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Explaining differences in styles of volunteering: the case of the Flemish Red Cross volunteers

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Introduction

In recent, mainly Western European literature, there has been a growing conviction that the nature of volunteering is changing. The (quantitative) amount of volunteering has not changed, but its (qualitative) nature appears to be undergoing radical transformation. This observation is inextricably bound up with general (sociological) time diagnoses in terms of 'late', 'high', or 'reflexive modernization'. It is suggested that broader modernization processes restructure the motivational bases and the patterns of volunteering. In particular individualization and secularization are considered to be the driving forces that '[L]ead away from traditional forms of volunteering: lifetime volunteering becomes less frequent, and many more voluntary activities are short term; volunteering is less seen as a service to others and more often tied to qualifications and self-interest. Volunteers have become more output oriented in the sense that they would like to see a link between contributions and efforts on the one hand, and their results on the other. As a consequence volunteers are more interested in shorter-term assignments with tangible pay-offs' (Anheier & Salamon, 1999: 55-56).

In order to grasp this many-sided and modernization-driven transition in contemporary volunteer patterns, interpretations in terms of a shift from 'traditional' to 'modern' (Jakob, 1993; Kühnlein, 1998), from 'classical' to 'new' (Rommel, Lammertyn & Opdebeeck, 1997), from 'conventional' to 'unconventional' (Priller, 1999), or from 'collectivistic' to 'individualistic' (Eckstein, 2001) types of volunteering have been formulated. For the time being, the empirical research on these significant developments however remains in a seminal state: 'The exact nature and end product of these changes are not well understood in their full complexity and implications' (Anheier & Salamon, 1999: 55). Moreover, recent qualitative studies on this matter (Jakob, 1993; Eckstein, 2001; Hustinx, 2001) do not overcome a fundamental weakness in the current discussion: the assumption that a historical transition from a 'traditional' to a 'modern' type of volunteering is occurring, can not be substantiated because of the unavailability of longitudinal data.

In the research project presented, we aim at constructing a number of quantitative measurement instruments to identify current volunteer types along the lines of the hypothesized differences between 'classical' and 'new' styles of volunteering (Rommel et al., 1997). Because we inevitably rely on cross-sectional data on volunteer patterns in the Flemish Red Cross, we have to neglect the historical, process-based dimension of the theory. The research conducted primarily has an exploratory purpose. It is a first attempt to make the conceptual framework on 'classical' and 'new' volunteer prototypes operational for quantitative research. It investigates to what extent the multidimensional framework is useful to distinguish between present types of volunteering. If the volunteer patterns observed correspond to the ideal-typical 'classical' and 'new' style of volunteering, we can use a number of 'modernization indicators' to investigate whether strongly 'modernized' or 'individualized' individuals are more likely to represent a 'new' style of

volunteering. This can be considered an indirect way to provide some preliminary support for the theoretical expectation of the erosion of traditional patterns of volunteering.

In the first section of this paper, we will expound the theoretical background of the research. We then shortly present the research design (section 2). The empirical analysis is conducted in four steps. In a first step, we try to identify a set of attitudes that are related to the volunteer commitment and the volunteer organization (section 3). We secondly examine whether we can distinguish types of volunteers according to these attitudes (section 4). To validate the constructed typology, we look for relations with actual patterns of volunteering (section 5) and with a number of modernization indicators (section 6).

1. Theoretical background of the research

Sociological frame of reference

Present evolutions in the concepts of solidarity and volunteerism are inextricably tied up with broader social transformations. Recently there has been an exponential growth in the amount of sociological time diagnosis portraying rapid, fundamental and global social changes. The mechanisms behind these radical transitions can be described as a shift from a 'first' or 'simple' modernity to a 'second', 'late' or 'reflexive' modernity, or at the institutional level from an industrial society to a risk or network society (Beck, 1986; Giddens, 1990, Castells, 2000). This development involves a removal from traditional, rigidly organized social configurations (the nuclear family with its gender specific role divisions, status-based classes, local neighborhood, and church community). Collectively prescribed identities and patterns of behavior are progressively eroding through individualization and globalization processes. The traditional 'standard' or 'normal' biography differentiates into a plurality of individualized 'do it yourself' biographies (Beck & Beck, 1996). The individual becomes an autonomous and active designer of his/her own life story. This research project starts from the hypothesis that the degree of '(dis)embeddedness' in the 'reflexive-modern' fields of economy (an informational and global economy, flexible work patterns, the feminization of labor), family (new living arrangements, democratization of the family, changing partner-relationships,) and culture (individualization, secularization, new communication media) is of central importance to individual patterns of volunteering.

Solidarity and social integration in an age of individualization

The crumbling cement of traditional social forms raises questions about the prospect of social integration and solidarity in a reflexive-modern, individualized society: "*Sind hochindividualisierte Gesellschaften integrierbar?*" (Beck & Sopp, 1997: 9). Individualization is often mistakenly equated with disintegration, atomization, the coming of an 'ego'-society in which feelings of togetherness and solidarity completely vanished.

Beck states that current volunteering is still being judged according to deeply rooted, old patterns of thinking, which originate from a bygone institutional context and are not adapted to recent socio-cultural changes. A fundamental insight into the contemporary nature volunteering is blocked by four prevailing assumptions (Beck, 1997: 14-15):

1. Commitment (voluntary action) is equated and interchanged with membership: if commitment presupposes membership of an organization, then non-members by definition must be egoists.

2. The assumption of self-sacrifice: only those who are self-denying can devote themselves to others.
3. The 'silent help' or 'housewife' syndrome: the service provided is valued because it remains invisible, i.e. unpaid, unacknowledged, instructed and supervised by others.
4. A clear role division between helper and beneficiary: it is not recognized that helpers dedicating themselves to others also receive help from their assistance.

In this normative paradigm, altruism (=good) and egoism (=bad) are regarded as conflicting opposites. Reflexive-modern individuals however seem to be driven by a new morale that connects what has traditionally been considered mutually exclusive, i.e. enjoying oneself, individual fulfillment and self-realization on the one hand and the unselfish devotion to others on the other hand. A 'solidary' (Berking, 1996: 189) or 'altruistic' (Beck, 1997: 19) individualism replaces the traditional antithesis. The volunteer's demand for self-realization and reciprocity triumphs over the traditional rhetoric of self-sacrifice and complete devotion.

Changing patterns of volunteering

In the wake of general modernization processes, a transition from a traditional, classical or collectivistic volunteer type to a modern, new or individualistic way of volunteering has been announced. Contrary to the lifelong and unconditional commitment of the classical volunteer, new volunteerism is characterized as a short-term, project-oriented and sporadic form of action in which freedom and self-development are given priority.

This research starts from the multidimensional typology of 'classical' and 'new' styles of volunteering (Rommel et al., 1997). This conceptual framework classifies the differences between traditional and new volunteerism according to: (1) the culture of the volunteer (directed by collective identities versus individualized), (2) the choice of organization (based on ideology and highly structured versus according to personal interests and in loose networks), (3) the choice of the field of action (group solidarity versus personal identifications), (4) the choice of activity (based on organizational needs and abstract ideals versus based on personal interests and pragmatic), (5) the intensity and length of the commitment (long-term and frequent versus short-term and clearly limited), (6) the relationship with the beneficiary (altruistic versus reciprocal), (7) the relationship with the professional (subordinated versus equal). We will now further elaborate on these seven dimensions.

The culture of the volunteers

The culture of the classical volunteer is strongly linked to social class, gender, religion or local community. These traditional cultural phenomena create fixed identities and coercive patterns of behavior that affect volunteering.

New volunteers no longer identify with these fixed cultural frameworks. Individualization means freedom of choice in all spheres of life, including voluntary action. Instead of an ideological system, personal preferences dictate whether a person volunteers and in what kind of work. New volunteers consciously consider all the options before choosing one particular kind of volunteer work.

The choice of organization

The classical volunteer chooses an organization on the basis of strong cultural identification, often associated with religious beliefs and ideological convictions. As a result, this type of

volunteer is very loyal and is willing to accept a hierarchical structure in which power lies with an autonomous leader or leaders.

New volunteers are loyal not to a particular organization but to a particular cause. They choose an organization because it offers them the kind of volunteering activities they are interested in. If their interests change, they may well change organizations also. Hence being a volunteer increasingly resembles being a consumer (Verstraete, 1996: 50). New volunteers prefer loose networks offering occasional 'pick and choose' commitments. Moreover, they demand a decentralized, horizontal organizational structure rather than a rigidly bureaucratic hierarchy.

Choice of field of action and target group

The field of action of classical volunteers is once again determined by traditional socio-economic, political and religious codes. According to Voyé (1995: 325), traditional volunteering is embedded in the universalization of a specific culture and way of living (a 'good mother', a 'good worker', a 'good life' following Christ). It is based on strong, universal identities and uses powerful symbols and moral standards (Christianity, the bourgeoisie, the working class) based on inclusion ('we are all brothers and sisters of Christ') or exclusion ('he has been poorly educated', 'he is disadvantaged owing to a disability').

Conversely, new volunteers are inspired by an 'universalization of particularities' (Voyé, 1995: 325–329). Traditional collective identifications are replaced by feelings of similarity based on the volunteer's personal experiences and problems. For example, volunteer 'buddies' in AIDS projects are often homosexual men motivated by their encounters with HIV/AIDS in their own social circle (Willems, 1993: 13). Nevertheless, these new modes of inclusion are rarely permanent and can rapidly change as a result of volunteers perceiving new similarities with their own life story.

This impermanence is increased by the tendency of new volunteers to choose topical issues rather than traditional fields of action. Moreover, worldwide communications enable interaction between 'local' and 'global' citizens beyond traditional solidarity networks (Renooy, 1996: 78–80; Petrella, 1994: 33–38). Local action goes hand in hand with global challenges and a universal solidarity goes beyond all social differences: 'Think globally, act locally'.

The choice of activities

The classical volunteer's choice of activity is once again influenced by traditional roles: for example, women often perform subordinate, helping tasks, whereas men are involved in management. This type of volunteer is very dedicated to the goals of the organization and chooses volunteer activities that serve the organization's needs.

When choosing a task, new volunteers aim at striking a balance between the organization's objectives and their personal preferences. Influenced by the individualization process, new volunteers strive for both solidarity and personal development, selecting activities that maximize the personal benefits: self-realization, social contacts, work experience and personal autonomy. This attitude is sometimes likened to as a cost/benefit analysis (Breda and Goyvaerts, 1996: 5; Verstraete, 1996: 49). Furthermore, new volunteers use practical criteria when choosing (or rejecting) volunteer activities; idealism is replaced by pragmatism.

Length and intensity of commitment

Classic volunteers are generally devoted to one particular organization on a long-term and unconditional basis. They volunteer for an indefinite period of time. Their commitment is intensive, invariable and firmly rooted in a local organization or community.

New volunteers prefer a succession of short-term, clearly delineated commitments that can be terminated easily. Instead of 'belonging' to a volunteer organization for an indefinite period of time, they demand the flexibility to be able to shift between activities and organizations. New volunteers 'are still prepared to engage in volunteer work, but do not wish to be exclusively involved in one commitment within one organization for years' (Verstraete, 1996: 50). Hence working in projects is very attractive, as the duration and intensity of the commitment is adaptable according to the preferences of the volunteers.

Relationship with the beneficiary

Classic volunteers devote themselves to a community, a group or a person in the name of the core ideology of the organization. Classic volunteering is often embedded in a religious tradition of altruism. A purely self-sacrificing model of volunteering prevails. The relationship with the beneficiary is one-way: the volunteers do not expect anything in return for their efforts. New volunteers combine solidarity with a personal search for fulfillment and identity. As a result of the 'do-it-yourself biography', new volunteering is a matter of giving and receiving. The relationship between new volunteers and beneficiaries is reciprocal. This shift requires us to rethink the traditional polarity of egotism and altruism in terms of a continuum (Page, 1996: 14–15). Volunteers are not 'born altruists'; they can adopt any position on the continuum between pure altruism and pure egotism.

Relationship with the professional

Classical volunteers perform a supplementary role in reference to the professional regime. Whereas qualified and paid workers provide the lion's share of the services, classical volunteers are occupied with marginal and inferior tasks. A hierarchical distinction between skilled professionals and 'amateurish' volunteers exists. Traditional volunteers are merely serving professional workers (Rommel et al., 1997: 54). In contrast, a high level of quality and expertise characterize new volunteerism. New volunteers do not take the traditional authority of paid workers for granted. A profound professionalization of volunteer work takes place. Volunteers have become experts in the variety of tasks they perform and their work is hardly distinguishable from professional service delivery. Moreover, contemporary volunteers are professionally managed and supervised. Volunteer management activities "include recruitment, screening, orientation to the service environment, pre-service training, on-the-job training, ongoing supervision, acts of recognition and appreciation and, if needed, termination of volunteer work" (Cnaan & Amroffell, 1994: 346).

2. Research design

The data used in this study are drawn from a survey that consisted of 652 personal in-home interviews with a representative sample of volunteers from five different Flemish Red Cross units: the First Aid Unit, the Red Cross Youth, the Social Services Unit, the Training Unit, and the Urgent Psycho-Social Intervention Unit. These specific units were selected in consultation with a number of paid volunteer administrators in order to ensure a maximum variety of volunteer profiles.

The respondents were selected on the basis of a multi-stage stratified sample of Red Cross volunteer from centrally kept volunteer records. In a first step, the sample was geographically

limited by means of a random selection of 50 local branches of Red Cross Flanders (covering the five Flemish provinces). Within these local branches, a disproportional sample of volunteers was subsequently subtracted from the five selected units¹. Respondents' age and gender distribution within the five selected units are consistent with the population characteristics. The proportion of volunteers with a short length of service (maximum two years) is underrepresented in favor of the fraction of volunteers with a long-term involvement (more than 20 years).

All volunteers in the sample were interviewed by means of a standardized face-to-face questionnaire in the spring of 2000. The questions focused on several attitudes and behaviors of Red Cross volunteers, and information was gathered on a number of economic, affective and cultural background indicators. By dividing the number of complete interviews (N=652) by the number of potential respondents (N=822, contacts with not eligible cases not included), we obtained a response rate of 79.3% among the selected volunteers². This relatively low response rate mainly results from a large proportion of non-contacts (17.8% of the total number of contacts with potential respondents). Explicit refusals occurred in 2.3% of all contacts with potential respondents.

3. Measuring attitudes of volunteers

The theoretical framework on (classical and new) styles of volunteering consists of a mixture of behavioral and attitudinal volunteer features. In this paper, we will focus on the measurement of attitudes and opinions of the 652 Flemish Red Cross volunteers questioned, and on the relation between these volunteer dispositions and other volunteer characteristics. We moreover will examine to what extent the emerging volunteer patterns can be interpreted in terms of 'classical' and 'new' volunteer styles, and if these differences can be predicted by a number of cultural modernization indicators. Because this study should be considered as a first attempt to make the multidimensional typology of styles of volunteering operational, the analysis presented consequently is of an exploratory nature.

In order to measure attitudes of volunteers, the questionnaire included 12 questions comprising 162 evaluation items with regard to the culture of the volunteer, the choice of organization, motivations, opinions about professionalization, the perception of organizational characteristics, preferences toward patterns of volunteering, and so on. Because we could not rely on previous research, an exploratory factor analysis was conducted to search for relations of interdependence between the numerous items.

In a first step, we conducted a factor analysis for each set of items separately (per question or theoretical dimension). In a second step, we introduced all items in one overall factor analysis to check whether the factor solutions would be reproduced consistently³. Appendix 1 provides an overview of all factor solutions⁴. 11 latent factors are retained for further analysis: the degree of

¹ Under-representing units with large numbers of volunteers, and over-representing units with small numbers of volunteers (First Aid Unit: 250; Red Cross Youth: 125; Social Services Unit: 100; Training Unit: 125; Urgent Psycho-Social Intervention Unit: 75).

² AAPOR's minimum response rate: see AAPOR, 2000. *Standard definitions: final dispositions of case codes and outcome rates for survey*, The American Association for Public Opinion Research, p.23.

³ Apart from three questions (including 28 evaluation items) that do not apply to the whole group of respondents (see appendix 1).

⁴ An overview of the selected items per factor is available upon request.

loyalty, devotion, and choosiness of the volunteers, their motives for volunteering (recognition, satisfaction, self-development), their tolerance toward demands concerning the intensity of the involvement and the expertise required, their valuation of the mission of the Flemish Red Cross, their perception of the level of bureaucracy, and their preference for a high or low level of commitment. We proceed with the analysis by constructing factor-based (Likert) scales that add together the respondent's responses on the items with high loadings on the retained factors.

After selecting the number of factors to assess the attitudinal differences between volunteers, we can formulate hypotheses about the position the prototypical classical and new volunteer take on these dimensions. These hypothetical differences are presented in table 2.

We assume that classical volunteer are very loyal and devoted, not choosy and willing to accept a demanding commitment. They strongly identify with the mission of the organization and are less critical regarding bureaucratic tendencies in the larger organization. They are primarily 'other-oriented': they attach great importance to recognition received from the broader community and gain satisfaction through social contacts and feelings of belonging to the volunteer group. As they are supposed to be strongly embedded in collective traditions, self-development is of secondary importance. Because they greatly value the voluntary nature of volunteering, they will take a negative stance toward professional demands imposed by the organization. But they are very likely to accept prescriptions concerning the intensity and length of their involvement. 'New' volunteers theoretically take the opposite position on each dimension.

Table 2. Hypothetical differences between classical and new volunteer attitudes.

	Classical	New
Organization characteristics		
Mission organization	++	--
Being critical of bureaucracy	-	++
Motives for volunteering		
Recognition	++	--
Satisfaction	++	--
Self-development	-	++
Culture of the volunteer		
Loyalty	++	--
Devotion	++	--
Choosiness	-	++
Low level of commitment	-	++
Organization's demands		
Professional demands	-	++
Intensity commitment	++	--

An examination of the correlations between the selected factor-based scales gives a first impression of the direction in which the different volunteer attitudes are related to each other (Table 3). The strongest correlation can be observed between the degree of loyalty towards the organization and the importance of recognition and satisfaction through volunteering⁵. In combination with a strong identification with the principles and mission the organization stands for, a low assessment of the level of bureaucracy, and a strong devotion to the volunteer

⁵ The overall factor analysis suggested that these features measure the same latent dimension. We opted to keep the factors separated for the sake of a clear conceptual distinction between the dimensions.

assignments, these attitudes point in the direction of a classical volunteer position. As expected, a rather choosy attitude and a preference for a low level of involvement are negatively associated with high levels of loyalty and devotion.

Contrary to the theoretical assumptions, a more 'modernized' or 'self-reflexive' motive as the pursuit of self-development is also positively associated with this rather traditional disposition.

The degree of tolerance toward organizational requirements regarding professionalism and the intensity of the commitment hardly correlates with the other factor-based scales. The choosier the volunteers are, the less likely they are to accept instructions concerning the level of expertise and involvement.

The positive correlation between 'training' and 'intensity' does not correspond to the new style of volunteering. 'New' volunteers greatly value the high quality of the volunteer services provided but simultaneously do not tolerate that the organization interferes in their course of action. Based on the theory, we thus would expect a negative correlation.

Table 3: Pearson correlation coefficients between attitudes of Flemish Red Cross volunteers (Likert scales)

	Loyal	Recognit	Satisfac	Develop	Mission	Devotion	Choosy	Lowcom	Burocrf	Training	Intensit
Recognit	0.55*** (641)	1.00000 (651)									
Satisfac	0.60*** (641)	0.52*** (651)	1.00000 (651)								
Develop	0.31*** (641)	0.42*** (651)	0.32*** (651)	1.00000 (651)							
Mission	0.33*** (634)	0.31*** (640)	0.24*** (640)	0.28*** (640)	1.00000 (641)						
Devotion	0.36*** (642)	0.23*** (651)	0.32*** (651)	0.12** (651)	0.15*** (641)	1.00000 (652)					
Choosy	-0.13** (636)	0.03 (643)	-0.11** (643)	-0.09* (643)	-0.09* (634)	-0.26*** (644)	1.00000 (644)				
Lowcom	-0.12** (642)	-0.03 (651)	-0.16*** (651)	-0.09* (651)	-0.04 (641)	-0.12** (652)	0.21*** (644)	1.00000 (652)			
Burocrf	-0.26*** (639)	-0.26*** (648)	-0.27*** (648)	-0.11** (648)	-0.10* (638)	-0.26*** (649)	0.10* (641)	0.004 (649)	1.00000 (649)		
Training	0.08* (638)	-0.08* (647)	-0.03 (647)	0.11** (647)	0.03 (639)	0.06 (648)	-0.18*** (641)	-0.10* (648)	-0.02 (645)	1.00000 (648)	
Intensit	0.07 (640)	0.12** (648)	0.01 (648)	0.18*** (648)	0.09* (638)	0.08* (649)	-0.24*** (642)	-0.10* (649)	-0.13** (646)	0.15*** (645)	1.00000 (649)

Prob > |r| under H0: Rho=0: * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001; number of observations between brackets

A brief inspection of these bivariate correlations suggests that the relations between the variables generally go in the direction of the theoretical expectations, with the exception of the factors 'self-development' and 'intensity'. This might indicate that we have measured a different dimension than intended. We will further investigate this issue by looking at the volunteers' position on the retained set of factors in the next section.

4. Clustering attitudinal differences between volunteers

Once a satisfactory factor solution has been obtained, a subsequent research question concerns the position that respondents take on the various summated rating scales. In this section, we examine whether it is possible to distinguish groups of volunteers according to the attitudinal differences measured. This can be done by means of an exploratory cluster analysis⁶.

To create a typology of the volunteers' attitudes, the 11 factor-based scales were subjected to a cluster analysis (with the fastclus procedure of SAS). To determine the number of clusters, three different criteria were used: (1) the R-square or the proportion of over-all variance explained, (2) the pseudo F Statistic, (3) the interpretability of the cluster solution. Table 4 gives an overview of the pseudo F and R² under a varying number of clusters. Although the proportion of explained variance increases with a rising number of clusters, the pseudo F statistic has the highest value in case of a two-cluster solution (which is an indicator for the most optimal solution).

Table 4. Number of clusters, pseudo F statistic and proportion of over-all variance explained.

Number of clusters	Pseudo F Statistic	R ²
2	129.99	.174
3	86.49	.219
4	79.17	.278
5	68.16	.307
6	63.15	.339

Because there is no significant jump in the relative increase in R², we opt for a solution that is also interpretable in reference to the theoretical expectations. To describe the two and three clusters or types of volunteers, the cluster means of the 11 variables in each cluster are used. A comparison between differences in mean scores indicates that a two-cluster solution provides a 'simple' pattern, whereas a three-cluster solution reveals a 'mixed mode' structure. Both cluster solutions are shown in table 5.

The two-cluster solution largely reflects the hypothetical difference between a classical and new volunteer position. On average, volunteers in the first cluster show a more classical disposition. They appear to be more loyal, more devoted, and less choosy. They attach significantly greater value to the organization's mission and to the recognition and satisfaction they derive from their volunteer efforts. Moreover, they are less critical toward bureaucratic tendencies in the organizational setting. Compared to the second cluster, they are also more willing to accept interference in the intensity and term of the commitment and they are more receptive to more obligatory forms of commitment.

Two factor-based scores however go in the opposite direction. Contrary to the expectation, the volunteers in the first cluster greatly value opportunities for self-development as well, and furthermore, they are more likely to reconcile with a far-reaching professionalization of the volunteer work performed. In the previous section, we already observed that the signs of the correlations of these factors with the other factors were opposed to the hypothesized ones. This suggests that rather than measuring the separate conceptual dimensions of classical and new volunteer dispositions, the latent factors are indicative for the relation between the volunteer and

⁶ Whereas the exploratory factor analysis implies a reduction of the number of *variables*, the exploratory cluster analysis is a technique for the grouping of *observations*.

the organization in general. The position the volunteer can take is twofold. On the one hand, the clusters can be distinguished according to the strength of the overall identification with, or the commitment to the organization and volunteer engagement (indicators are the factors 'mission', 'bureaucracy', 'recognition', 'satisfaction', 'self-development', 'loyalty', and 'devotion'). On the other hand, the volunteer types differ according to the extent to which they subordinate themselves to organizational demands or put their own needs and preferences first. This results in a **'strong/weak-structure'**: the first cluster represents volunteers who can be typified by a strong identification and subordination, whereas the second cluster groups the volunteers who stand for a weak identification and subordination.

In case of a three-cluster solution, this pattern differentiates in a **'strong/moderate/weak'-structure**. In other words: a 'mixed' type occurs, characterized by a rather moderate identification (similar to type 1 but less loyal, less oriented to the organization's mission and to self-development through volunteering, though more indulgent with respect to bureaucratic tendencies) and a weak subordination (similar to the third cluster). According to the cluster analysis, the first and second clusters however are most similar.

Table 5. Ordering of the clusters according to mean scores on the factor-based scales

	Cluster 1 (Strong)	Cluster 2 (Weak)	R ²	Cluster 1 (Strong)	Cluster 2 (Moderate)	Cluster 3 (Weak)	R ²
Mission organization	3.60 ++	2.85 --	.16	3.72 ++	3.19 +-	2.83 --	.14
Level of bureaucracy	2.80 --	3.73 ++	.19	3.50 +-	2.39 --	3.91 ++	.37
Recognition	3.16 ++	2.38 --	.21	3.05 ++	3.05 ++	2.26 --	.21
Satisfaction	4.35 ++	3.62 --	.27	4.28 ++	4.21 ++	3.51 --	.26
Self-development	3.80 ++	3.22 --	.15	3.79 ++	3.60 +-	3.18 --	.12
Loyalty	4.09 ++	3.17 --	.34	4.07 ++	3.87 +-	3.02 --	.34
Devotion	6.29 ++	5.09 --	.31	6.20 ++	6.14 ++	4.81 --	.37
Choosiness	2.85 --	3.27 ++	.07	2.69 --	3.17 --	3.27 --	.10
Low level of commitment	3.43 --	3.88 ++	.06	3.04 --	3.99 ++	3.86 ++	.19
Professional demands	4.36 ++	4.15 --	.03	4.40 ++	4.19 --	4.18 --	.02
Intensity commitment	2.51 ++	2.23 --	.03	2.57 ++	2.34 --	2.23 --	.03
Over-all R ²			.17				.22
Pseudo F Statistic			129.99				86.49
% of total (N = 621)	48.31	51.69		29.95	33.33	36.71	

Tukey test for pair-wise differences in mean scores: (++) or (+++/-/-) significant differences between the two or three clusters at a .05 significance level, (++) or (+++/-/-): significant differences between one cluster and the other two clusters at a .05 significance level. Rankings are based on relative comparisons.

A four-cluster solution does not improve the distinctions between the volunteer types. In between the 'Strong'- and 'Weak'-mode, two mixed types occur, of which one is more similar to the 'Strong'-type and the other to the 'Weak'-type. However, the differences are not as pronounced as in the three-cluster solution, and the structure becomes more heterogeneous. Hence the interpretation becomes less clear. We therefore continue the analysis with the two-cluster and three-cluster solutions.

In spite of the clear interpretability of both cluster solutions, we have to be aware of the relatively arbitrary nature of the clustering technique. The cluster solution obtained depends on the specific clustering method and the number of clusters defined (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984: 15-16). In table 6, we notice that almost one third of the volunteers in the second cluster of the two-cluster solution shift to a different cluster in the three-cluster scenario. The first cluster splits into two different clusters. Moreover, we have to raise questions about the fact that the Fastclus procedure in each case resulted in a division of the sample in quasi-equal groups. This could indicate that there are no substantially different attitudinal patterns among the Red Cross volunteers in the sample. In that case, the clusters obtained are a mere product of the clustering technique itself.

Table 6. Cross-tabulation of the two- and three-cluster solution

Three-cluster solution				
Two-cluster solution	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3	Total
Cluster 1	154	146	0	300
	24.80	23.51	0.00	48.31
	51.33	48.67	0.00	
	82.80	70.53	0.00	
Cluster 2	32	61	228	321
	5.15	9.82	36.71	51.69
	9.97	19.00	71.03	
	17.20	29.47	100.00	
Total	186	207	228	621
	29.95	33.33	36.71	100.00

Consequently, the conclusions that we can draw from the cluster analysis performed remain very tentative, and do not provide a fundamental hypothesis test. Nevertheless, it is a useful technique to explore similarities and differences between our respondents, though we have to proceed with caution and avoid generalizing or substantiating statements.

Given the patterns of mean percentages and the description of the volunteer types, we can assume that the volunteer types identified differ according to a number of more 'objective' or 'behavioral' volunteer features. Moreover, given the hypothesis of the impact of broader modernization processes on the shift from traditional to new styles of volunteering, we can assume that a number of 'modernization indicators' will correlate with the volunteer typology.

In section 5, we will aim at validating the volunteer typology by relating it to the objective aspects of the volunteer's behavior. We will use information on the intensity and length of the commitment, on the volunteer position and the sort of activities performed, and on the Red Cross unit in which the different volunteer types are involved.

In section 6, we will look at how well a number of 'modernization indicators' can predict the different volunteer types. In the wake of the individualization process, we particularly focus on the effect of age and education. In an additional step, we will include a broader range of cultural indicators such as religious convictions, church practice, opinions about traditional gender roles and alternative living patterns, the extent to which the volunteers are individualistic versus collectivistic minded, and some social participation indicators.

5. Typology of the volunteer's attitudinal characteristics and their pattern of volunteering

In table 7, the volunteer types constructed are characterized according to a number of more objective or behavioral volunteer indicators. By examining whether the clustered volunteer types are associated with a different kind of volunteer behavior, and whether those associations are (largely) in keeping with the theoretical assumptions, we aim at providing an external validation of the attitudinal distinctions drawn (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984: 66).

From a first inspection of table 7 we decide to proceed with the three-cluster solution because it significantly differentiates over all volunteer features included. A clearly varying volunteer pattern emerges for each separate cluster. This is not true for all volunteer features in the case of a two-cluster solution.

For the volunteers representing the 'Strong'-type, the image of the traditional volunteer undeniably emerges. He or she is active on a very frequent and time-consuming basis, and is most likely to practice a long-term involvement. Furthermore, this type of volunteer pre-eminently embodies the 'jack-of-all-trades'. He or she participates significantly more in all sorts of activities and more often holds a position in an executive board. Compared to the other volunteer types, this group of volunteers is significantly more likely to be found in the First Aid Unit and in the Training Unit. They are relatively less represented among the volunteers of the Red Cross Youth, the Social Services Unit and the Urgent Psycho-Social Intervention Unit.

The cluster analysis pointed out that the 'Strong'- and 'Weak'-volunteer types adopt the most dissimilar sets of attitudes (see previous section). They again constitute opposing poles with respect to the intensity of the commitment. Among the volunteers grouped in the 'Weak'-category, the highest percentage is involved on a less than monthly basis, and the largest proportion estimates a maximum of 4 monthly hours of volunteering. Nevertheless, the majority of 'Weak'-volunteers is involved in a more intensive way.

The proportion of volunteers with a shorter length of commitment is significantly larger in the 'Moderate'- and 'Weak'-group. Their moderate to weak identification with the volunteer experience however does not imply that they are exclusively involved on a short-term basis. That more than half of the volunteers belonging to these clusters have been involved for more than

five years, indicates that one can put into practice a long-term commitment and meanwhile keeping one's distance.

With respect to the sort of volunteer activities, the 'Weak'-type is significantly less involved in assisting, subsidiary tasks. They are most likely to be responsible for educational activities such as training and lectures. Compared to the 'Moderate'-type, they are also better represented at meetings and organizational activities. The 'Weak'-type moreover is relatively over-represented in the Training Unit and the Urgent Psycho-Social Intervention Unit. Compared to the 'Strong'-type, he or she has a much lower chance to participate in a volunteer board. It thus seems that the 'Weak'-type undertakes a more focused volunteer action, which is very likely to be limited to specific activities and units. This is a characteristic feature of the new style of volunteering.

The volunteer pattern of the 'Moderate'-group can be described in moderate terms. The 'Moderate'-volunteer type holds a middle position. He or she is involved in a fairly intensive way, and has an almost equal chance of being active on a shorter or longer term. Relatively speaking, the volunteer work of the 'Moderate'-volunteer remains significantly more often limited to assisting and funding activities. These volunteers are the least likely to be a member of a volunteer board. They proportionally form the largest part of the Social Services Unit and the First Aid Unit. In contrast to the 'all-round'-participation of the 'Strong'-volunteer type, this type seems to represent a traditional volunteer in another sense: the volunteer who is merely involved in subordinate work, who has a limited executive power and a restricted say in the organization of the volunteer work.

This examination of the relation between the (attitudinal) volunteer types and the associated (behavioral) volunteer patterns has resulted in three pronounced groups of volunteers, of which two portray a rather traditional style of volunteering, and one corresponds to a new volunteer style. On the basis of these clearly distinguishable associations between volunteers' attitudes and behavior, we conclude that the cluster solution provides a good starting point for investigating differences in styles of volunteering.

In a next step, we will examine whether the interpretation in terms of 'traditional' and 'new' volunteer types correlates with a number of cultural variables that are generally considered as modernization indicators.

Table 7. Volunteer types according to their volunteer patterns (number of observations between brackets)

	Two cluster solution			Three-cluster solution			
	Strong	Weak		Strong	Moderate	Weak	
Frequency of volunteering			***				***
Weekly	43.20	33.88		54.40	32.34	30.73	
Monthly	42.86	37.13		34.07	49.25	36.24	
Yearly	13.95	28.99		11.54	18.41	33.03	
	(294)	(307)		(182)	(201)	(218)	
Monthly hours volunteering			***				***
≤ 4 monthly hours	15.67	32.09		13.98	20.29	35.96	
5-12 monthly hours	22.00	28.66		13.44	29.47	31.58	
> 12 monthly hours	62.33	39.25		72.58	50.24	32.46	
	(300)	(321)		(186)	(207)	(228)	
Length of commitment			n.s.				*
% ≤ 5 years	42.00	43.61		34.41	47.82	45.17	
	(300)	(321)		(186)	(207)	(228)	
Red Cross unit			***				***
First Aid Unit	49.00	32.71		47.31	48.31	28.07	
Red Cross Youth	14.00	14.64		11.29	14.49	16.67	
Social Services Unit	15.67	11.21		12.37	20.29	7.89	
Training Unit	16.33	22.43		21.51	13.04	23.68	
Urgent Psycho-Social Intervention	5.00	19.00		7.53	3.86	23.68	
	(300)	(321)		(186)	(207)	(228)	
Volunteer position			n.s.				***
% Member of a board	33.00	30.53		47.31	21.26	28.51	
	(300)	(321)		(186)	(207)	(228)	
Sort activities							
% Meetings	55.74	61.78	n.s.	68.31	45.10	63.68	***
% Organization activities	36.49	35.67	n.s.	48.09	25.98	35.43	***
% Assistance	86.15	73.89	°°°	85.79	82.35	72.65	**
% Administrative tasks	31.08	27.39	n.s.	44.81	20.10	24.66	***
% Training and lectures	24.32	33.76	°	32.24	18.14	36.77	***
% Funding activities	57.09	42.04	°°°	62.30	50.00	38.12	***
% Chores	37.50	22.93	°°°	45.36	24.51	22.42	***
	(296)	(314)		(183)	(204)	(223)	

Chi-square: ** p < .01, *** p < .001, Fisher Exact: °° p < .01, °°° p < .001

6. Predicting attitudinal differences between volunteers

In order to predict the differences between the three volunteer types, we ran two different logistic regression models (with the catmod procedure of SAS). The first model only included the effects of age and education. The second model started with a large number of independent variables, of which the significant ones were retained in the final regression analysis.

Based on our theoretical framework, we hypothesize that the differences observed between the traditional and new volunteer types are dependent on the extent to which the individuals are modern and individualized. We consider age and education as the primary modernization indicators. We consequently expect younger and higher educated volunteers are more likely to belong to the 'Weak'-type (the 'new' or 'modern' one). This hypothesis is tested in the first regression model. The age variable is divided into three categories by means of the two dummy variables 'young' (15-30 years old) and 'middle aged' (31-50 years old). The reference category

consists of the volunteers older than 50. Educational attainment is dichotomized into the lower and higher educated (higher than secondary school).

In the second step, a broader range of cultural indicators is inserted in the regression model. Possible gender effects are traced. Religious belief and church practice are used as indicators of the secularization process. Respondents who consider themselves as nonbelievers and who never or at most occasionally go to church are supposed to be more secularized (more 'modern'). Furthermore, we wielded opinions on traditional gender roles, equal partnerships, and alternative living patterns to distinguish between traditional and modern positions. Solidarism and utilitarian individualism are tools to assess the extent to which the respondents are 'other'- or 'self'-oriented. All attitudes are measured by means of factor-based Likert scales and dichotomized between those who strongly and weakly embrace these views. Another set of predictors relate to the social participation of the volunteers. We suppose that the more individualized the respondents are, the less likely they are to intensively participate in traditional voluntary associations. On the other hand, they are more likely to be involved in 'new' or rather individual forms of commitment, like various forms of protest action or the increasingly popular 'checkbox'-activism. They are also expected to be more interested in politics. To map these different forms of social participation, we constructed a number of sum-scores counting the number of active memberships, the number of volunteer commitments, and the number of 'classical' and 'new' fields of action. The 'political apathy'-variable was constructed by adding the number of missing responses on a question evaluating Flemish political parties. The 'protest'-potential and 'checkbox'-activism were measured by means of two factor-based Likert scales⁷.

Table 8 depicts the effects of the various cultural variables on representing a particular volunteer type in reference to another volunteer type. The effects are presented by means of odds ratios. We only retained the indicators that have significant effects on belonging to one of the three volunteer categories.

Table 8. Volunteer types according to a number of cultural predictors: Odds Ratios(*)

	'Strong'-type vs. 'Weak'-type		'Moderate'-type vs. 'Weak'-type		'Strong'-type vs. 'Moderate'-type	
Age:						
Young vs. old	.32 (3.18)***	.57 (1.74)	.46 (2.16)**	.77 (1.30)	.68 (1.47)	.75 (1.34)
Middle age vs. old	.48 (2.07)*	.69 (1.44)	.58 (1.73)	.82 (1.22)	.84 (1.20)	.85 (1.18)
Education:						
Higher vs. lower education	.37 (2.69)***	.38 (2.63)***	.24 (4.12)***	.26 (3.86)***	1.53 (.65)	1.47 (.68)
Sex:						
Female vs. male		.96 (1.05)		1.79 (.56)**		.53 (1.87)**
Church practice:						
Never/occasionally vs. monthly or more		.53 (1.88)*		.55 (1.83)*		.97 (1.03)
Solidarism		3.60 (.28)***		3.46 (.29)***		1.04 (.96)
Utilitarian individualism		1.50 (.67)		2.22 (.45)***		.68 (1.48)

Significance of odds ratios: * p < .05; ** p < .01, *** p < .001

(*) Inversed odds ratios between brackets

⁷ An overview of the selected items per factor is available upon request.

In the first model, we find a strong effect of age and education. The direction of this effect is in accordance with our hypothesis. Being young and higher educated significantly magnifies the chance to represent the 'Weak'-volunteer type. Whereas age provides the strongest effect on belonging to the 'Strong'- versus the 'Weak'-category, education plays a major role in predicting the adherence to the 'Moderate'-type versus the 'Weak'-type. There is no effect of age and education on the 'Strong' - versus the 'Moderate'-condition, which is also in keeping with our hypothesis as we have identified both groups as rather traditional volunteer types.

Surprisingly, the effect of age completely vanishes in the extended model. Solidarism enters as the most important predictor: the chance of belonging to the 'Strong' - or 'Moderate'-type versus the 'Weak'-type is more than 3 times as high if the volunteer has a strong 'collectivistic' orientation. This however does not imply that the 'Weak'-volunteer group is populated with extremely self-oriented individuals. On the contrary, respondents who score high on the utilitarian individualism variable are twice as likely to be part of the 'Moderate'-category in reference to the 'Weak'-category. And there is no effect of the degree of utilitarian individualism on being a 'Strong'- versus a 'Weak'-type of volunteer.

The effect of education remains fairly constant. Higher educated volunteers are almost three to four times as likely to represent the 'Weak'-type in contrast to the 'Strong' - and 'Moderate'-types. The effect of church practice provides further support for the modernization hypothesis. The volunteer groups identified as 'traditional' have a significantly greater chance to go to church frequently. Or put conversely, volunteers who never or occasionally go to church have a higher probability to belong to the 'Weak'-category.

Finally, there is a gender effect. Women are 1.70 times as likely to belong to the 'Moderate'-type versus the 'Weak' - and the 'Strong'-type.

Conclusion

The cluster solution proves to have some validity. Firstly, a reasonable interpretation of the three types of volunteers is possible according to their position on the given set of attitudes. Furthermore, the attitudinal differences correspond with distinct volunteer patterns. These associations picture three different volunteer images. At the traditional volunteer pole, we identified a very devoted and highly integrated 'jack-of-all-trades' type of volunteer on the one hand, and a moderately involved and subordinated volunteer group on the other hand. The third volunteer type leans toward the theoretically new style of volunteering. This group of volunteer practices a focused and relatively limited commitment. These volunteers identify significantly less with the volunteer experience and are most keen on self-determination. Finally, a number of cultural modernization predictors appear to support our hypothesis in terms of traditional and new types of volunteers. The third volunteer type can be considered as the most 'modernized' or 'individualized'. Although we cannot rely on longitudinal data, we can expect an increase in this volunteer type as modernization processes affect a progressively enlarging part of the population.

However, we have explicitly stated that the analysis presented is of an exploratory nature. To substantiate the theoretical assumptions made, the research should be replicated in other volunteer organizations and other fields of action. After all, there is no watertight guarantee that the same cluster solution would occur in a different volunteer setting. The scope of the research findings presented consequently remains limited to the Flemish Red Cross volunteers.

Furthermore, in order to substantiate the hypothesis of a historical shift from a traditional to a modern style of volunteering, a continuation of the research over time is necessary. A more generalizing and longitudinal approach is thus called for.

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APPENDIX 1: Identification of latent factors depicting attitudinal differences between Flemish Red Cross volunteers.

Concepts from the theoretical framework	Description / instructions for operationalization	Factor solution separate sets of items (1)(2)	Reproduction in overall factor analysis (3)	Number of observations	Number of items (4)	Cronbach's alpha (raw variables) (5)	Min-max range	Mean	SD
Culture of the volunteer	<u>Attitudes toward the organization</u>								
	Items expressing the degree of identification with the organization, the presence and strength of feelings of belonging, the degree of faithfulness to the organization and dedication to the commitment, the relation between personal and organizational needs	Loyalty*	+	642	6	.767	1-5	3.61	0.793
		Devotion*	--	652	3	.667	1-7	5.69	1.083
		Choosiness*	+/-	644	5	.620	1-5	3.07	0.781
		Servitude	--	645	4	(.477)	1-5	2.96	0.801
	<u>Motivations for volunteering</u>								
	Items expressing various dimensions of motivations for volunteering, ranging from altruistic or religious inspirations to more self-oriented motivations	Recognition*	+	651	6	.781	1-5	2.76	0.842
		Satisfaction*	+	651	6	.779	1-5	3.96	0.718
		Self-expression } Work experience }	+	651	4	.739	1-5	3.75	0.678
		⇒ Selfdevelopment*	+	651	2	.701	1-5	2.93	1.269
					6	.723	1-5	3.48	0.766
	<u>Tolerance toward organizational demands</u>								
A list of demands or obligations that a volunteer organization can impose on volunteers. Items concerning the level of expertise, the time, term and intensity of involvement, subscription to the ideology of the organization, a contract between volunteer and organization, ...	Intensity*	+	649	5	.712	1-5	2.35	0.842	
	Training*	+	648	3	.697	1-5	4.30	0.679	
	Entrance	--	646	(2)	.631	1-5	3.40	1.146	
<u>Attitudes toward alternative conceptions of 'work'</u>									
Items expressing opinions about the relation between paid and unpaid work, the willingness to combine paid and unpaid work in more flexible ways	Flexible conception 'work'	NI	(450)	5	.769	1-5	2.75	0.797	

Choice of organization	<u>Reasons for Red Cross involvement</u>								
	Items expressing various reasons for entering the Flemish Red Cross. Options formulated relate to the ideology and mission of the organization, to the activities offered and to social influences (family volunteer tradition, a personal request, ...)	Mission*	+	641	4	.705	1-5	3.20	0.965
		Activities offered	--	647	(2)	.628	1-5	3.36	1.390
		Social influence	--	644	3	(.447)	1-5	2.28	1.084
	<u>Organizational structure</u>								
	Items expressing opinions about the level of centralization of decision-making and management, the degree of volunteer participation at the local level, the degree of submissiveness to independent leaders	Delegated leadership	--	635	5	(.524)	1-5	3.65	0.624
		Volunteer participation	--	639	3	(.262)	1-5	3.36	0.754
		Organizational transparency	--	637	(2)	(.425)	1-5	3.44	0.876
	<u>Level of bureaucracy</u>								
	Semantic differentials between two opposite organizational characteristics, evaluated for the local, intermediate and central level	Bureaucracy RCF*	+	649	7	.802	1-7	3.28	1.083
	Image RCF	--	650	2	(.448)	1-7	3.69	1.453	
	Bureaucracy local units	NI	(503)	6	.837	1-7	2.80	1.093	
	Bureaucracy intermediate levels	NI	(92)	6	.771	1-7	3.30	0.999	
Choice of activity	<u>Preference toward style of volunteering</u>								
	Semantic differentials between two opposite features of classical and new styles of volunteering. Opposites relate to the length and intensity of the commitment, the degree of obligation and personal autonomy, the importance of personal benefits, the focus and nature of the work, ...	Low level of commitment*	+/-	652	6	.617	1-7	3.67	0.935
		Personal interest	--	652	5	(.492)	1-7	3.67	0.928
		Organization of the work	--	652	6	(.434)	1-7	4.96	0.808
Relationship with professional	<u>Professionalization of volunteer work</u>								
	Items expressing opinions about the degree of volunteer expertise required, the tension between voluntarism and the quality of the services delivered, the 'professional-likeness' of volunteers	Voluntarism	--	651	3	(.456)	1-5	3.20	0.831
		Formal qualifications	--	649	3	(.444)	1-5	2.96	0.921
		Quality volunteer services	--	650	3	(.237)	1-5	3.83	0.649

(1) All latent factors are identified by using an exploratory factor analysis with squared multiple correlations as prior communality estimates, and a promax rotation to obtain the most simple structure.

(2) Factors in bold and marked with an (*) are retained in the further analysis

(3) NI = not included because question does not apply to all respondents

(4) Insufficient numbers of items between brackets

(5) Cronbach's alpha's lower than .60 between brackets (for a satisfactory internal consistency, a Cronbach's alpha > .75 is desirable)