitment of larger groups to practical neighbourhood initiatives. Voluntary organisations differ greatly, and to agree on common characteristics among them is difficult. Our immediate understanding of the term "voluntary" often refers to the performing of social or political tasks without payment.

If we do not distinguish between the different levels of voluntarism, we can easily create a confusing and chaotic debate. Lorentzen (1988,1989,1991) has offered theoretical perspectives presenting the difference between a voluntary *organisation*, a voluntary *service* and general voluntary *work* in Norway. While the *voluntary work* refers to members' engagement in organisational activity (board meeting, sales of lottery tickets, planning, social work, care and the like) the *voluntary service* is defined as the production of welfare goods organised by a voluntary organisation. A very essential distinction is made between the *institutional and the non-institutional* service, the former normally staffed by professionals. The term *voluntary organisation* refers to the organisational structure and the administrative apparatus without pronouncing what are the organisational activities.

"Voluntary" also refers to the fact that voluntary organisations can be both established and terminated without the consent of public authorities. The process is controlled solely by members of the voluntary organisations or representatives of the governing body of these organisations.

Then how is *volunteering* defined in Norway? It is certainly not possible to find *one* single definition but the following provides a brief idea: Volunteering is unpaid activity which is directed towards single persons or groups of people having a need for help and assistance. Those benefiting from the activity should not be close relatives. Volunteering can take place within or outside the frame of a voluntary organisation.

Most of the Norwegian research within the field of voluntary activity deals with the formal voluntary work, that is, volunteering organised by either private or public organisations.

The extent of volunteering and the activities of the volunteers

Since existing material on the extent of informal volunteering in Norway is very poorly documented, this paper will mostly deal with the formal voluntary activity, that is voluntarism within the frame of an organisation.

Different studies discussing volunteering in Norway conclude that recruiting *active* members is one of the most pronounced problems in voluntary organisations (Froestad 1983, Vislie & Guntvedt 1988, Vestrheim & Hauge 1988). My own work, focusing

11 Volunteering in Norway

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Introduction

Throughout the 1980s and continuing into this decade, increasing attention has been devoted to problems in the welfare state, that is, financial crisis and lack of efficiency in the deliverance of services. Also the legitimacy of the welfare state model is questioned. There is reason to believe that there are limits to the possible support one can expect from the public delivered welfare. Today there are few who believe that the expansion of the Norwegian welfare state will continue. A number of countries have made attempts in the 1980s to limit social entitlements (unemployment benefits, the rule for cash benefits and so on). In Norway as in other European countries there has been an extended decentralisation within political administration which has included a transfer of responsibility of social welfare from the state to the counties and municipalities. Despite this transfer of various welfare tasks, the economic basis of local administrations – at least in Norway – has not improved enough to prevent the unfortunate trend towards *both a decentralisation and a limitation of social welfare.*

During the same period of time, there has been a political "rediscovery" of voluntarism and voluntary organisations in Norway. This seems to reflect an international trend, where public authorities look for cooperation between the state and the voluntary sector. Individual responsibility and self-organised activities are emphasised as benefiting democracy and ensuring personal engagement.

Despite this renewed interest in the voluntary sector, much is lacking in our knowledge of the voluntary sector as a whole, and there are still many details to unveil on *volunteering* in Norway. Thus far, most of the studies undertaken have focused on the organisations as such and their cooperation with the public authorities. Much less focus has been placed on voluntary contributions and unpaid work in general. We have in Norway a few reports on the extent and breadth of voluntary organisations but far less on the extent and breadth of volunteering. The latest and so far the most reliable study was carried out in connection with the first public report on voluntary organisations in Norway (Wikborg 1988. NOU 1988:17). This was a nationwide study with a representative sample of people between 16 and 74 years. The aims of this survey were twofold:

- Firstly, to chart *the extent of membership* among Norwegians in voluntary organisations.
- Secondly, to chart the extent to which the members and non-members of voluntary organisations devote unpaid time to voluntary work, that is internal (board meeting, fundraising and the like) and external (helping and assisting people in more interpersonal relations) work.

The survey found that:

1 More than half of the sample (58%) were members of one or more than one organisation. Men were slightly more likely to be members than women (60% to 56%).

2 Approximately 60% of the members of voluntary organisations were in the age group between 25 and 49 years.

3 Persons with higher education (college and university level) were more likely to be members of voluntary organisations than persons with less educational background.

4 Geographical differences in Norway on a whole are small with regard to involvement in organisations. Nonetheless, people from the north of Norway seem more likely to be members of voluntary groups than people from the southern parts of the country.

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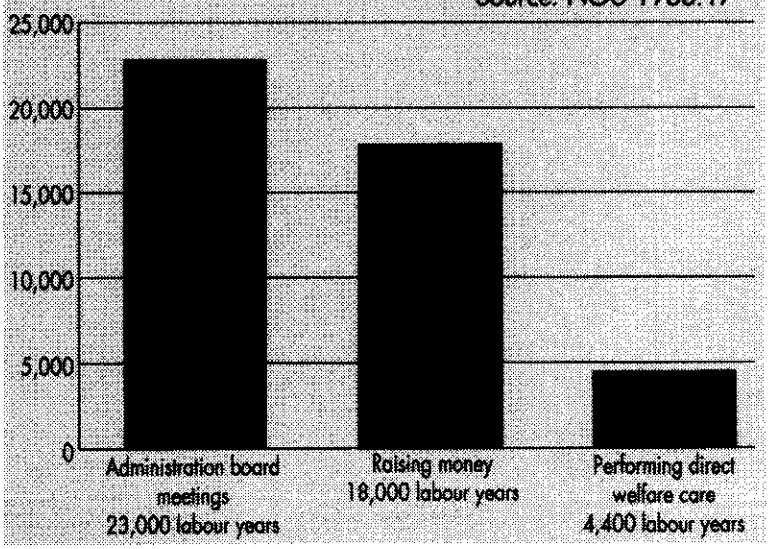

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Even if we do not know all that much about the motivation among volunteers in Norway, it is not too speculative to assume that both access to personal benefits and the altruistic wish of helping others are motivating factors.

The organisation of volunteers

The infrastructure of volunteering in Norway seems to be less developed than in many other countries, such as the UK and the Netherlands. To date, Norway has no volunteer centres and only few volunteer bureaux where people can enrol as volunteers. The number of volunteer bureaux throughout the country is less than a hundred. The volunteer bureaux came into being only a few years ago, financed by the state, the idea being to develop establishments which could promote voluntary care-work within the local communities, as a supplement to both public care and care carried out by voluntary organisations. Both voluntary organisations and municipal councils are in charge of administration of these bureaux. There is, in Norway, an ongoing evaluation of the work of these bureaux.

Voluntary organisations, like humanitarian, religious, disability-organisations, sport-associations and the like, have up till now been the agencies facilitating most of the involvement of volunteers in Norway. The broader aspects of unpaid voluntary work are normally carried out within the local branches of these organisations. On a national level, most of the organisations have volunteers only as high-ranked committee representatives.

The Norwegian State and volunteering

As already stated in this paper, there has been a rediscovery of the voluntary sector in Norway. Both politicians and others view voluntary action as something which adds an extra dimension to what public authorities do. Both national and local government have tried to help promote voluntary activities through the setting up of volunteer bureaux and through earmarking grants to organisations. The goal is to motivate members to participate more actively in different types of voluntary work, self-help groups, advisory counselling, visiting services and similar activities.

By and large, the state does not play a major role in terms of supporting volunteering through any fiscal policy or protection of social security entitlements. The act of volunteering does not entitle the volunteer to formal benefits, such as access to higher education or other social profits.

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12 Volunteering in Russia

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Problems of charity and mercy are the subject for a serious research work. These notes are not in any way a result of such work. There is much more information and documentation on the history of the problem than data about its present condition. That is why I will pay here more attention to the traditions of Russian charity, and only give general description of today's activities. This approach, however, has good reasons, as the structure and activities of many charity organisations resemble closely the structure and activities of such organisations in pre-revolutionary Russia.

We could divide the history of charity in Russia into three stages (this division, of course, is quite relative): before the October revolution of 1917, the Soviet period 1917-1985, and after 1985 (sometimes they call it the period of perestroika and post-perestroika).

Mercy, compassion, charity are words and ideas that after the October revolution went out of use, partly due to the appearance of new official forms and systems of public care, medical service and social security. In the last edition of the Big Soviet Encyclopaedia there is no reference to the word "charity". In the previous one of 1952 it is defined as "assistance, hypocritically rendered by the ruling class representatives to the poor sections of population, in order to deceive them and draw away the workers' attention from class struggle".

And only now we try to remember that in St Petersburg and Russia the situation was different. In these notes we will pay more attention to St Petersburg, as the situation in the city was similar to that in the whole of Russia.

At the beginning of the twentieth century there were more than 500 different charity organisations. Charity in Russia began with the acceptance of Christianity, and at first was the personal religious charity of Russian princes, monasteries, nobility and the rich, and consisted of the feeding of poor people and giving of alms. With the development of parish life Russian charity began to be a more organised form of help to those in need, based not only on religion. In the sixteenth century Ivan IV organised almshouses on the state treasury account. In 1705 and 1715 during the reign of Peter I the first church and secular shelters for children and foundlings were opened. By the end of the eighteenth century those organisations were united under the roof of the public Department of Institutions of Empress Maria. In 1911 there were 781 such institutions in Russia.

In 1802 Alexander I organised the Beneficial Society, later renamed the Imperial Philanthropic Society. During the reign of Nickolai I in 1837 a special Committee on the Supply by Charity to the Poor was established.

In the early years of the second decade of this century about 4762 charity societies were in existence in Russia and over 6000 institutions. Approximately 60 million roubles were spent each year on public charity.

The three main groups of charity institutions were those founded and guarded by the state, the church and on the initiative of wealthy citizens. We should, however, mention that there were no totally public, church or private organisations. In the board of guardians of any of them were representatives of all the mentioned categories.

State charity at that time resembled closely the system of social security we have today. On 1 January 1912 St Petersburg authorities had on the city budget the following institutions:

- nine orphanages;
- shelter for children;
- four shelters for old women and almshouses for 3765 people; 75% of expenses were on the city authorities account, and 25% from private donations;
- temporary shelters for children, before they could be placed into the city orphanages (5 in number) and day children shelters (4);
- warehouse (1) and wash-house (1);
- the city industry house and its branches provided jobs for more than 12,000 people;
- sewing workshops for women (3) and needlework shops for children (2);
- cheap flats, houses and hostels for single young women and women with children;
- city doss-houses (13) for 2974 people;
- free (7) and cheap (13) dining-rooms. Besides, at the guardians' expense they gave food in 29 private dining-rooms;
- 2169 scholarship holders. Scholarships were given on studies and upkeep in industrial, trade and commercial schools, city and private gymnasiums, higher institutions, city orphanages and private shelters.

A totally state charity institution was the Department of Institutions of Empress Maria, which, according to item 2 of the Articles, approved by Nickolai II "has to take care of reforming, upbringing and training to work of boys of all classes and religions from 7 to 17 years old, who showed vicious inclinations". A special committee of the Department organised its own industrial shelters and workshops, and put the teenagers into educational and industrial schools and trustworthy families; the committee members took care of those children after they had left the schools.

A major role in charity activities was played by the church. Parishes, monasteries and communities had 227 hospitals and 153 almshouses. Orthodox parish charity was based on assistance societies (38 in number), existing in all the churches.

Funding for the charity activities of churches came from members' fees, donations, charity-box collections and income from real estate. Assistance societies started their activities with giving money to the parish poor, taking care of children and old people, and building parish shelters, almshouses and schools. All the supported people had a place to live, food, laundry and medical service at public cost, and were given money for clothes, shoes, tea, sugar, and other needs. At Christmas and other church holidays they were given special presents. In children's shelters there were not only primary schools. Girls learned dressmaking and embroidery, boys learned bookbinder's and shoemaker's trades.

The third main group of charity institutions consisted of the public, or private organisations. These were funded totally from the donations of wealthy people and companies. An example would be the Russian merchants Eliseevs. In 1913, celebrating the hundredth anniversary of their company, they donated 500 thousand roubles to the poor of their city. The money went on the building of the first oncologic hospital in St Petersburg. Medical services in that well equipped hospital were free. The Eliseevs also supported an almshouse and a poor-house.

All the members of the Russian Tsar family took part in charity activities, particularly in the work of medical institutions. Her Majesty Empress Alexandra and her four daughters worked as nurses in military hospitals during the First World War. Grand Duchess Maria Pavlovna took part in organising help for soldiers, wounded on the battlefields. Representatives of famous Russian families, Viazemskis, Obolenskis, Trubetskois, Paneevs, put their money into the development of medical institutions, especially maternity hospitals.

Such was the state of charity and mercy in Russia at the time of the October Revolution of 1917. After the Revolution a new stage began, a stage which has been described elsewhere as one of forced charity and volunteering, and which lasted until 1985.

During this period the church seemed to disappear from the country's life. Under a special decree the Soviet government declared the separation of the church from the state. Its participation in the social life of the nation was forbidden. People who continued going to church were regarded as retrograde, ignorant, and enemies of the socialist society.

Also during this period private charity, at least in the form in which it had existed before the Revolution, disappeared, largely because of the dislocation of wealth in the nation.

In fact after 1917 only the official charity, changed of course, kept on going. Immediately after the Revolution, under a special decree of the Soviet power, free education and medical service was declared. Of course, it was not charity, it was the policy of the new government. The innovations themselves were progressive. A real scope and success of this activity, that gave truly impressive results, falls on the first years of the Soviet Power. Later the desire "to be ahead of the whole planet", the sincere belief that there was no country better than the Soviet state, led to the situation when the reports on the work done became more and more impressive, and the real results more and more oppressive.

In the Soviet period a new word appeared in the Russian language, *subbotnik*. Aiming to restore the country from the ruin of the civil war, soviet people worked "voluntarily" on their days off. They worked in the usual working places, and in the streets, equipping them with modern amenities, reconstructing houses, hospitals and plants. It was their sincere desire to see their country beautiful, that made them work; but gradually, as is often the case, the spontaneous action of the *subbotniks* turned into more formal, state sponsored measures, timed to coincide with such events as Lenin's birthday or the Communist party congresses.

Even during the Soviet period, however, some traditional charities continued to exist. The Red Cross Society was one such example, and survived partly from the members' fees, partly from selling stamps, but mainly from government money.

Since 1985, charity has gone through its second birth. One cannot yet say there is a system of charitable institutions in place, but one can see efforts to restore these traditions. In modern Russia charity organisations can be loosely divided into the following groups:

- public organisations (such as Red Cross, Blind People Society, All-Russian Society of Disabled Persons, and some others);
- church organisations (the law on liberty of conscience takes away the veto on church activities);
- private organisations.

This division is quite arbitrary. Where public and church organisations work on the grounds of a previous system (public actions, restoration of the monuments of church and civil architecture, preservation of the environment), the newly born class of businessmen and women tries to find out their own ways of work.

Sometimes events happen that unite the efforts of the three groups, and their deeds become really nationwide actions. Examples are the charity events that took place after Chernobyl, and the voluntary work to restore the towns destroyed after the earthquake in Armenia.

It is very difficult to systematise facts about charity organisations and their activities in modern Russia. New organisations are trying to find their structures and ways of work. And usually they work separately, not because they want to work that way, but because they know very little about each other. You do not find reports about their activities in the press.

The last thing we would like to mention are terms. I deliberately did not use in these notes the word volunteering. In Russian translation this word has a different meaning. I used the words charity and mercy, that correspond more closely with the word volunteering used in the West.

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13 Volunteering in Sweden

The definition of volunteering

At the outset it is necessary to make a distinction between volunteering in the broad sense, on the one hand, and the subject of our study, on the other hand.

Sweden is a country where popular movements have a long and strong tradition. Choral singing, the temperance movement, the workers educational movement, are all typical components of Swedish society. Surprisingly enough, these phenomena have attracted little interest from a scientific point of view. The subject of this paper is voluntary work in the "help and care sector".

Volunteer work with regard to help and care in Sweden has to date been a rather invisible sector of society. Nobody knows exactly how extensive and important the voluntary sector in Sweden is. This is partly due to the hegemony of the welfare state and the kind of discourse that emanates from that. As a consequence, questions concerning more specific definitions in the field of volunteering have not been addressed until now. Furthermore, there has been an absence of serious debate on this issue.

When the question of volunteering in the help and care sector finally came into the picture, it was a highly politicised issue, brought forward by the more aggressive right-wing politicians.

Sweden is a solidly constructed welfare state. Continuous economic growth and prosperity for many years made it possible to extend the responsibility of the state, encompassing most aspects of life where situations of vulnerability were at hand for the Swedish population. The social democrats – the ruling party for most of the past 50 years – showed a lack of interest, even suspicion, when it came to alternative solutions to social problems.

These are some of the reasons why the intense interest in volunteering which exist in other European countries does not have its counterpart in Sweden.

Extent of volunteering and the profile of volunteers

There are no comprehensive studies in Sweden concerning volunteering. This means that there are no national surveys concerning this issue. Consequently, the extent of volunteering is unknown. Nevertheless, limited studies concerning specific aspects of voluntary work are at hand.

The activities of volunteers

There is a lack of comparative data and thus a lack of global knowledge in our country concerning what volunteers actually do. Nevertheless, there are limited descriptions, follow-ups and evaluations concerning specific volunteer activities and organisations. In our opinion, few of these studies have an interest to the broader public or to the scientific community.

The motivations to volunteer

The question of motivation to volunteer has not been explored in Sweden at all.

The organisation of volunteering

A person in Sweden who wishes to volunteer joins an organisation corresponding to his/her interest. Thus, there are neither "volunteer bureaux" nor channelling activities through the state/municipality aiming at helping people to engage in volunteer work.

The State and volunteering

The question of the State and volunteering has a particular profile in Sweden. In spite of its earlier lack of interest for alternative solutions to problems concerning "help and care", the State gives extensive financial support to organisations in this field. This pattern is even more true for local authorities. In comparison to many other European countries, the Swedish State may probably be considered as rather "passive" and it has until now been acting in a non-intervention way in relation to the voluntary sector.

Recent trends in volunteering

Recent trends in the field point to a growing importance of volunteering, concordant with certain European trends. This must, to a great extent, be attributed to recent developments in the welfare state: today, when public expenditures must be cut and the shortcomings of the welfare state become apparent, politicians as well as ordinary citizens look for the kind of solutions that voluntary organisations can offer. New social problems have, in the past two decades, emerged for the solution of which no pre-established structures existed. Here, volunteer services have proved to be successful. This is another reason why volunteering is becoming more and more important.

Conclusion

As shown by this inventory volunteering as a phenomenon has, to date, not been a focus of serious research. With this background in mind we would like to mention that a group of scholars has recently been created. Our aim is to pursue research in this field. As a first step a general survey of the voluntary sector in Sweden will be performed. The programme, however, includes several studies, in a 3-5 year perspective.

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14 Role of the Media in Volunteering

Towards a European Strategy

Introduction

You need volunteers in large numbers. You appeal for them through the mass media. They respond. It ought to be easy but the reality, as anyone who has tried will know, is more complex. Yet if volunteering is to play a key role in our societies the media should play an important part in its promotion. But which media? How and at what cost? Who will pay? Does the approach work and is it cost effective compared with other techniques? These are the questions addressed in this paper.

To explore these questions it will be necessary to review the limited experience available in Europe and the United States. This will involve a brief analysis of the radical changes transforming the European media landscape, especially in broadcasting. For just as the trend towards more volunteering is part of a larger process of social change across the continent, so the role and capabilities of the media across that continent are changing fundamentally in ways scarcely understood by those who work in them, let alone other professionals who are trying to enlist their help. But the effect of these changes must be fully reflected in any strategy for it to stand a chance of succeeding.

Before even those deceptively simple questions raised at the beginning of the paper are tackled an even more deceptively simple one must be faced: what is a volunteer? Australia's serious music station is, apparently, largely run by amateurs who arrive with plastic bags full of their favourite records to share them with a wider audience. The idea would not appeal to the broadcasting unions in this and many other countries. The whole of BBC local radio was called out on strike a few years ago because the football commentaries on one station were being done, very well apparently, by a greengrocer. Other papers in this publication yield many other examples of volunteering's cultural relativity. Answers to the question become even more fogged in the move from a particular culture's view of volunteering to that of the individual. A recent survey by The Volunteer Centre UK showed that the proportion of UK adults volunteering increased from 51% to 75% when informal activity was added to organised work (1).

However complex and diverse may be the response, the question must be addressed systematically if the media are to be successfully enlisted in promoting volunteering and recruiting volunteers. One reason for this is the importance of self concept in mobilising large scale public support for volunteering. The evaluation of a recent volunteering campaign run by The Volunteer Centre UK and the BBC suggests that a significant proportion of volunteers recruited by the campaign (41%) had volunteered before. If the range of activities perceived as volunteering is extended more people may be prepared to increase their commitment. The National Association of Carers in the UK recently ran a successful media campaign designed to make carers aware of their status as a first step to mobilising them to lobby for more support. The case of volunteering is similar.

There is another reason for gaining a clearer picture of ways in which societies see individuals and individuals see themselves as volunteers. If the mass media are to be used, even in a limited way, the messages they carry must be carefully composed and targeted. To achieve this communicators need valid information on the motivational and socio-demographic characteristics of their target audience. While the difference

between volunteering and, say, dog food or shampoo is clear enough, the techniques used to sell them through the mass media are inevitably similar.

This may not be a popular argument among volunteering organisations whose cultures are often radically opposed to those of commercial enterprises. The issue must, however, be resolved if resources are to be deployed on a national or transnational scale. It is, in any case, only one of several issues arising from the conflict between the loose, organic structures of voluntary associations and the more formalised ones of government and commerce now being faced as volunteering moves up national agendas.

Creating the profile of a volunteer will be expensive. While dog food manufacturers can offset their market research costs against increased sales volunteering organisations find the economic case harder to make, especially when there are so many claims on the limited resources available. The case for economies of scale achieved through shared research is strong.

It would be wrong, however, to use volunteer profile data simply as a means of targeting mass media messages. The organic nature of volunteering, surely one of its greatest strengths, would quickly be lost if the techniques of commercial marketing were too freely borrowed. The essence of the volunteering relationship is that the individual helps shape the organisation and its mission in a way far less true of more hierarchical structures. This interactivity calls for a more responsible model of media use if its distinctive quality is not to be lost. The simple "bullet" model of communication in which a sender aims a message at a receiver is inadequate to analyse the full range of functions the media can perform in volunteering promotion. At the very least, a feedback model is required in which the response modifies the stimulus generating it. While this model is appropriate to conventional mass media practice it will be argued later that changes in the media themselves are calling for a network oriented model.

The media and volunteering

Experience of media use in volunteering campaigns suggests they perform the following functions:

One way (sender > receiver)

- awareness raising
- attitude change
- opinion forming
- training

Two way (sender < > receiver)

- fundraising
- recruitment
- information gathering
- advocacy

A brief consideration of these functions in practice will show the implications they have for campaign design and management.

Awareness raising – Perhaps the most obvious role for the media, this function calls for careful planning and research if it is to be fruitful. Both BBC audience research and The Volunteer Centre UK's independent evaluation of the recent UK Volunteers Week showed high proportions (55% and 66%* respectively) of respondents claiming that the

*the second percentage is of respondents who said the campaign booklet had changed their impression of volunteering

broadcasts had broadened their awareness of the range of volunteering activity needed. While a causal link has yet to be shown between awareness and action it seems likely that one will encourage the other, either through the recruitment of new volunteers or by increasing the commitment of existing ones.

Attitude change – The media's role in changing attitudes is far harder to evaluate. Research suggests that primary groups are the key agents of attitude change while the media play an indirect and long term role by informing and influencing discussion in these groups. Research into volunteer motivation suggests that face to face contact is by far the main stimulus for volunteering (2). The same research has also identified many of the factors which prevent people from volunteering or make them abandon it. Experience in health promotion and other public service campaign areas suggests that long term media campaigns can contribute significantly to attitude change. They will be effective to the extent that they are based on motivational research.

Opinion forming – The purpose and extent of volunteering are controversial issues in many European countries. The Danish Volunteer Centre reports that the issue of volunteering as a substitute for the welfare state has been hotly debated in politics and, therefore, the media. Versions of this debate will take place across Europe as the established regimes of the west and the newly formed ones of the east face their own forms of structural change. If this debate is to engage the full and informed participation of Europe's citizens and the support of politicians, administrators and industrialists is to be won the media must present the issues strongly and clearly. Media professionals themselves will need to learn about the policies and practice of volunteering now and in the future.

Training – The demand for volunteer training is large and will grow in proportion to the number of volunteers recruited and the number of tasks they are asked to perform. Effective training, especially in the interpersonal skills basic to most voluntary work, will always depend on face to face contact. But as distance learning develops the role of the media in promoting and supporting this training becomes more important. The dissemination of training content through broadcasting and print also contributes to screening by demonstrating to potential volunteers the qualities they would need.

Fundraising – Telethons and other media fundraising fests at local, national and international levels are now familiar. They have a key role to play in both funding and publicising volunteering. Media based volunteering campaigns and programmes are themselves attractive vehicles for public or commercial sponsorship. The 3M Corporation sponsored the placement of advertisements for the Independent Sector's Give Five campaign in the United States. Elements of the UK Volunteers Week 1992 campaign were sponsored by leading British companies.

Recruitment – This is the most sensitive area of media involvement because its success depends on the effective cooperation of different agencies whose objectives, timescales and ways of working do not coincide. At the same time, it carries the most obvious appeal because the principle, as suggested at the beginning of the paper, seems both simple and powerful. The various models which have been tried and the factors affecting their success will be examined below.

Information gathering – The need for more information about the demand for volunteers, their profile and motivations as well as those of non and ex volunteers, has already been demonstrated. By stimulating a response from agencies as well as potential recruits the media can help provide this information.

Advocacy – Once gathered, the information can be used in several ways. Research is one obvious use, as are planning and resource allocation. These are essentially top down activities. But if the volunteering movement is to retain its organic structure in the face of the increased demands placed on it, ways of keeping the devolved, bottom up decision making which is a central feature of this structure must be found. "Advocacy" in this sense refers to the process by which the needs, interests and experience of large numbers of individuals is used to shape provision and allocate resources. The media have a role to play in this process not only by helping to stimulate response but also by disseminating its results back to the respondents and other interested parties.

All these functions allow the media to play a vital role in the promotion and organisation of volunteering at both strategic and operational levels. Although there are examples of each of them in practice, their concerted application as part of a coherent campaign has yet to happen. It would require a degree of coordination and collaboration extremely hard to achieve, even at local level. Yet if the media are to play their full part in realising the potential of volunteering by helping to implement national and European policies this ambitious exercise should be attempted. With this in view, it will help to consider in more detail the factors involved in such an exercise drawing, where possible, on experience.

The nature of volunteering campaigns

Volunteering campaigns, especially at local level, tend to be reactive: a need is identified, an appeal is made, the need is met (or not) by the response. While such campaigns may be successful their effectiveness is often limited by lack of planning time. A reactive approach is, in any case, not appropriate for strategic objectives. Campaigns at this level tend to be generic, promoting the idea and benefits of volunteering. Perhaps the most ambitious example of this approach was the Independent Sector's Give Five campaign in the United States in the late 80s.

Even this major, advertising-led initiative had some quantifiable goals: to persuade people to give five hours a week of their time or five per cent of their income. The problem with solely generic campaigns is that they are expensive to mount and hard to evaluate. Perhaps this is why campaigns tend to combine generic promotional goals with recruitment objectives. Where the intention is only to promote the idea of volunteering a clear picture of target profiles and motivation is needed for success. Without these no media campaign, whether advertising or editorial, can hope to work. As media competition increasingly fragments audiences the choice of media for a campaign becomes dependent on this information. The difficulty of gathering this information, its reliability, currency and comparability across regions are problems all too familiar to any organisation that has tried.

Even if the information is to hand the diverse pattern it will typically reveal poses another set of questions: how much effort should be routed into local media to reflect local diversity of need? how difficult is it to orchestrate a national campaign delivered at local level? which media offer better coverage opportunities? how much resource should go into reaching ethnic and other minorities through specialist press and programming? what is the most cost effective balance of editorial and advertising? how will media choice affect response and the means of gathering it? The answers depend on the media ecology of the country or area concerned. In the United States the Volunteer Connection was a nationally organised, locally delivered campaign reflecting the mainly decentralised organisation of both media and volunteering agencies. Local agencies organised their own media initiatives and response mechanisms but within the carefully planned framework of a national strategy including a comprehensive training manual and newsletters. The recent UK Volunteers Week campaign was largely based on a national BBC radio network, reflecting the dominant national emphasis of public service broadcasting in the country. A comparative awareness of media ecology across Europe, together with the opportunities and constraints it offers, should be a major component of a European volunteering media strategy.

Media choice decisions will also be influenced by concerns about control over content and distribution. The simple decision between editorial and advertising is increasingly blurred in both print and broadcast media. Agencies are having to decide the price they are prepared to pay for adequate exposure. Both advertising and independent production may give them greater control over the content of messages but this may in turn be compromised by the need to share the cost with sponsors.

The hardest part of any volunteering campaign is the response mechanism. The Volunteer Connection campaign boasted average volunteer referral rate increases of 35% but a deeper analysis must be made of figures like these and the processes underlying them if campaigns are to be truly successful. This can be approached through a series of questions.

How are response objectives to be set? Should targets be set for skills, socio-demographic characteristics, locations or should emphasis be placed on attracting flexible volunteers to substantial, long term commitments who can be directed to areas of greatest need? How will these decisions affect the screening process and to what extent should attempts be made to prescreen respondents through message content?

What mechanisms should be used to refer respondents to user agencies? Freephone numbers linked to answering machines were commonly used in the American campaigns. These are an option for most European countries but they may be less culturally acceptable to target groups than in the United States where the public is more conditioned to direct marketing techniques. Should the cost to the agency of mechanisms like these which are free at the point of use be offset by the need to reach low income groups or should the cost of response be a screening device? How much information should respondents be given as part of the referral process and who should bear the cost of providing it? How far should local user agencies be involved in planning and handling response? How far can their involvement be coordinated within the framework of a national campaign? If screening and/or counselling is to be provided at this stage should it be done locally or centrally, by whom, what are the recruitment and training implications and who will bear the costs?

What expectations is the media campaign likely to set up in potential volunteers? How far will these differ from reality? What effect will this have on volunteer recruitment and whose responsibility should it be? High profile recruitment campaigns, especially those organised centrally, are notorious for raising expectations which cannot be met in local opportunities. This effect is made worse by the loose structure of volunteering organisation which makes it very difficult to exert quality control or uniformity of response. Even if it were possible the cost of achieving it may not be reflected in the added value it yields. How, in any case, can the lost contribution of a potential volunteer alienated by a hostile reception from an agency be costed? Can these be preempted by the campaign messages? Experience suggests that, quite apart from alienating individual volunteers, the mismatch between demand and supply created by a high profile campaign can damage relationships between local user agencies and those responsible for organising the campaign.

What would be the cost implications of screening and training for various levels of response and who should meet them? How are these activities to synchronise with campaign response so that enthusiasm is not lost? How will the additional resources needed to manage extra volunteers be found?

How can wastage be minimised? What mechanisms exist for redeploying volunteers who are surplus to need? How can their goodwill be kept and usefully channelled? The response to several campaigns has included individuals who have left or been rejected by other agencies. Does it make sense to think of a finite pool of potential volunteers who, once enlisted, should be kept at all costs or should campaigning effort be directed at meeting needs as they arise?

This list of questions prompts the thought that successful campaigns create more problems than failed ones. They can, however, be avoided by the preparation of a strategy based on carefully set objectives which takes full account of available resources. Most of the questions apply equally to small local and large national campaigns. They are common to the development of volunteering in any country. But they do not provide sufficient basis for a strategy at European level. Before an attempt is made to identify the elements of such a strategy it will help to be aware of the forces shaping the media across the continent.

Changes in the media

This brief review is confined to the broadcasting media, with some reference to telecommunications. The television and radio industries are undergoing the greatest changes. Newspapers and magazines are not subject to the same processes. Europe's broadcasting systems have largely developed as national publicly financed enterprises.

In many countries, especially in northern and eastern Europe, these systems have enjoyed total or virtual monopoly over the air waves. In those countries where direct government or licence fee finance has been supplemented by advertising revenue commercial TV and radio stations have been heavily regulated, with a few exceptions. This means that, while Norway's broadcasting system differs greatly from Italy's, there are some assumptions about the purpose of broadcasting and its role in national culture which the inhabitants of these countries share with each other and with those of all the countries in Europe. These assumptions are being challenged in some countries more rapidly than in others by the changes at work in the European broadcasting industry.

These may briefly be summarised as:

- a shift from national, publicly funded, heavily regulated media to internationally owned, commercially funded, lightly regulated conglomerates competing more fiercely for audiences and advertising revenue
- more air-time, especially at local and international levels through local radio stations, cable and satellite TV
- more independent production and cross-border co-production
- more imported ready made programming
- an attempt by the Commission of the European Communities (CEC) to stimulate a single European TV programme market through initiatives like the MEDIA Programme.

The opportunities and threats posed by these changes to volunteering agencies wanting to use these media for campaigns include:

- more capacity for exposure
- the potential for closer targeting of minorities, communities of interest and local audiences
- more scope for syndicating programming within and between countries
- the chance to gain greater control over content and, perhaps generate income by participation in independent production and distribution ventures
- greater pressure from broadcasters to buy time
- a tendency for the initiative in mounting campaigns to move from the broadcasters to the user agencies, calling for a greater expertise in media strategy and techniques.

It should again be stressed that these are overall trends in Europe whose impact varies greatly between countries. In eastern Europe, where the media are being redesigned from scratch in some cases, these trends are still apparent as countries introduce western style commercial broadcasting with, sometimes, great speed.

To exploit these changes the European volunteering movement has to make a rapid and thorough appraisal of the opportunities it has to offer. Even in the UK, with its long and substantial tradition of public service broadcasting, agencies are having to think very carefully about their future role in a fast changing broadcasting environment. There are some lessons to be learnt from the United States whose not for profit sector has grown up with commercial media. The success of the Independent Sector and the Volunteer Connection in attracting commercial sponsors for their advertising and public service announcements; their energy in persuading TV and radio stations and newspapers to give advertising time and space; the impressive response levels all suggest there is potential for positive results for volunteering from a commercial media system.

But these initiatives and others like them are highly culture specific. American society places a high premium on community participation by commercial enterprises. It is possible that Europe is inheriting American business practices in its media without the accompanying goodwill. Moreover, the public service ethos is still strong in European broadcasting and will not disappear for some time. Just as the perceptions and practice of volunteering vary widely between countries in Europe so does the media ecology. It may be tempting, then, to argue for a series of national volunteering media strategies enabling

the agencies in each country to exploit fully the unique qualities of their media systems. But it should already be clear from the brief account of issues surrounding volunteering and the media in this paper that their similarities are greater than their differences.

There are, too, more examples of Europe-wide intervention in public service media campaigns. An early example was the CEC's support for media initiatives on employment. More recently, it has made some attempt at supporting the coordination of media activity for the European Year of Older People (1993). Its MEDIA Programme, though primarily intended to develop the independent television in Europe, has initiatives which could serve the purposes of volunteering through, for example, fostering the independent production and distribution of transnational programming.

Another example from the United States illustrates the scope in this area. Group W, a national, commercial TV channel, developed Time to Care, a series on local volunteering for its Boston station. The series became so popular that it is now sold to over 70 stations across the country in a package adapted to take local material. Europe's linguistic diversity would make this exercise more difficult but if its audiences can share co-produced detective series and American soap operas surely there is hope for shared programming on a theme as universal as volunteering.

Account should also be taken of European developments in a related area of communications. The combination of information technology and telecommunications known as telematics is transforming public service as well as commercial activity on a global scale by making possible the rapid and cheap transfer of large amounts of data. This area is growing at frightening speed. Aware of its strategic implications, the CEC is investing three and a half billion ecus over the next few years in research and development programmes designed to explore the public service and commercial potential of this technology in, for example, health and rural areas. Its application to volunteering has scarcely begun to be tapped. Is there sense, perhaps, in a database of volunteers as well as one of volunteering opportunities (similar to the one now established by The Volunteer Centre UK) which would reduce recruitment and wastage costs by allowing individual volunteer careers to be tracked over time and help to ensure that increased labour mobility does not result in an overall loss to the European pool of volunteers? As broadcasting and telecommunications technologies converge, closely followed by the industries which exploit them, the scope for synergy is great and should be systematically explored.

As the European single market takes off multinational business and the foundations it supports are strengthening their pan European promotional strategies. There is now a European Association of Foundations. The volunteering movement could play an important part in these strategies through its media campaigns and will increasingly need the support of this sector. The nature of partnership and sponsorship relations needs careful consideration.

Towards a European media strategy

These few random examples should hint at the potential which could be unleashed by a European volunteering media strategy. It is beyond the scope of this paper to set out such a strategy. Some of its elements have, however, been identified here and would provide at least the beginnings of a framework for the discussion of how helpful the exercise would be and what it should embrace. These elements include:

- a programme of information gathering and dissemination on volunteering media initiatives
- the identification from this programme of research priorities and of the resources available to implement them
- the systematic exploration of sources of support among CEC programmes and other parts of the public and commercial sector for media and telematics based campaigns and projects

- a programme of consultation with media decision makers and regulators to identify mid to long term opportunities for collaboration
- the preparation and distribution of guidelines and training materials on volunteering media campaign management for use by local and national agencies
- the establishment of a unit, perhaps something like the recently formed Audiovisual Eureka Media Observatory, to monitor developments; gather, store and disseminate information
- an investigation of the feasibility of the European volunteering movement producing and distributing, in association with the media partners, its own programming and multimedia materials to promote and support volunteering.

The framework should be flexible enough to take full account of the special needs of individual countries, especially those in eastern Europe.

Media strategies in the public and voluntary sectors are often relegated to the margins of managerial minds as being frothy, insubstantial affairs which distract from the more pressing concerns of continuing to exist in the first years of a public sector ice age. Governments are, though, beginning to recognise the vital role of the media in promoting their policies to electorates. The UK Government was, until recently, the biggest spender on advertising in the country. Politicians and administrators at all levels in Europe should need little convincing of the role to be played by the media in promoting volunteering. Their support, and that of the commercial sector, for work in this area should be in direct proportion to the strategic priority they give volunteering and to the extent they are convinced that the volunteering movement can make imaginative and effective use of the media to achieve its objectives.

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15 Volunteering in Europe

A View from the European Commission

Introduction

This paper outlines the Commission's view of the role of volunteering in Europe. As an introduction it should be said that I am not sure that we are yet at the stage where we have formed any general view as such concerning volunteering.

We do though have a lively interest in the Europe of citizens – the "people's" Europe if you like – in the building of which the social economy and therefore volunteering has such a vital role to play.

In this spirit the Commission deals with many voluntary organisations. There are many examples of programmes, of relations, of consultation, of subsidies between the Commission and voluntary organisations.

Of course it is difficult for the Commission to deal with individuals, so we deal generally with coordinating structures, and in particular with associations and NGOs, the bodies which generally coordinate volunteering actions.

One has, of course, to keep in mind that volunteering is not regarded in the same way in all the member states. In the UK volunteering is such a tradition that voluntary organisations are used to dealing with public authorities, and public authorities consider voluntary organisations as interlocutors without any discrimination. In France one is still looking for the word without a patronising connotation. Should it be "benevolent" or "volunteering"? In France again, one can hardly separate volunteering from associations. In Italy there are apparently two distinctive types of legal status: one for associations and one for voluntary organisations. As far as I understand it the situation has changed very much in Denmark. Now the state is beginning to ask the voluntary sector to organise part of the social protection.

Despite the economic and social importance of volunteering, I know of no specific knowledge or study about volunteering at the European level. There are various studies in some member states at national level. They reflect a very different reality from one to the other.

From these different studies, it appears that volunteering is particularly developed in the UK and more generally in the Anglo-Saxon countries. A study estimated that 40% of the British population was involved in a voluntary activity through associations. This amount would represent in working hours the equivalent of 750,000 full-time jobs. In Denmark, 24% of the population appears to be involved in volunteering and 21% in Italy. According to a report from the Economic and Social Council written in 1989 by Marie Thérèse Cheroutre 20 million French citizens and residents were at this time involved in associative life.

Volunteering principles

When one observes the different ways of volunteering, one notes strong tendencies:

- Most of them express a concern about others, for example a non-working mother taking care of children from the neighbourhood, the tutorship of elder schoolboys, visiting of people in hospitals.

- Most of them express a concern by individuals as citizens with collective life, for example being a militant in a trade union to fight for the interests of a group, being a political militant to fight for a better society, joining an association for all types of activities or causes: environmental protection, helping immigrants in their administrative steps, fighting racism, giving one's blood in case of natural disaster or, to give a recent example, bringing a pack of rice to school for Somalian children.
- Sometimes they express a need or a deficiency: training, teaching immigrant populations to read and write, self-help, ...

This shows very clearly that in our consuming societies between public authorities and profit making companies there is a need for other structures. There is on one hand a need expressed by people who are excluded (and since the economic situation is not very encouraging we should be better prepared for more difficult times), and on the other hand a need expressed by people who are not satisfied simply with the idea of getting more and more goods. We have to try and bring these two groups together to make use of this natural complementarity. Our societies need experienced and available persons ready to give part of their time and to share their skills whatever they are, for others. It is simply a question of stability of our societies. It would not only be a pity not to listen to what voluntary organisations have to say or not to use cleverly their experience, their know how, their networks and their availability, it would criminal.

European construction was mainly the realisation of a space of exchanges and economic prosperity, the common market, then the single market and maybe someday the economic and currency union. But since it was created the Community had the ambition of joining men and people and by this means to promote at the same time peace, democracy and social progress.

The member states and the Community refer to values of solidarity, of justice, of human dignity and of social equity and consequently have developed a number of institutions, dispositions and acquired social experiences which witness, beyond the diversity of national situations, the existence of a European model of society. It is an increasing challenge, because the member states and the Community are involved in economic, technological and social changes which bring desirable development but which can also result in exclusion for groups and territories.

It is first of all the responsibility of member states, of national, regional or local authorities, to guarantee solidarity on their territories. Nevertheless the Community can and should contribute, always respecting the principle of subsidiarity, in the limits of its competence and means. This does not mean that following the principle of subsidiarity should be a listing of fields of competences. It implies that the Community should get involved determinedly to support and to sustain the member states and their local administrations and groups in the exercise of their responsibility in the promotion of social cohesion and of human dignity.

The fight for social equity and solidarity needs the largest mobilisation of all the actors, their cooperation in an effective partnership if the best results of all the initiatives are to be achieved. At local, national, European level, non-governmental organisations, social partners, local authorities and social institutions express their will to collaborate in such a mobilisation whose aim is not only to give a solution to situations of emergencies but also to prevent their development and to arrest the processes.

Volunteering and citizenship

It is difficult to identify what motivates individuals to participate in the life of the city. Here, in the question of volunteering, what incites anyone to get involved in communitarian or social affairs? Whatever the answer is, every individual acting in a voluntary action must have an answer of their own, volunteering is a school, a way and a guarantee for individuals to become citizens. In belonging to an association for the protection of civil rights for immigrants, individuals are taking care of the citizenship of others, they are not seeking any profit for themselves. In belonging to a non-governmental organisation individuals are using *contre pouvoirs* opposed to public authorities. They are safeguarding democracy.

The Commission and voluntary organisations

I am not going here to make a list of all the programmes of the Commission including voluntary organisations. Let me just say that almost all the programmes include voluntary organisations as partners: PHARE (programmes for Eastern European countries); NOW (for women); LEADER (development of rural areas); Poverty programmes; at DG VIII dealing with development there is a Liaison committee of NGOs to coordinate the actions of the Commission with the ones of NGOs; in DG XXIII a regulation proposal is proceeding for a legal status for European associations, an enquiry started on associations and volunteering. It is now too early to talk about the results because our questionnaire to associations is just coming back and we have not yet analysed the results. But we got many answers from associations whose activity is voluntarism, promotion and support. Almost all other organisations answering the questionnaire use volunteers.

There is another good reason for taking volunteering into account. According to social economic studies the time spent at work only represents 20% of waking life. So called "free" time is increasing. How to use this new free time? There are more and more organisations of retired people offering their services for all kinds of purposes. They are in good enough health to consider that they still can be useful.

Demographic figures show that the population of Europe is ageing rapidly. At the same time advances in medicine and the standard of living mean that on average we are all living longer. "Retirement" will more and more take a new meaning – not the end of "work" so much as the start of a new phase of potentially fruitful life. There is an immense challenge here. How can we use the immense fund of goodwill, experience and expertise that this growing group of still active people represents? How can we help them towards a fulfilling existence and at the same time use their energies and experience in the service of our societies?

I have tried to say something about the spirit of volunteering and there is no doubt that spirit derives from precious traditions in all our societies which we need consciously to strive to preserve and reinforce. But setting aside perhaps the sort of spontaneous voluntary action which takes place daily in any community – most of the time without being recognised as such – volunteering needs structure as well as spirit. In sophisticated, perhaps particularly in urban, societies the matching of need to volunteer availability requires organising. Suitable skills need matching to particular groups in need. Often volunteers themselves need training – they may need support in situations which for one reason or another are not familiar to them.

There are more and more contacts and seminars about volunteering in Europe. It is very important for your organisations and members but also for all the European citizens who have the advantage of exchanging experiences and developing together the idea and the strength of solidarity.

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