

UNIVERSITY OF TRENTO - Italy  
School on Local Development

# ***Network and Organisation Type Volunteerism Highlighted by two Micro Level Case Studies in Hungary and Ukraine***

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***Network and Organisation Type Volunteerism***  
***Highlighted by two Micro Level Case Studies in Hungary and Ukraine***

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## **List of abbreviations and acronyms**

CBO – Community based organisation

CEE – Central and Eastern Europe, Central and Eastern European

CoDe – Comparative development

CPI – Corruption perception index

CSI - CIVICUS Civil Society Index

CSO – Civil society organisation

EC - European Commission

ESF – European Social Fund

EU – European Union

FSU – Formal Soviet Union

GCS - Global civil society

GCSI - Global Civil Society Index

IMF – International Monetary Found

NGO – Non-governmental organisation

NIS – National Integrity System

OECD - Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

US – United States

WB – World Bank

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## Abstract

Voluntary work can be regarded as key element of community participation and civil society. Current paper seeks to highlight some dual characteristics concerning voluntary work by forming network and organisation faced volunteerism implemented by two micro level case studies delivered in Hungary and Ukraine. After providing a summary on the community development concept the essay focuses on civil society theory, dealing with global civil society's perception as well. The *second* main part concerns the community participation's and civil society's empirical aspect. This chapter delineates their institutional approach by outlining a - not complete - general picture about the Ukrainian and Hungarian civil society comparing them by the composite global civil society index. According to this in comparison with Western democratic states both Hungary and Ukraine have a strongly underdeveloped civil society. Contrary to the widespread opinion - namely the post-soviet states' advancement in general toward the CS is preceded by the CE countries development - based on this index Hungary and Ukraine have occupied a similarly low position among 33 countries.

The main critical argument of current essay would be the following. Several researches are focused on participation concentrating only on its organisational aspects. Present study seeks to bring to light that if we examine the civil society, community participation or voluntary work only from the formal point of view it is impossible to draw a comprehensive picture about it. By my argument it is unavoidable to study its informal or non-organisational aspects as a complementary element of the institutionalised character. From my point of view one instrument in investigation of these non-formal phenomena would be micro or meso level case studies. Such an attempt is represented in the third part of the paper by providing two idealtypes. These network and organisation faced idealtypes are considered to be my research's first main product. The idealtypes always serve as analytic "crutches" for a researcher in order to compare the empirical phenomena with them; they are never realised purely in the social life. In order to represent the idealtypes possible application I have provided two micro level case studies carried out in Ukraine and Hungary in order to represent their applicability in scientific research – this attempt could be regarded as the second major product of my work. By my opinion the qualitative case study carried out in a Hungarian grammar school in Western Ukraine demonstrates an example rather on the network type volunteerism or charity. From the other side, my empirical experience during my internship in a refugee camp in Hungary provides an instance for a rather organisation sort of participation of university students.

For the sake of supporting my arguments both theoretical and empirical, secondary and primary methods – such as literature review, providing macro-statistical data about Hungary and Ukraine, creating and implementing two idealtypes, conducting two case study researches - have been used. Their sources would be national and international statistical data, reports on local, national and international research outcomes, own case study research activity.

## Preface

“... we understood that volunteerism is not only working for free – it is a real philosophy of citizen participation in community development.”

(Andriy Kostyrytsya, Korosten Youth Parliament Representative, Ukraine)

*“Nothing makes people closer than joint useful work.”*

(Kathlen Zeidler, Germany)

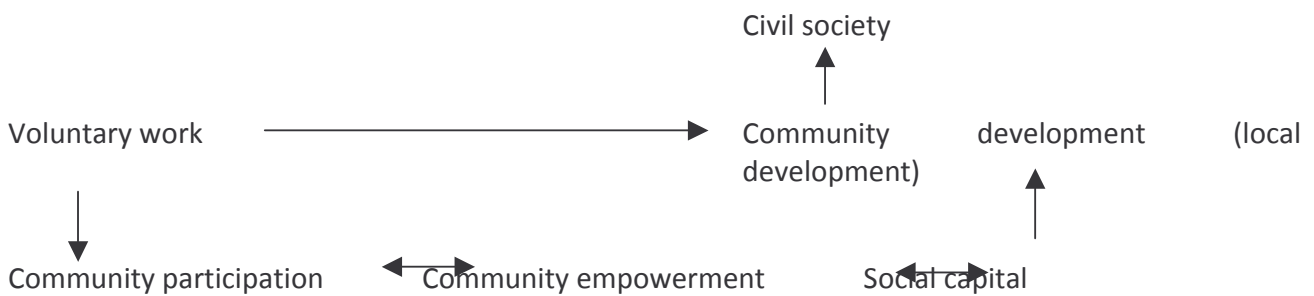
This paper is a product of my research activity during my CoDe Master Programme during September 2007 – December 2008, maintained by my previous theoretical studies and empirical experiences. During this work many people have helped me; I would like to underline only some of them. First of all I am very grateful to my supervisor Prof. Zoltán Szántó for his guidance and inspiring advices. Moreover, I would like to thank their support our lecturers and presenters who I had opportunity to meet during the Programme, especially Prof. Péter Futó who has provided a big quantity of methodological recommendations in order to conduct a proper empirical research. Moreover, I owe many thanks to Prof. Sanjeev Prakash and Prof. György Lengyel for their constructive critics on the previous version of my paper in a framework of a workshop and conference. I would like to thank my internship supervisors' Dr. Marelyn Kiss József's and Márta Kiss' and the Contemporary Researches Foundation's help and the opportunity for using the research outcomes of my internship period. Last but not least I am grateful to the Academic Committee and the whole Master CoDe office, its management and staff who ensured many type of – not only administrative - assistance providing us a stabile, friendly and encouraging atmosphere for studying.



## Introduction

Voluntary work can be regarded as one of the tools of community participation and community empowerment, and these participatory activities might lead to creating and/or strengthening social capital and trust. All these within certain conditions contribute to community development which is a particular aspect of local development in general. Moreover, the voluntary work even directly may contribute to realise a community development and building up a civil society (CS) and/or it can strengthen the operating CS.

**Figure 1. Coleman Boat on the Voluntary Work's and Local Development's relationship**



Source: own grouping.

From my point of view the voluntary work may affect throughout some other mechanisms which are interconnected, namely community participation and community empowerment. Both of them are supported by the presence of social capital (SC), in addition both ones' product might be the creation or reinforcing SC. By my opinion all abovementioned five elements are strongly related each other and hardly separable to, in some scientists' work they are used as synonyms; during my essay at some points I am going to do the same. As the beginning of my paper let me provide some preliminary theoretical thoughts on community development and civil society which provide a fruitful framework for studying the voluntary work itself.

## I. Conceptual framework: community development and civil society

### I.1. Community development concept

In order to give some initial ideas, it is worth shortly summarising the concept of community development. Community development has three main pillars such as: community empowerment, participation, and social networks & trust. By a wide definition community development contains all the "... actions directed at the increase of community welfare as a common good." (Iglie 2008:2). The community *empowerment* means a process building up and strengthening the community's capacity to respond collectively to issues related to them, starting from individual empowerment and ending in political action. The second factor, the community *participation* is a crucial part of the empowerment "... by the involvement of local population in actions aimed to improve their quality of life...." (Iglie 2008:7). From the local development's perspective, the key word in participation would be the internality instead of externally induced improvement and outwardly managed processes. Admittedly, externally initiated (e.g. governmental or European Union<sup>1</sup>) projects and programmes could be also

<sup>1</sup> See III.3. and III.3.2. for providing a concrete example.

effective, only it is needed the presence of consent and acceptance from the side of locality. The benefits evolving from the participation could be the feeling of ownership, more precise needs assessment, and correct estimation of community resources. Besides the above-mentioned micro or citizen level components, the participation concept can be extended to the small-scale democracy at meso level. In this institutional "altitude" the core actors are the non-governmental organisations (NGOs), community based organisations (CBOs), citizen groups, and social movements which are strongly related to both social capital and civil society.

Besides the cited permission and acceptance, the embeddedness is also considered to be an important ingredient of both community empowerment and participation. This third column manifests in formal and informal *networks* creating *social capital*, and norms of generalised reciprocity which cause<sup>2</sup> tolerance and trust within the local community. These networks can serve as a recruitment mechanism, may solve the collective action problem, mobilise the resources, and provide opportunities for learning. It may raise the question whether the social capital is created as a bottom-up or a top-down process? It is not obvious to answer this question unambiguously because there can be found theories supporting both approaches.

It is worth to notice one more, both practically and theoretically interesting problem which is strongly related to participation as well as the collective action and social capital concept such as production of *public goods*<sup>3</sup>. We can agree that a community development process and its results are public goods. According to the game theory, at the individual level it is not rentable to contribute to the generation of a public good whilst for the benefit maximisation at the community level everyone's cooperation is needed. Then one can surface a question whether which tools may promote the cooperation of individuals in a collective action? Mancur Olson (1965) provides us some potential means, one of them are *selective incentives*. These incentives are given selectively to those who have been cooperated. Besides the material incentives the scholar calls our attention to non-material positive and negative *social* selective incentives such as reputation, believes, praise, appreciation, exclusion. Another possible prospect is the presence of a third person or a *charismatic leader* who encourages a given favourable activity. Moreover, the scientist argues that the probability of a collective action is higher in a *small* closed *group* where the communication is stronger among the stakeholders, the free-riders can be noticed and punished from the one hand, and the participants can be recompensed from the other.

## **I.2. Civil society theory<sup>4</sup>**

After taking a glance at the community development's features one may argue that these characteristics are strongly related to the civil society concept. These two can be characterised as two sides of the same coin because the community development basically refers to the individual (micro) and sometimes to the institutional (meso) level of citizen participation; all these activities and

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<sup>2</sup> Regarding the reciprocity, it is difficult to answer the question whether a certain level of trust existed before the building of social capital or vice versa. To study the origins of both embeddedness and generalised trust see Polányi 1957.

<sup>3</sup> Public goods have two main characters: on the one part, their supply is endless; on the second part, there are no exclusions and the whole group or community benefits from them. (See e.g. Olson 1965, Putnam 1995:67.)

<sup>4</sup> Within current essay we are not trying to highlight the concept as a whole rather only its relevant features are used which are related to voluntary activities.

organisations are the constituent parts of the civil society as a macro level phenomenon. Almond-Verba (1963) who might be labelled as of the most famous scientists of the concept in the 20<sup>th</sup> century use the expression “civic culture” in political sense which main factors are communication and persuasion; consensus and diversity; it is a culture which allows changes but at the same time temperates them (1963:8). Shifting to the term “civil society”, it is commonly labelled as “third sector” - where the government and the market are the first two – which is based on so-called intermediary institutions<sup>5</sup> built upon “... *self-organized, voluntary citizens’ activity and their interrelations, which occur in the public sphere between the state and the household, apart from the market.*” (Stepanenko 2006:576 with own underlying). The phrase civil society is used by the International Monetary Found (IMF) as “... *wide range of citizens' associations that ... provide benefits, services, or political influence to specific groups within society.*”<sup>6</sup> As it could be seen above there exist several definitions of civil society, in the framework of this paper we use the World Bank’s description which refers to “... *wide array of non-governmental and not-for-profit organisations that have a presence in public life, expressing the interests and values of their members or others, based on ethical, cultural, political, scientific, religious or philanthropic considerations.*”<sup>7</sup> Accepting this pretty broad definition an extensive range of organisations can be considered as civil society organisations (CSOs) such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs), labour unions, business forums, philanthropic foundations, professional associations and foundations, religious groups, citizen advocacy organisations, charitable organisations, faith-based organisations or the community based organisations (CBOs), citizen groups, and social movements.

Regarding the CSOs’ and voluntary institutions’ linkage without deep methodological argumentation by definition – at least by Stepanenko 2006’s one – every CSO is considered to be voluntary organisation at the same time. From the other side, if we approach the question from the opposite side and examine the definition of volunteerism it means a *non-paid voluntary activity doing for in favour of non-family members or social groups, and meanwhile contributing to strengthening a community* (Czike-Kuti 2006:13). Starting from the literature there is more adequate to use the term voluntary “activity” instead of “work” because the latter is always connoted to a paid character whilst this definition underlines the non-paid one. As we see this description is pretty wide in the sense that it contains every type of non-paid activity helping others, not only the ones which have official institutional framework<sup>8</sup>. Meanwhile according to this definition all organisations which members get payment for their activity are not considered to be voluntary ones<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> <http://www.civilsoc.org/whatisCS.htm>.

<sup>6</sup> The IMF definition see: <http://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/facts/civ.htm>

<sup>7</sup> Definition provided by the WB:

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/CSO/0,,contentMDK:20101499~menuPK:244752~pagePK:220503~piPK:220476~theSitePK:228717,00.html>.

<sup>8</sup> The second half of this statement is going to have important meaning starting from the III. point.

<sup>9</sup> The multiple functions of voluntary organisations and foundations are identified by the European Commission (EC) in the following way: “*They contribute to employment creation, active citizenship, democracy, provide a wide range of services, play a major role in sport activities, represent citizens’ interests to various public authorities and play a major part in promoting and safeguarding human rights as well as having a crucial role in development policies.*” (COM (97):2.) From the other side, the voluntary organisations are essential components of social economy along with cooperatives and mutual societies (COM 97).

### 1.2.1. Conceptualisation of civil society

Following Putnam's argumentation the sum of the social capital can be one indicator on the civil society's extension. His formula on social capital illustrates that the total amount of SC means the number of the civic associations multiplied by the number of their members<sup>10</sup>. Generally speaking there can be observed a significant expansion in both size and influence of the CSOs all over the world. This trend can be illustrated by exact statistics on the international level: the number of international NGOs has increased to 26.000 in 1999 (from 6.000 in 1990). These organisations play a significant role in channelling an extensive amount of development aid (by an OECD report that means US\$ 11-12 billion per year by the late 1990's) to developing countries,<sup>11</sup> they can successfully complement central governmental services. SCOs at local, regional, national and international level mobilise thousands of members, volunteers, activists, and supporters.

At this point we should shortly touch upon the *global civil society* (GCS) concept<sup>12</sup>. As we already could see before GCS is composed of all non-governmental activities and structure, additionally, it is a sum of interconnected social processes, "*a complex and multi-dimensional space on non-violence*" (Keane 2003:12), due to the cross-border relations it has pluralistic character and strong conflict potential. Finally, the term global refers to a "... 'macro-society' or 'society of interlocking societies' consists of a myriad of social interactions stretched across vast geographic distances. ... from the highest mountains to the deepest seas, supports life, so too global civil society is now found on virtually every part of the earth's surface.'" (Keane 2003:17, 18). As the general theory does, we should also underline the strong interconnected, interdependent, integrated but de-centred nature of globalisation which contains many similarities and diversities at the same time.<sup>13</sup> Anheier et al. 2001 (cited by Anheier, Stares 2002) argues that GCS sturdily interrelates with economic globalisation (such as finance, trade, cultural diversity and communication) and international rule of law (human rights, treaties). Under GCS they understand the socio-sphere – area of values, organisations, networks, individuals – which exists principally "... outside the institutional complexes of family, market, and state and beyond the confines of national societies, polities and economies." (Anheier, Stares 2002:243).

We should picture at the same time that in line with the increasing number of the voluntary organisations, the nature of the membership has been moderately changed. As Putnam (1995) showed from critical aspect out in the USA the stock of social capital is declining due to the fact the attendance and the intensity of the activities, the number of direct interactions is lower in quickly spreading tertiary organisations than in the secondary ones. This statement can be generalised throughout the Western world where the passive membership has become a trend. Besides declining trends in American social capital, in Putnam's *Bowling Alone* article, rises another question: "... social capital is neither created nor destroyed, merely redistributed?" (Putnam 1995:76). He points out the potential function of the workplace connections and electronic networks.

One may argue that in the modern globalised world the territory of both living and communicating has been extended and the members of a given society are not always able to participate in the connections and control them personally. At the same time, generally speaking, the role of the

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<sup>10</sup> Putnam's formula would be: Social Capital =  $\sum n_{1...r}$ . Putnam 2000 cited by Orbán-Szántó 2005.

<sup>11</sup> www.worldbank.org.

<sup>12</sup> About the origins of the theory see e.g. Boulding 1990, Falk 1995.

<sup>13</sup> To learn more about GCS see e.g. Anheier et al. 2001.

traditional ties – as neighbourhood, extended family - which are based on physical proximity and personal participation, has been weakened. Thus, the way of the participation in social life should have changed and lost its personal character. At the same time we can share Wollebaek, Selle (2004)'s opinion who argue the passive participation is “better” or more favourable than non-participation and standing away from any organisations<sup>14</sup>. We may mention also Hirschmann (1970)'s hypothesis supporting this idea, namely: the members have several ways to express their dissatisfaction as choosing exit, voice or loyalty. The engaged affiliates typically use the option of voice rather than exit which means belonging to an association and staying within it means voting for it. The referred scientists delivered a research investigating the characteristics of both active and passive membership in Norway. Regarding the motivation of joining a certain group, there could not be showed considerable difference out between active and passive members. However the egoistic motives seem to be stronger than the altruistic ones in both cases, the passive members' intention is more overtly instrumental<sup>15</sup>. Their empirical results might be surprising at the first sight since they have explored that the passive members – similarly to active ones – are aware of the weight of affiliation, they are interested in the associations' internal life, and they are ready to activate themselves if they feel it is necessary. When they reason that the membership in vertical type tertiary organisations also contribute to producing social trust, social capital and civic engagement, they arguments explicitly contradict Putnam's opinion.

Another typical indicator of both civil society and SC might be either the level of *trust in the people* in general or *confidence* which covers the respondents' trust in institutions.

## II. Institutional approach to participation

At the first glance the most evident indicator on the extent of civil society would be the number of SCOs as well as their membership – during my study this would be marked as a traditional institutional approach. Starting from the III. point I am going to argue that this outlook should be complemented by the non formal one because not every activities can statistically apprehended; especially in traditional societies there exists a substantial amount of work and participation which is statistically invisible due to its non- or extra-organisational character, these activities are not manifested in any kind of official membership.

Nevertheless till now we used the definition of civil society without situating it either in time or space, we should mention it might have various forms of appearance depending on the geographic, economic, political, cultural and social situation of a given state. The experts usually agree that the civil societies in Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries characteristically differ from the “typical” ones in the West. One may state along with some authors that the main malady of the post-communist – those are both Hungary and Ukraine - societies would be the “... *substantially deformed (during the communist rule of the Soviet period) societal structures of those societies, the main deficiency of which is the weak development of the values and traditions of civiness.*” (Stepanenko 2006:577). Mainly the post-soviet states – as e.g. Ukraine – and partly the post-communist states – e.g. Hungary - are so called “lands in between” (Rose 2000) because there can be observed new legal

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<sup>14</sup> Their argument is based on Almond-Verba (1963)'s research conducted in five countries about the so-called civic culture.

<sup>15</sup> By Wollebaek-Selle (2004)'s findings the reason for joining an organisation mentioned by the activists most frequently would be e.g. to learn new things, to keep in shape such as personal fulfilment whereas the passive members were moved by expecting economic or work-oriented benefits, influencing decisions and getting membership advantages.



institutions and market economies from the one hand, and old socialist legitimate values from the other.

## II.1. Examples on civil society's operationalisation

### II.1.1. "Orange" civil society in Ukraine?

Regarding the Ukrainian situation, it was very common before the 20<sup>th</sup> century that the people lived in small communities which members were characterised by entire cooperation with the help of churches and schools. During the Soviet period the "voluntary" organisations (Pioneers, Komsomoltsi, Timurivtsi) had been mobilised masses of young people and they had a strong governmental and ideological background. After the country's independence on August 24, 1991 these institutions finished functioning and the churches and cultural organisations have tried to fulfil this gap (BUMR 2005). Nowadays, there are registered approximately 40 000 NGOs in the country which involve 12% of the population, more than 5 million inhabitants<sup>16</sup> (see Table 1.).

Even though theoretically the legal framework is successfully functioning in Ukraine, several inconsistencies can be observed in practice. Isajw (2004) provides five persuasive examples for law-enforcement dysfunctions such as: bargaining with

**Table 1. Number of NGOs in Ukraine and Hungary**

Year/Country	<i>The Number of NGOs (rounding)</i>				
<i>Year</i>	-	1991	1996	2000	2004
Ukraine	-	300	12 000	27 000	40 000
<i>Year</i>	1989	1990	1996	1999	2003
Hungary	8 800	16 000	45 300	48 000	53 000

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine 2008, Nanivska 2005, Czike, Kuti 2006.

an official agent during a traffic violation without being charged; a judge can be convinced by an oligarch or government not to apply a certain law in a given case; the state can fail to fulfil its duty in time, e.g. late paying of pensions; the state may apply the law as a punishment for certain political activities; the law may be violated by the state but the state may make responsible something/somebody else. All these are characteristics of pre-modern, or so called feudal or tribal societies (Isajw 2004:5-6). Accordingly, considerable part of the society exists in an uncertainty coming from both market's ("wild" capitalism) and hierarchy's (governmental institutional deficiency, inefficient social services) failures (Thompson 2003). In these circumstances the civil initiatives which are mainly based on personal networks can be used as answers for these double-faced outcomes for decreasing the uncertainty and inequalities (Putnam 1995, Fukuyama 1999, Barbieri 2003).

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) has worked out a *method* - which contains 14 indicators - to measure a country's transition to a civil society. The half of the indicators is explicitly or implicitly related to aforementioned confidence or trust in institutions (see I.2.1.). According to the IMF

<sup>16</sup> The following laws provide legal framework to the civil associations (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ukraine 2008): „On association of citizens" (1992), „On Charity and Philanthropic Organizations" (1997), „On Professional Creative Workers and Creative Unions" (1997) and „On Youth and Public Organizations for Children" (1998). One important act: "Act of Ukraine on Volunteer Movement" (2005) (UN Volunteers 2005).

grouping Ukraine has been classified in the fourth “class” from the five along with Albania, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan which means a low quantity of trust and slow progress toward CS. The *Freedom House’s* indicators show the same results (Karatnycky et al. 2001, Weder 2001 cited by Isajw 2004).

One more classic measurement would be the *CIVICUS Civil Society Index* (CSI) where can be examined the CS diamond, namely the four dimensions - such as impact, structure, environment and values – which are composed of 25 sub-dimensions and 74 indicators. In the 2003-2005 CSI implementation phase 54 countries participated, including Ukraine but not Hungary. According to the CSI report Ukraine has a rather balanced and of a medium sized civil society (CIVICUS CSI 2006). This estimation might appear surprising or as a hyperbole since by the widespread opinion and the empirical evidences above the civil society is extremely weak in all post-soviet countries. The weakest dimension of the four in Ukraine is the *impact* factor which leads to consequence that the civil society practically has no effect on society as a whole or well-being of the citizens. Nevertheless – among many authors - the CSI report underlines the strong impact of the Orange Revolution during the presidential elections in 2004: „*Still, the Orange Revolution events signified a great step forward for the recognition of civil society as an important actor in the policy-making arena.*” (Kuts 2006:2). Regardless this particular political case the weight and impact of the Ukrainian civil initiatives is pretty small. This situation is partly due to the unsupportive environment which covers the “... *high level of corruption, disrespect for the rule of law, clientelism, an indifferent attitude of government, distrust and intolerance.*” (Kuts 2006:1). These circumstances may considerably impede both the formal and informal civil initiatives. Looking back into the past one should not forget the Soviet regime’s impact and the following opinion can be shared “... *the Soviet system took the system of social mistrust to unprecedented levels. Today, this heritage of mistrust is perhaps the greatest single impediment to the development of civil society in Ukraine and in the FSU countries.*” (Isajw 2004:6).

Completing the list of CSI dimensions, the third - relatively strong - factor is the *structure* which means the civil society’s organisational capacity and infrastructure. One of the structural weaknesses is the following: the Ukrainians’ participation is stronger in informal groups rather than civil society CSOs (see also chapter III.). The strongest element is the civil society’s *values* which lead to protecting “... *peace, non-violence, tolerance, gender balance and environmental sustainability in Ukrainian society.*” (Kuts 2006:2.) The main contradiction is the CSOs are not able to follow their abovementioned declared macro-social values within their organisational framework in practice. Since the level of corruption<sup>17</sup> and clientelism is quite high, there can be examined a distrust towards governmental institutions, and a small amount of social capital at macro level. By my opinion, this lacking trust at country level tends to be replaced and balanced by the high trust within the local community at micro level. It is important to emphasize that – contrary to Hungary - the neighbourhood is a relevant sphere for building up a trustful atmosphere, first of all by non-organisational activities.

### **II.1.2. Work in favour of others: the Hungarian picture**

The civil society out of the ex-soviet block – except the Baltic states – in Central Europe is considered to be stronger. The development of civil society in Hungary was also interrupted by the Soviet intervention as in Ukraine, only it happened later on, after the 2<sup>nd</sup> world war. Despite the country’s

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<sup>17</sup> According to the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) in 2007 Ukraine achieved 2.7 score and 118<sup>nd</sup> position along with Mali, Mauritania, Nicaragua, Niger, and Vietnam. At the same time Hungary – in line with Cyprus, Czech Republic, Italy, Malaysia, South Africa, South Korea - got 5,3 score and the 39<sup>th</sup> position.

population is less than one-fourth of Ukraine's, the number of NGOs is more than 15% higher (see Table 1.). According to the Ukrainian case, the trust in governmental and macro-social institutions is quite

**Table 1. The amount and value of voluntary workers' activity in Hungary (rounding)**

	<i>Number of volunteers</i>	<i>Working hours of volunteers</i>	<i>Value of the work</i>
1993	419 000	106 million h	14 billion HUF <sup>18</sup>
1995	506 000	39 million h	n.a.
1997	381 000	19 million h	n.a.
1999	313 000	30 million h	12 billion HUF

Source: Czike 2001a:10.

low; as a response to this phenomenon, the number of civil organisations has been suddenly increased at the end of 90ies (Czike 2001). The observed level of the corruption is significantly lower than in Hungary. According to NIS Country Study (2008) Hungary achieved the 39<sup>th</sup> in the CPI ranking in 2007, whilst Ukraine did the 118<sup>th</sup> position. Hungary faces the main problems in the sphere of party financing, public procurements, state and local government assets, public-private partnership, state and EU subsidies, etc. At the same time as we can read in Table 2. the number of volunteers from one side, and the number of participants in voluntary organisations from the other has been decreased at the end of 90ies; then – based on some data - it started increasing again. The literature does not offer any coherent explanation for this change. In my opinion one potential reason could be that in line with declining involvement in organisations, the weight of informal volunteerism might raise. The incidence of voluntary work<sup>19</sup> within a society can be regarded as an

**Table 2. The ratio of volunteers in the percentage of adult population**

<i>Country</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>In formal organisation</i>	<i>Informally</i>
United Kingdom	1999	48%	78%
Denmark	1993/1995	28%	31%
Netherlands	2000	32%	n.a.
Germany	1999	34%	n.a.
Sweden	1999	48%	52%
<b>Hungary</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>29%</b>

Source: Czike: 2001b:55.

indicator of the maturity of civil society. Regarding the value of voluntary work, the numbers speak for themselves: the citizen's voluntary participation represents a Compared to the Western countries the Hungarian formal participation was extraordinarily low (5%, 400.000 persons) at the 90ies whilst in the UK the same significant added value in the national economy. In Western Europe the contribution of voluntary activities to GDP achieves 8-14% whereas this part in Hungary was only 0,8%, i.e. 76,7 billion HUF in 1999. proportion was 48% (see Table 3.). If we take into consideration

<sup>18</sup> 1 Euro equals about 250 HUF (Forints).

<sup>19</sup> The Hungarian Parliament passed a law on voluntary work in 2002.



Ukraine's nowadays proportion, this is more than twice higher (12%) than it was in Hungary about one decade before. Concerning the informal involvement the situation is more reassuring: similarly to Denmark nearly one third of the population – more than 2,2 million citizens - worked voluntarily by the end of 90ies whilst it reached 40% in 2004.

### II.1.3. Hungary and Ukraine: a civil society comparison

According to a CSI report the post-communist Europe as a whole is labelled by advantageous and relatively stable socio-economic context and environmental sustainability. As the region's main weaknesses the outcomes state that the participation level in CS activities is very low, there appears a strong interpersonal mistrust, and the CS forcefully depends on – mainly international – donors (CIVICUS CSI 2006). One may state that the most successful and flourishing organisations are those funded and financed by foreigners and/or being local agencies or partners of big international ones such as Amnesty International, Open Society Institute, Green Peace, etc.

**Table 3. Component indicators and GCSI scores, by country, 2000.**

Country	Indicators					GCSI-score HDI style		
	<i>Politi- cal partic- i- patio n</i>	<i>Membe- r-ship of civil society group</i>	<i>Membe- r-ship density of NGOs</i>	<i>Tole- rance toward s immig- rants</i>	<i>Encou- rage toleran- ce in childre n</i>	<i>Simple averag e score</i>	<i>Renor- malize d score</i>	<i>Countr y rankin g</i>
Argentina	0.25	0.00	0.45	0.92	0.55	0.38	0.13	25
Austria	0.46	0.68	0.70	0.74	0.58	0.90	0.53	10
Belarus	0.06	0.45	0.45	0.61	0.58	0.44	0.17	24
Belgium	0.82	0.66	0.70	0.64	0.84	1.11	0.70	6
<i>Bulgaria</i>	<i>0.11</i>	<i>0.16</i>	<i>0.60</i>	<i>0.41</i>	<i>0.33</i>	<i>0.28</i>	<i>0.04</i>	<i>32</i>
Chile	0.14	0.04	0.53	0.76	0.67	0.37	0.12	27
Croatia	0.25	0.42	0.66	0.55	0.44	0.56	0.27	22
Czech Republic	0.60	0.60	0.62	0.55	0.41	0.80	0.45	13
Denmark	0.81	0.87	0.77	0.79	0.89	1.29	0.84	4
Estonia	0.10	0.31	0.78	0.51	0.56	0.51	0.23	23
Finland	0.61	0.82	0.76	0.68	0.80	1.11	0.70	5
France	0.86	0.36	0.51	0.75	0.84	0.91	0.54	9
Germany	0.49	0.47	0.45	0.84	0.55	0.71	0.38	16
Greece	0.57	0.47	0.64	0.55	0.19	0.67	0.35	19
<b>Hungary</b>	<b>0.01</b>	<b>0.26</b>	<b>0.64</b>	<b>0.47</b>	<b>0.46</b>	<b>0.34</b>	<b>0.10</b>	<b>28</b>
<i>Iceland</i>	<i>0.52</i>	<i>0.97</i>	<i>1.00</i>	<i>0.99</i>	<i>0.83</i>	<i>1.35</i>	<i>0.88</i>	<i>2</i>
Ireland	0.54	0.56	0.77	0.74	0.68	0.94	0.56	8
Italy	0.65	0.40	0.49	0.63	0.64	0.74	0.41	14
Latvia	0.20	0.29	0.69	0.81	0.54	0.58	0.28	21
<i>Lithuania</i>	<i>0.18</i>	<i>0.12</i>	<i>0.65</i>	<i>0.43</i>	<i>0.30</i>	<i>0.31</i>	<i>0.07</i>	<i>31</i>

Luxembourg	0.54	0.59	0.98	0.85	0.69	1.09	0.68	7
<i>Mexico</i>	<i>0.29</i>	<i>0.05</i>	<i>0.33</i>	<i>0.34</i>	<i>0.58</i>	<i>0.22</i>	<i>0.00</i>	33
<i>Netherlands</i>	<i>0.76</i>	<i>0.97</i>	<i>0.66</i>	<i>0.93</i>	<i>0.98</i>	<i>1.32</i>	<i>0.86</i>	3
Poland	0.16	0.22	0.47	0.43	0.72	0.38	0.12	26
Russian Fed.	0.13	0.29	0.28	0.78	0.50	0.33	0.09	30
Slovakia	0.42	0.65	0.65	0.45	0.29	0.69	0.37	18
Slovenia	0.24	0.51	0.77	0.64	0.55	0.71	0.38	17
Spain	0.36	0.28	0.53	0.82	0.74	0.63	0.32	20
<i>Sweden</i>	<i>1.00</i>	<i>1.00</i>	<i>0.71</i>	<i>1.00</i>	<i>1.00</i>	<i>1.50</i>	<i>1.00</i>	1
Switzerland	0.52	0.41	0.73	0.80	0.72	0.87	0.51	11
<b>Ukraine</b>	<b>0.14</b>	<b>0.32</b>	<b>0.33</b>	<b>0.67</b>	<b>0.46</b>	<b>0.33</b>	<b>0.09</b>	<b>29</b>
United Kingdom	0.71	0.44	0.52	0.65	0.73	0.83	0.48	12
United States	0.80	0.24	0.30	0.80	0.75	0.71	0.39	15

Source: Anheier, Stares 2002:245 with own italics.

Although we are speaking about the same CEE region, moreover Hungary and Ukraine are neighbouring countries with some parallels such as more or less similar communist past; these two states are basically different due to their divergent cultural, linguistic, historical, political, and economic heritage. In the past years Hungary's European Union (EU) and Schengen area membership expressly "separated" the two. One signal of this distance is Hungary and Ukraine rarely take part in the same international research programs, that is why it is challenging to find common analogous statistics about them. Accordingly, it might be dangerous and scientifically incorrect to get serious consequences coming from the data cited during discussing two previous points (see II.1.2., II.1.3.) to compare Hungary's and Ukraine's case. Even so following our focus we should try to find such indicators with which help we may compare the countries advancement toward the CS. By my opinion one of the most suggestive ones would be the *global civil society*<sup>20</sup> index (GCSI) which uses two primary units of analysis in a given country: *organisations*, namely the density of INGOs, and *individuals*, their civility (tolerance, democratic values, hospitality), participation calculated by volunteering for, and membership in GCS organisations, likewise participation in political actions<sup>21</sup>(Anheier, Stares 2002).

According to this ranking we might get surprising results since Hungary and Ukraine occupy very similar positions: the former has the 28<sup>th</sup> whilst the latter the 29<sup>th</sup> pose from 33 (see Table 4.). Both of them are considered to be very weak seeing as the lower ranking means a better progress toward GCS. Both countries are really far from Western European ones: concerning Hungary even several young EU member states – Czech Republic, Slovenia, Slovakia, Latvia, Poland, Estonia - come before it; whilst in Ukraine's case Russia and Lithuania occupy a weaker, Latvia, Estonia and Belarus possess a stronger position among the post-soviet states. Concordantly to Hungarian national data the country's main strength is the membership density of NGOs and two dimensions of civility: tolerance and hospitality have also relatively high score. Accordingly to the latter, in the Ukrainian case study

<sup>20</sup> See I.2.1.

<sup>21</sup> Except country data the researchers use such international database as World Values Survey and the European Values Survey (these particular sources for measuring civility).

the acceptance of immigrants has the most reassuring results (0.67) followed by the encouraging tolerance in children. The commitment to NGOs is considerably lower than in Hungary whilst the involvement in CS groups is similarly low in both countries. The outcomes call our attention that in Hungary the political participation approximately equals zero.

The elemental sine qua non of helping each other is trust which might appear at least two different - namely macro and micro - levels. As it has been discussed already before (see II.1.1.), the macro level mistrust (which is conceptualised as lack of confidence which means mistrust in governmental institutions) - is pretty high in Ukraine. The trustful attitude towards both institutions (government, parliament, president, traditional and new independent trade unions) and leading persons - (local leaders, directors of state enterprises, private entrepreneurs) has been increased moderately by the time. Nevertheless, by the World Value Survey's representative results still less than one-third of the respondents answered that most people can be trusted (Aberg et al. 2003). The army is the only institution which deserved the respondents' majority's trust (Kubicek 2000:46 cited by Isajw 2004). This result is consonant to European citizens' opinion because in the EU countries the army (69%) is the first one that obtains the respondents trust closely followed by *charitable or voluntary organisations* (66%, i.e. 5 points higher), the police (64%) and the radio (63%) (Eurobarometer 2005:22).

According to the Eurobarometer research delivered in 2004 the extent of generalised trust in EU-25 countries approximately achieves 30%. This level is 25% in Hungary which is considered to be significantly higher than the new member states average (15%). As we can see in Ukraine the generalised trust is stronger than in Hungary. At the same time it should be underlined that since the data sources are different it is not allowed to get far-reaching consequences.

After all we can summarise that in comparison with Western democratic states both Hungary and Ukraine have an underdeveloped CS. In order to be precise one should emphasise that nevertheless this GCSI is considered to be a valid and reliable composite index, it is "only" one of the empirical indices and other measurements may lead to different results.

### **III. An alternative aspect: non-institutional approach**

#### **III.1. Arguments**

According to the literature and my own practice both in Ukraine and Hungary, the formal approach does not draw a whole and satisfactory picture about the real amount of the voluntary activities. We should complete it with an informal or non-organisational perception. Especially in the case of the Transcarpathian region in Western Ukraine where the informal volunteerism or charity emerged as a response to the insufficient governmental social services from the one side, and to disappearance of socialist organisations from the other. According to CIVICUS CSI (2006) results in Ukraine the participation is more active in informal groups rather than civil society NGOs (see II.1.1.). By a case study's - delivered in three different municipalities - outcomes almost all respondents helped others somehow in their neighbourhood which latter is a relevant sphere for helping each other in the multiethnic Transcarpathia. The most frequently mentioned activities have been: doing household work or shopping, collecting pensions, paying bills and so on<sup>22</sup> (see also III.3.). The importance of the

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<sup>22</sup> Social capital. People, families, communities. Ukrainian Evaluation (w.d.)

neighbours is less weighty even in the rural areas of Hungary nevertheless there are considerable historical and cultural similarities between the two territories<sup>23</sup>.

Analogously, Czike, Kuti (2006) underlines that even in Hungary the informal mutual help is considerably more significant than in Western countries; there is no high need to frame formally the assistance provided to others. To my mind this phenomenon could serve as an alternative explanation on the relatively low number of NGOs and their membership – which are formal SC and CS indicators at the same time – in both countries. Let us provide an example for the difference between neglecting and taking into account the non-formal voluntary activities. Responding the aforementioned claim if we add up the number of the informal and formal volunteers in Hungary, the sum would be 3,5 million recently (Czike, Kuti 2006:46). This amount means more than 40% instead of 300 000 organisational volunteers which number clasps only 5% of the adult population.

### **III.2. Two idealtypes: network and organisation type voluntary activity**

#### **III.2.1. The origins of the idealtypes**

By my argument, the non-institutionalised volunteerism – which also significantly contributes to the community development, the creation of the SC and strengthens the CS - can be approached as a network based rather than the organisation based process (see III.2.2.). In order to depict the difference of network supported voluntarism and to compare it with organisational one it is wise to build up two idealtypes (see Table 5.). Except the “big” classical theories<sup>24</sup> present grouping is rooted firstly in Putnam 1995's criticised<sup>25</sup> and already reviewed theory about the secondary and tertiary organisations; secondly, in two Hungarian scientists' ideas who call our attention to the changing face of voluntary activity. Citing Putnam 2000's results Czike 2001a distinguishes two different groups of participants in the US: the “*machers*” and “*schmoosers*”. The *machers* are formal participants who regularly visit the institutions they belong to; they are active politically, habitually read newspapers. They are more probably man, highly educated and have relatively high income. The *schmoosers*' personal connections have more informal character, they live an energetic social life; most of them belong to women, they most active period is their young and old age. Czike, Kuti 2006:27 have differentiated the *traditional* and *new wave* of volunteering. The old type of voluntary participation is based on charity and donation, related to traditional “bourgeois” middle class attitudes such as religious faith, solidarity, humanitarian care, desire of helping poor or disable people, altruism. Whereas the new wave volunteers' focus is on getting and preserving of professional knowledge and practice, on realising of long-life learning. The main differences between this separation and my one are firstly that the latter one is more composite; secondly, the former is experience based, the latter serves different purpose because as idealtypes provide a fruitful analytic framework which can be productively compared with the social reality.

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<sup>23</sup> Transcarpathia had been the part of Austro-Hungarian Empire till the end of First World War.

<sup>24</sup> The original roots of my differentiation would lead us even to the second part of 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century when the well known Tönnies' community-society or *Gemeinschaft* – *Gesellschaft*; Durkheim's organic-mechanic solidarity dichotomy or Max Weber's premodern-modern society, his organisation theory were formulated; but at this point the empirical consequences should be more emphasised than the theoretical origins.

<sup>25</sup> See both Putnam's theory and Wollebaek-Selle (2004)'s criticism under the I.2.1. subheading.

### **III.2.2. Presentation and interpretation of the idealtypes**

Some of the networks' characteristics fit very well the informal, whilst the organisational ones the formal voluntary work's features (compare with Appendix Table 1., Gilchrist 2004). These different theoretical characteristics - labelled as case the activity is *not* surrounded by an *organisational framework*, its boundaries are unclear and flexible while in the second case there appear *formal networks* besides informal ones

**Table 4. Two idealtypes: organisation and network type voluntary activity**

<i>Features/types</i>	<i>Network type volunteerism</i>	<i>Organisation type volunteerism</i>	
<b>Institutional aspect</b>	<i>Organisational form</i>	Informal networks - no organisational framework	Formal & informal networks; organisational structure
	<i>Own infrastructure</i>	No	Usually yes (office, computer, printer)
	<i>Financial base</i>	No or provided by the participants	Yes - provided by the donors &/or participants
	<i>Legal frame</i>	No	Yes (Volunteer law)
	<i>Contract</i>	No	Yes (Volunteer law)
	<i>Rules, tasks</i>	Decided by the members - Autonomous	Decided by members &/or donors - Heteronomous
<b>Leadership</b>	<i>Selection of the leader</i>	Spontaneous, "self-appointed" - Autokephalous	Controlled by donors - Heterokephalous
	<i>Leading by Hierarchy</i>	Charismatic authority No	Legal-rational authority Yes but usually not strict
<b>Functioning</b>	<i>Personal resources</i>	Internal (in-community)	Internal and external (ex-community)
	<i>Recruitment &amp; selection of participants</i>	Based on personal networks and trust	Based on personal networks & objective criteria – formal application process
	<i>Membership</i>	Not clearly defined	Clear insider-outsider distinction but fluctuation
	<i>Potential incentives</i>	Social selective incentives – praise, good reputation	Material selective incentives – "salary"
	<i>Regular payment</i>	No	Yes – meal coupon, monthly pass (law)
	<i>Motivation</i>	Traditionalism, altruism – helping others	Multiculturalism – getting new experience, self-improvement
<b>Embedded-ness</b>	<i>Activity's intensity</i>	High, permanent	High, changeable (project-oriented)
	<i>Locality and territorial extent</i>	Local and narrow	Local – global, narrow occasionally wide – international programmes
	<i>Social environment</i>	Traditional community	Modern society
	<i>Economic situation</i>	Less developed economies	More developed economies

<i>Network/organisation</i>	Network features	Organisation features
<b>Example</b>	UA high school students' "spontaneous" activity	HU University students' participation in EU Equal Programme

Source: Own grouping.

network and organisation type volunteerism - are summarised in Table 5. Concerning the institutional aspect of the activities our arguments are the following: in the first building up an *organisational structure*. When talking about the informal volunteerism there is missing and even *no* need for major *infrastructure, financial base, legal regulation or written contract* because the elixir of the activity basically resides in the participants' own resources. We can label it as an *autonomous* "organisation" in the sense that the rules and tasks are decided by the members themselves. In the Gilchrist 2004's phrasing it sounds like the *nodes* are individuals and/or organisations rather than roles or posts. Whereas within an institutionalised activity the donors sometimes might stress any division of labour which attempts are signals of a *heteronomous* organisation. However these personal networks lack formalised roles, hierarchy, regulations or contracts (because the basis of *exchange* is trust and favours – not contracts and directives (Gilchrist 2004)); they are not less stable and operable than the organisations.

By my opinion, neither networks nor organisations do not start operating by themselves; it is needed a third person, a leader who encourages the activity and the production of public goods (see I.1.). While doing informal voluntary work these *charismatic leaders* (see I.1.) are usually not nominated by authorities rather they can be "self-appointed" or spontaneously appointed by the community, consequently this feature suggests us an *autokephalous* organisational character *without* constituting any considerable *hierarchy*. At the same time in organisations can be observed a *rational-legal authority* combined with a charismatic character accompanied by some – usually not strict - *hierarchical arrangement*. Shifting to the functioning, we may state that in the case of network type the personal resources are channelled from the *local community* through *personal networks*. Whereas the organisation type activity could have even a global nature due some international programmes, the members could be delegated by different countries where a *formal application process* is required. So, there exists a clear insider-outsider distinction that are distinguished by *material selective incentives* (see I.1.) such as regular payment; the members may be oriented by the possibility of international job experience, and their activity might be *project-oriented*. The informal work could be described with a not clearly defined *membership* depending on the on-going participation where the boundaries are changeable (Gilchrist 2004). The incentives are rather *traditional social* than material ones causing a permanently high activity.

Designing the wider social economic environment the first group is embedded in a *traditional community* with less developed economy where the voluntary activity's territorial scope is *narrow and local*. In the second one's milieu is labelled as more *developed society* and its geographical area could be even *global*.

### III.3. Empirical adaptation of idealtypes: two micro level case studies in Ukraine and Hungary

As the idealtypes in the scientific tradition in general are never realised perfectly rather they are merely tools of analysis in order to compare them with the social life's real phenomena; these particular ones above do the same. Consequently, we argue that neither the network, nor the



organisation type volunteerism can be found purely in the reality; they exist in line with each other in a combined way. Even so, henceforward present paper provides two empirical examples from my previous research activity which are similar to these two different idealtypes. Here should be emphasised that these two activities are not results of a representative sampling, they do not symbolise the network and organisation type volunteerism clearly rather they serve as illustrations for using the idealtypes in empirical research.

The first case study which is going to be presented was prepared in 2005 as a result of my own research. Within it I had an opportunity to carry out a questionnaire fieldwork in a Hungarian Protestant grammar school in Transcarpathia (Western Ukraine) among 31 school-leaver students. It was well-known within the county that the students of this school are rather active in voluntary assistance such as helping old people in household work, food delivery for them, teaching Roma children on Sundays, teaching Hungarian children in summer schools, preparing gifts for poor people for Christmas, etc., somehow cooperating with the local government. Some of the mentioned activities would be labelled as typical ones in Transcarpathia (see III.1.). These initiatives has been completed the inefficient governmental social services, the so called hierarchy's failures within the local community (see Thompson 2003 II.1.1.). My objective was to explore the students' participation and examine the main motivation of them by using the social network analysis.

During my CoDe Master Programme internship in 2008 in Hungary I had opportunity to take part in one of the Equal Programme<sup>26</sup>'s projects' evaluation process which is called *Integration of Asylum Seekers by Voluntary Employment*. The core idea of the programme is that the (voluntary) employment is considered to be the main integration tool for the refugees who have an extremely marginal status in the Hungarian society. Unlike the traditional bottom-up voluntary work in Transcarpathia, this centralised top-down initiative has involved altogether 20 persons, both from the refugee camp and recipient society<sup>27</sup>. Our research group had been participated in the evaluation process of the programme by investigating the project documentation and doing field work by conducting personal and focus group interviews within all target groups namely: refugee and non-refugee volunteers, coordinators, and hosting institution mentors. In order to be more comparable to the Ukrainian case study our focus is on 10, officially involved Hungarian non-refugee volunteer university students who used to deal with teaching Hungarian and German languages or watching DVD films in the refugee camp. Moreover, some volunteers organised free time activities for the refugee children. The period of our research is September 2007-May 2007.

In both cases it seems to be fruitful to apply and translate the aforementioned theoretical aspects, by using as many as possible of them. It is needed to underline that our main focus is not on the case studies' comparison rather the implementation of the idealtypes. The mentioned states are incomparable for many reasons due to e.g. to Ukraine's and Hungary's elemental differences mentioned above from that one would be Hungary's EU accession in 2004 and joining the Schengen area in 2007. Another disparities – without completeness - are that in the first country we are talking about a multiethnic – Ukrainian, Russian, Ruthen/Rusyn, Hungarian, Slovakian, Romanian -, whereas

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<sup>26</sup> Funded by the European Social Fund (ESF). See:

[http://ec.europa.eu/employment\\_social/equal/index\\_en.cfm](http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/equal/index_en.cfm), Integráció Önkéntes Alapon 2008.

<sup>27</sup> The two-sided volunteerism – the Hungarians' regular entering the refugee camp in Debrecen and the refugees entering the host society's workplace – strengthens the solidarity and the acceptance of each others' attitudes, values, norms, etc. During the 150 days employment the majority of the refugees work out of the camp in NGOs whilst 3 of them inside it.



in the second one about a homogenous Hungarian region; moreover the Transcarpathian province is less developed than the Northern Great Plain when the refugee camp is located; the first is a flat, the second is a partly hilly territory; in the first case the voluntary activity is realised in a village whilst in the second one in Hungary's second biggest city. The similarities would be that both regions are considered to be statistically less prosperous rural-agricultural area which are situated geographically close to each other.

### III.3.1. Network based volunteerism in Transcarpathia: rather rule than exception

Concerning the findings in the Hungarian Protestant high school we can affirm that every student – without any exception – has involved to at least one activity during one academic year and the half of the group is regarded as “regular”<sup>28</sup> helper. Shifting to the application of the idealtyp of the network based volunteerism one can find the following results. “Testifying” the concept there is *no organisation* established on the students’ activities rather the school is considered to be as institutional framework of the participation because the charity is promoted by the institution itself coming from its Protestant religious tradition. Since the product of the charity is usually manifested in physic (gardening, food delivering) or intellectual (teaching) work it is *not* needed any *infrastructural or financial base*. The only investment is the students’ efforts and free time which latter is pretty valuable for the students since due to their strict weekly determined agenda in the high school their leisure time is quite limited. Observing this kind of work there is no relevant or influential whether the voluntary work is regulated legally at country level or not, it is not unexpected that the students do *not* sign any written *contract*, there are *no fixed rules or tasks* rather they operate based on verbal promise and agreement with the schoolmaster, clients and each other about the next participation.

The question of the leadership requires a bit more composite approach because there can be found not easily palpable and elusive mechanisms. First of all we should notice that the then schoolmaster<sup>29</sup> – who was the examined class’ headmaster at the same time - was considered to be a charismatic one, highly appreciated by the students, colleagues, state and church authorities both in Hungary and Ukraine. Following the school’s and his personal values the schoolmaster – along with the school staff – has been strongly egged the students to do any sort of voluntary work as a service for God. So, he was a rational-legal leader from one aspect, and due to his high acceptance a charismatic one from the other who can activate his students. Besides him there may possibly be observed the class representative<sup>30</sup> who – according to the network analysis – is labelled as a high prestige opinion-shaper person in the class. He has been showed the biggest activity in the group because he was among these 3 students who have worked two times a week and participated regularly in 3 different, the most time consuming activities. He was also a democratically elected representative of the class on the one hand, and a self-appointed, spontaneous leader of the volunteers from the other who – due to his position – could motivate to participate. As we could see the *third persons* - either the headmaster, the official one, either the spontaneously elected class representative - play an obvious role.

Concordantly, since there is no organisational form of helping others, no official leader, there is *no hierarchical arrangement*. At the same time the participants could improve their position in the

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<sup>28</sup> The regularity means at least one participation every three weeks.

<sup>29</sup> Due to some religious dissidence within the Hungarian Protestant – namely Reformed or Calvinist – church in Transcarpathia, the schoolmaster had to leave his position at about one year ago.

<sup>30</sup> See the node 22 in Appendix Figure 1.

invisible prestige hierarchy in the class and school because in this closed community which covered less than 100 students, the flow of information was quite effective.

About the personal resources we can state that although the subject of our research is only the school-leaver class, the most active one from the three, the activists are still recruited from these 3 classes. Getting the information about the possibility “to serve” – as they call it -, the enlistment is habitually based on *personal* – headmaster’s, teachers’, students’ – *announcements* during the dining having commonly three times per day, additionally the previous activity generates the next one. The *membership* has its meaning only in figurative sense: the members are always the actual participants who have willing, free time and efforts to help. There can be observed 3 very active core members, moreover 15 pupils work as a volunteer at least on a monthly base. Accordingly, the activity is considered to be very high in 3 particular cases, moreover since the half of the class – not always the same persons - can be mobilised and the voluntary functions are fulfilled, the activity might be labelled as permanent. The *personal relations* and *social selective incentives* – as prestige; praise from the teachers to the co-operators - sturdily encourage the participation. The main driving forces are the personal religious faith, the best friend’s opinion and activity, moreover the charismatic leaders’, headmaster’s and class representative’s initiatives. Due to its faith-based inspiration this activity can be categorised as a *traditional* volunteerism or charity (Czike, Kuti 2006). Instead of a regular payment the students’ award is the helped old people’s or children’s thankfulness which is occasionally manifested in fruits, food or chocolate, the good feeling of helping others, and for the believers: fulfilling the Bible’s command about helping the marginal members of a community.

The voluntary activities which complete the local government’s defective services and contribute to producing public goods are realised in a comparatively closed *local community*: the helpers belong to a traditional Protestant ethnic high school; the service receivers to a village where the inhabitants more or less know each other (see I.1.). According to the national statistics Transcarpathia is considered to be one of the *less developed* regions. Dissonantly in reality the region presents us a higher standard of living than some the officially more developed Eastern Ukrainian urban provinces. This contradiction would be explained on the one part with the following phenomena: during last 10-15 years the black commerce through the Hungarian-Ukrainian border used to flourish which illegal work was thought to be snug business. From the other part, many members of the different ethnicities used to work and keep working even today in the capital Kyiv or abroad, according to their nationalities in Hungary, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Romania – usually again illegally - and increase their families’ income due to the remittances. Nevertheless, it is still fact that this region is less developed than a Hungarian average one due to e.g. the underdeveloped infrastructure and social services provided by the state or local government.

From my point of view even this kind of intensity of volunteerism is extraordinary in Transcarpathia, the mechanism and the initiatives themselves are not exceptional in the region. Particularly in the close rural religious communities which cover one or more ethnicities, the phenomenon is peculiar within the same nation which as a rule means belonging to the same church. Namely, the Ukrainians and Russians typically belong to the Pravoslav, the Rusyns to the Greek Catholic, the Hungarians most frequently to the Protestant, then to the Roman or Greek Catholic, Romanians to the Orthodox churches.

### III.3.2. Organisational voluntary initiatives in a Hungarian refugee camp<sup>31</sup>

After studying the project documentation and the answers of the non-refugee volunteers' involved we can ascertain the following. Since we are talking about a top-down initiative, namely an ESF Equal Programme project called *Integration of Asylum Seekers by Voluntary Employment* is supported by the EU, the main institutional base is provided by the EU. Evidently, there are some Hungarian intermediary organisations managing the project, i.e. Menedék – Hungarian Association for Migrants<sup>32</sup>, the leading partner, and Artemisszió Foundation<sup>33</sup> which plays an operative role during the project implementation. Since the activities' main stage is the *Debrecen refugee camp*, it is embedded in its technical and *infrastructural facilities* which basically mean the rooms for realising the activities. Even the program coordinator had not own room in the refugee camp rather she was hosted by an NGO, the mentioned Menedék working within the camp using its infrastructure (computer, printer) temporary in order carry out her tasks. The project is *co-financed* by the ESF and the Hungarian Government. According to the Hungarian *volunteer law* passed in 2002, the volunteers *signed a contract*, in this particular case for 150 days. Contrary to the project coordinator the volunteers had *not fixed tasks*; the non-refugees got a quite big amount of freedom to shape their activity according to their free time, interest, capabilities, etc.

The operative paid *leader* of the project has been selected and nominated *by the Artemisszió Foundation* working in the capital Budapest by an *official procedure*, her main written tasks are to recruit the refugee and non-refugee volunteers, to coordinate and supervise their activity; hence she plays a *mentor's role* at the same time<sup>34</sup>. So, the coordinator's relationship with the volunteers is rather friendly than official, subsequently there is *no pertinent hierarchy*, it obtains only a minimal level. There has been explored a negative tendency since during about 3 years there have participated four different coordinator-mentors – we conducted an interview with two relevant one of them - which shows a rather high *fluctuation*. The phenomenon is similar in

**Table 5. Hungarian grammar school students' activity (UA) and university student participation in an EU Equal Programme (HU) in the lights of the idealtypes**

<i>Features/types</i>	<i>Network type volunteerism</i>	<i>Organisation type volunteerism</i>
	<b>UA</b> Hungarian Protestant grammar school students informal activities	<b>HU</b> EU Equal Programme: <i>Integration of as asylum seekers by volunteerism in Debrecen refugee camp</i>
<i>Organisation</i>	No but school is behind	Yes: EU ESF, Menedék, Artemisszió Foundation
<i>Infrastructure</i>	No, no need	Yes - no
<i>Finance</i>	No, no need	Yes – ESF, Hungarian government
<i>Legal frame</i>	No particular law, only an act on volunteer movement, 2005	Yes – law on voluntary work, 2002
<b>Institutional aspect</b>		

<sup>31</sup> See Kiss, Perpek, Vajda in Hungarian (2008).

<sup>32</sup> <http://menedek.hosting1.deja.hu/en/>

<sup>33</sup> [http://www.artemisszio.hu/index\\_en.htm](http://www.artemisszio.hu/index_en.htm)

<sup>34</sup> Since the same person had to deal with the administrative (registering the activity, paying in monthly pass and meal coupons), organisational and mentor questions, our research group has not found this triple role lucky.

	<i>Contract</i>	No	Yes, for 150 days
	<i>Rules, tasks</i>	Created by the activists	Mixed, depends on position
	<i>Selection of the leader</i>	„Self-appointment“	Official procedure
<b>Leadership</b>	<i>Leading mechanism</i>	Mixed-schoolmaster (legal and charismatic), representative	Mixed – coordinator formally selected but accepted by the members
	<i>Hierarchy</i>	No	Yes but only formally
	<i>HR base</i>	Class & school	Internal & external: students in Debrecen, social network
	<i>Recruitment</i>	Announcement in the school	Social network, ads.
<b>Functioning</b>	<i>Membership</i>	Who has time and force	Contract and activity
	<i>Activity</i>	Permanently high ... but	Limited to the mandating
	<i>Incentives</i>	Praise, reputation, friends	Professional practice
	<i>„Payment“</i>	Contingent – lunch ...	Meal coupon, monthly pass
	<i>Motivation</i>	Faith, friend’s opinion	Commitment, multiculturalism
	<i>Social</i>	Traditional village and community	Modern city and society
<b>Embedded-ness</b>	<i>Local extent</i>	Village	Refugee camp, city
	<i>Economic</i>	Less developed economy	More developed economy

Source: own grouping

both the refugee and non-refugee volunteers’ case because from 10-10 volunteers who signed a contract there can be counted only 2 and 4 ones who kept working continuously during about nine months. All these make the activities less stabile and we can practically survey in a sense the same or even less sustainability than in the Transcarpathian students’ case without any written agreement. The population from which the non-refugee applicants were selected is theoretically *inhabitants of Debrecen*. Practically, except one student who was picked out after noticing an advertisement at the university, the participants have been reached by the coordinators’ *social network* (see I.1.), especially their weak ties (Granovetter 1995). Regarding their status, all of them are *university students*. The official *membership* is clearly defined by signing the *contract* but the real criterion for the membership is the *activity* itself. Concerning the activity, except one extremely devoted and open student, the volunteers did not exceed and topped the official quantity of work they agreed to do with the coordinator. By our observation the contract and the refugee camp’s strict rules<sup>35</sup> seemed to “limit” or “narrow” the activity, the volunteers used to accomplish their official task and they did not provide any “bonus” activities. As a positive example, due to her initiatives one student managed to “mellow” the bureaucracy and has been spent much longer time and delivered more services in the camp than it was required in the contract. With the exception of this case, by our feeling the volunteers’ activity is limited to this particular mandating and project, consequently it is not sustainable after cutting off the financial sources. The international environment offered by the

<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless the Debrecen refugee camp is considered to be a “liberal” one, there are certain rules which should be followed both by insiders and outsiders.

refugee camp, the professional practice, and the new challenges can be listed as main *motivators* and selective incentives which are signals of modern volunteers (Czike, Kuti 2006). This sort of motivation is similar to active memberships' driving forces in Wollebaek, Selle's research (see I.2.1.). At the same time these do not mean that these students have weaker commitment or involvement to help others, particularly the asylum seekers than the Transcarpathian students. In addition, according to the law on volunteerism there could appear the traditional *material selective incentives* for both refugee and non-refugee volunteers, explicitly *meal coupons*<sup>36</sup> and *monthly pass*. We should add that this payment is rather symbolic; we are convinced that the non-refugee volunteers did not deliver their services motivated by it; whilst in the refugees' case this payment used to serve as a real incentive to participate. Regarding the non-refugee and some refugee volunteers, the *geographical locality* of the activities clasps the territory of the *refugee camp*; while the other refugees used to work out of the camp, in the *city* for some NGOs. In view of the fact that the project's main goal is the integration, our research group has found out that the Hungarians' voluntary work within the camp could serve the integration of asylum seekers only in a really indirect way; so this way of volunteerism is less effective than the refugees' work in the city<sup>37</sup>. The *macro-economical environment* of the volunteerism is *more developed* than in Transcarpathia. Moreover due to the *urban* environment the population is rather modern than traditional. Summing up the findings about this kind of voluntary activity, there can be observed a mixed but rather *organisation* based or formalised participation. In order to make more visible the differences the outcomes can be reviewed in the Table 6.

## Conclusions

Current paper's focus has been the volunteerism which is embedded into a wider concept of community development and civil society. After delineating these two, the essay has featured the civil society's global aspect and conceptualisation as well which is manifested in total amount of social capital operationalised in the number of NGOs and their membership, the level of generalised trust, the height of the confidence in the governmental institutions.

After outlining some relevant characteristics about the civil society the paper has concentrated on two CEE countries such as Hungary and Ukraine. Concerning the civil society's operationalisation and its extent in the countries there are different kind of data sources and research findings available for different states (IMF indicators, Freedom House's measurement, CIVICUS civil society index) which diversity makes the comparison problematic. Due to e.g. Hungary's EU membership the two countries rarely take part in the same international research programs; that is why seems to be challenging to find common analogous statistics about them. At the first glance we can declare that the civil participation's formulation in Hungary started before (in 1980ies) than in Ukraine, and consequently: the number of civil organisations – so the progress toward civil society - is also more considerable in the former than in the latter. There exists a global civil society index (GCSI) which data are accessible on both but altogether 33 countries in 2000. Contrary to the widespread opinion - namely the post-soviet states' advancement in general toward the CS is preceded by the CE countries development - based on the mentioned GCSI Hungary and Ukraine have occupied a similarly low (28<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup>) position.

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<sup>36</sup> The meal coupons' value equals 700 HUF (1 Euro = 250 HUF)/occasion.

<sup>37</sup> In their case the main problem realised in the fact that the NGOs could not provide any meaningful work for the refugees what could make them feel they are useful and indispensable. This also impedes the asylum seekers' integration into the city and the Hungarian society.



Leaving the country (macro) altitude my study has shifted to a rather micro level where starting from the III. point the essay's main argument is the following. In order to give a proper analysis about civil society, social capital or voluntary work especially in the less developed countries one should be not satisfied only with the institutionalised side which can be measured e.g. by the numbers of NGOs and their members; it is wise to examine the participation's informal aspects - which can not easily explored in official macro-statistics rather requires a case study approach - as well.

Concerning the voluntary work, based on both macro- and micro-statistical data there can be observed a considerable amount of the informal activities in both countries. In my argument, since the governmental social services' quantity and quality is lower, and the relevance of a locality and neighbourhood is higher in Transcarpathian region, the significance of extra-organisational mutual help is stronger there than in Hungary. It is important to emphasise that opposing Hungary the neighbourhood, the physical-geographical closeness is a relevant sphere for helping each other and deliver a voluntary activity in Western Ukraine, first of all by non-organisational activities.

Accepting these arguments it is wise composing a differentiation between the informal and formal type of the voluntary activities featuring two idealtypes of network and organisation based volunteerism, fulfilling a theoretical gap by doing so. The idealtypes always serve as analytic instruments for a researcher in order to compare the empirical phenomena with them; they are never realised purely in the social life. The idealtype of network sort volunteerism does not require any organisational, infrastructural, contractual or even financial base, payment because the participants' stable physical and intellectual work is the core of the activity. Usually a spontaneously "elected" or self-appointed charismatic leader involves, encourages and coordinates others without building up any hierarchical arrangement. The recruitment of the activists is based on trust and personal networks; the membership depends on the ongoing participation. The motivation – altruism, religious faith, helping others – and selective incentives – social ones - draws us a picture of a so called traditional volunteer. This form is more probably embedded in a traditional than in a modern society.

The organisation type volunteerism would be described by the presence of an – even international – institutional, infrastructural and financial background, the membership, activities and tasks are formalised by a contract. The leader is selected and/or controlled by the donors so some hierarchy might appear among the members and the leader. The selection of the participants sometimes should follow a formal application process; they may come from another community or country. There can be observed self-improvement and professional practice as motivators, moreover material selective incentives. The activity's extent can be even global; it is usually embedded into a modern society.

After delineating the idealtypes, I have provided two micro level case studies carried out in Ukraine and Hungary in order to represent their applicability in scientific research. There should be emphasised that both type of activities can be found in both Hungary and Ukraine, the reason why I have chosen exactly these two is that I faced them personally as a social researcher from one aspect, and I do consider the first one is more emblematic in Ukraine whereas the second one is more typical in Hungary, from the other.

By my argumentation the qualitative case study carried out in a Hungarian grammar school in Western Ukraine demonstrates an example rather on the network type volunteerism or charity where the key motivations are faith, solidarity, and humanitarian care. From the other side, my empirical experience during my internship in a refugee camp in Hungary provides an instance for a rather organisation sort of participation of university students. In this case the main inspiration is getting

multicultural or general experiences by working in a refugee camp. In most cases I have showed out the differences according to the features delineated above, but at the same time contradictions and analogous marks can be observed too.

The common characteristics in both activities would be as follows: a charismatic leader – he/she should have good mobilisation, mediation, and conflict managing skills, encourages the cooperation and producing public goods - plays an important role in both cases. They have not built up any real hierarchy. In addition, even while signing a contract the activity defines the membership; the trust, personal resources, and social capital play an important role in the recruitment process; the payment is not significant as a motivator even in the Hungarian students' case.

At the same time the case studies have highlighted some hazards which could be hidden in the activities; I am convinced these risks might be available for other voluntary activities too. Consequently, these explored dangers and my recommendations can be generalised in a wider sense. First of all, concerning the network based activity there can be stated that the leader's operation and activity is absolutely uncontrolled. In this particular case it did not cause any problem but one should be aware of the fact that since a leader has a power in his/her hand, it can be used not only in positive but also in manipulative way. Seeing the organisation type volunteerism its strength is the donors have possibility to check and balance the leader – even it can not be easily realised in this particular case since the donor's intermediary institution is working in Budapest whereas the project coordinator in Debrecen refugee camp. I do not argue the Hungarian high school students' activity should be institutionalised or centralised, only e.g. a natural community leader could control a volunteer leader such as mayor, notary, priest, schoolmaster, teacher, librarian, etc.

Regarding the organisation type volunteerism one can face certain problems as well. By my opinion in a sense the university students' volunteerism in the refugee camp is a paid activity so based on Cziike, Kuti's definition it loses its voluntary character. In order to avoid this according to the law they prefer calling it a charge or expense allowance. The leader can misuse his/her supremacy delivering institutionalised services too. Due to the top-down character the donors have opportunity to avoid this dysfunction by being careful in recruitment process, to elect responsible persons for these positions and practice a clear evaluation process. Another hazard would be the project-oriented and donor-driven character which can "determine" to stop the participation after finishing the contract and make the activity not sustainable. Moreover, the real motivation can be replaced by the aim of getting sources from the donors. From my point of view if a project was carried out successfully, the participants will continue working even without any contact or material selective incentives as we could see in a students' case in the refugee camp.

Regarding my research results' operational outcomes, hopefully some pieces of them have been already implemented. During my internship period (June – August 2008) I had opportunity to participate in a research group composed of 3 members which task has been the evaluation of the project's called *Integration of Asylum Seekers by Voluntary Employment* implementation. Beyond the documentation analysis, we conducted personal and focus group interviews with refugee and non-refugee volunteers, project coordinators, NGO mentors, so our evaluation report contains a complex analysis about the implementation's 9 months. The best practices discovered by my colleagues before my internship was summarised in a report in Hungarian published by Menedék – Hungarian Association for Migrants (see *Integration on Voluntary Base*) in order to use them in planning different projects. As it was promised us our evaluation study is going to be used in the same way.

In addition I hope that publishing my essay makes it available for one part of a scientific community. By my expectation my created idealtypes could provide something new in theoretical sense and they can be used - to compare with them the investigated phenomena - by other researchers as well.

## Appendix

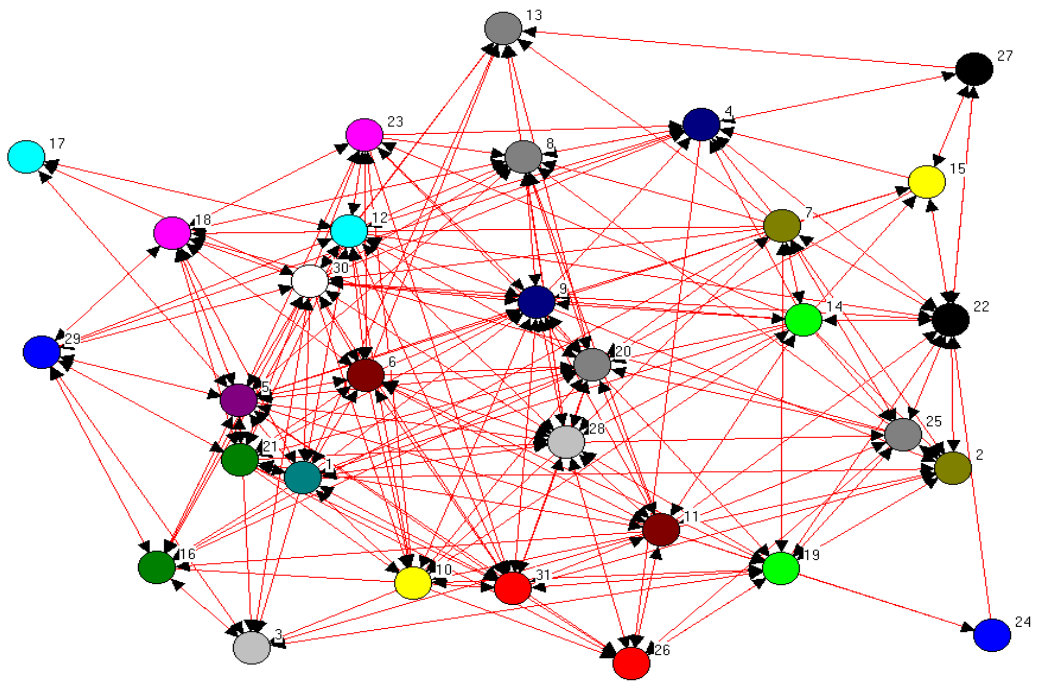
**Table 1.** Key differences between networks and organisations

	<i>Network</i>	<i>Organisation</i>
<i>Nature of connections</i>	Interpersonal relationships	Formal procedures and lines of accountability
<i>Membership</i>	Fuzzy category, depends on on-going participation and interaction	Clearly defined by affiliation, subscription, employment
<i>Nodes</i>	Individuals/organisational unit	Roles/posts
<i>Type of structure</i>	Non-centralised web of connections	Usually hierarchical arrangement, with central control
<i>Boundaries</i>	Unclear, permeable; many boundary-spanning links	Defined and maintained, often through constitution or written protocols
<i>Mode of interaction</i>	Based on custom, personal history and mutual affinity	Rules and regulations
<i>Basis of exchange</i>	Trust and favours	Contracts and directives
<i>Common bond</i>	Shared values	Agreed aims and objectives

Source: Gilchrist 2004:35.

**Figure 1.** The whole social network of the Hungarian class investigated in Transcarpathia





Source: Own research 2005.

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