

American University of Armenia

VOLUNTEERING IN ARMENIA

**A MASTER ESSAY SUBMITTED TO
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POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

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Abstract

The study investigates the motivational differences of male and female volunteers as well as transformation of volunteering rationales with age. The study applies qualitative and quantitative (mixed) method of research. The qualitative data entails eight interviews and two focus groups with participants of different demographics and volunteering experience. The quantitative data includes the nationwide survey analysis of general tendencies of volunteering in Armenia, descriptive statistics concerning informal and formal volunteering as well as reports on volunteering activity carried in 2010 and 2014. The results indicate that male volunteers are driven by egoistic whereas female volunteers are motivated by altruistic rationales. As for the age differences, younger volunteers are more career-oriented, whereas elder volunteers mostly care for social benefit.

Introduction

It is true, that every work should get rewarded. In this regard the phenomenon of volunteering is a salient activity based on non-monetary appreciation. Volunteering activity impacts both personal lives, influencing volunteers' personal characteristics and skills, and, on a larger scale, influences in social life. Volunteering is an unpaid work oriented towards, and done for the society. Therefore, a well- developed culture of volunteering is a precious component for building a civil society.

The study aims to reveal the motivations of volunteering and their differences between male and female volunteers in Armenia. The study also addresses the changes of motivations with age. Based on the qualitative data (eight interviews and two focus group sessions conducted in the framework of this study) the capstone discusses to what extent each gender is inclined to find stimuli in egoistic or altruistic types of motivations.

This study also investigates general tendencies of volunteering in Armenia through analysis of secondary quantitative data derived from a nationwide survey. Moreover, attitudes of genders towards volunteering, the extent of their involvement (i.e. time spent volunteering), as well as the most attractive spheres of volunteering are discussed in this capstone paper. Since volunteering is not rewarded in monetary terms, it is important to identify the motivators which stimulate the recruitment and sustain the volunteerism in Armenian society. Finally, this paper discusses whether factors like employment, marital status, existence of children or elderly at home, satisfaction from life (happiness) and the state of health have any type of impact on volunteering activity of a person.

Chapter 1. Theoretical background of the study

The main debate regarding the motivations and rationales for volunteering evolves around the nature (sphere) of unpaid activity, the costs and benefits, pay-offs and gains of people involved in the volunteering activity as well as the “egoistic” versus “altruistic” approaches and age. Many researchers posed the question of whether the socio-demographic factors have a major impact on the decision of a person to get involved in volunteering, and whether well-being in terms of happiness, wealth, mental/physical health and income or ownership within a community of a person can be a stimulus to contribute to social life without monetary reward. The marital status, age, employment and dependent children are among factors that could serve as obstacles or, on the contrary, be an additional stimulus to do work for a social good.

1.1. Motivational difference and volunteering preferences among genders

Several conducted studies indicate that the preferences and rationales to volunteer differ depending on gender of a volunteer (Haski-Leventhal 2009; Kulik and Megidna 2011; Wymer Jr and Samu 2002; Javadzadeh Shahshahani 2007; Marshall and Taniguchi 2012; Windebank 2008; Pickersgill 1998; Gage and Thapa 2012). The study conducted by Haski-Leventhal (2009) found that among women the psychological motive is reflected through a wish to express empathy, whereas men are driven by self-interest and they spend more time to volunteer. This difference can be viewed from the perspective of quality versus quantity: women spent less time but do more work driven by altruistic motives, whereas men spent more time doing volunteering but are driven more by egoistic motives.

Women show more altruistic approach. According to it, female volunteers are more likely to be recruited in spheres like healthcare, education, social service, humanitarianism (Windebank 2008; Wymer Jr and Samu 2002; Parkinson et al. 2010; Kulik and Megidna 2011). Meanwhile men dominate in the sphere of leisure-related activities (i.e. sports clubs, racing), which is described more as the organization of leisure simultaneously providing more volunteering hours to a specific activity.

Additionally, ethical behavior differs between men and women. For example, the analysis of gender occupation in art school among volunteers revealed that “world of beauty,” self-respect, true friendship, connectedness and social recognition are the main drivers for men to volunteer. As for female respondents, they have mostly indicated such categories as empathy, sense of accomplishment, and philanthropy (Haski-Leventhal 2009; Weeks and MacQuarrie 2010).

Another motive for female volunteers is the personal growth, benefits from volunteering activity and filling of spare time (Merrell 2000; Pickersgill 1998). The volunteer women in clinical studies declared their motivation was the wish “to be closer to women health knowledge, being previously involved in similar studies, desire to check their health and because their friends have been volunteers”. As a contrary argument, in another study concerning volunteering in the healthcare sphere conducted in Iran, women were reluctant to volunteer as blood donors. The findings showed the main reason of such behavior was the belief about blood giving such as perception of anemia (31%), lack of time (23%), fear (16%). Only 5% of volunteer donors were women in Iran, while in U.S. female blood donors consisted 50% out of surveyed women (and 79% out of surveyed men) (Javadzadeh Shahshahani 2007).

Conformist behavior is quite spread among female volunteers; as the researches show, women prefer to volunteer in groups while men prefer to volunteer alone. This last tendency is

more vivid among adult volunteers: boys get teased by peers while for the girls it is socially acceptable to volunteer. Also young female volunteers expect a greater reward and feel challenged.

Often, the labor force is divided based on gender. Gender division of labor incorporates such domains as employment, domestic work and volunteering activity. A number of researches showed the tendency of men and women to occupy various sectors in volunteering, to show different approaches and motivation to volunteer (or not to volunteer in a lifetime).

Several studies indicate that preferences of genders change in terms of sphere of volunteering (i.e. formal and informal). The motivators to volunteer for men and women may have a different nature (i.e. altruistic and self-oriented, conformist, social indifference) (Windebank 2008; Kolnick and Mulder 2007; Claxton-Oldfield et al. 2013; Claxton-Oldfield, Guigne, and Claxton-Oldfield 2009).

The cross-national studies conducted in France and the United Kingdom on gender division of labor found that men occupy the employment sphere whereas women prefer to be recruited in the domestic sphere. The differences between formal and informal volunteering preferences among French and British were also investigated. Formal volunteering implies activity brought through non-profit organizations and any type of associations, whereas informal volunteering includes personal or group initiative to do a non-paid favor or work. As the results showed, men in France tended to spend more time in formal volunteering than women (men spend 5% of their daily time on volunteering, while women spend 3% of their daily time), as for the results received from U.K. they showed rather equal rate between women and men (both 2% of men and the same percent of women volunteered per day) (Windebank 2008).

Referring to the employment as an influential factor for volunteering, it should be mentioned about horizontal and vertical sex segregation in volunteering work. The horizontal segregation implies that female volunteers are more inclined to occupy the “maintaining” roles

(“helping out”, serving, clothing, raising money), whereas men occupy the role of leadership (managerial positions, organizational work) within organization that they are engaged in. In addition to this, the vertical segregation implies hierarchical establishment of works between volunteers (i.e. men main actor, women-assistant) (Rotolo and Wilson 2007). As for statistics, in Sweden 21% of men and 15% of women, and in France 17% of men and 11% of women reported volunteering within employment (Marshall and Taniguchi 2012; Gage and Thapa 2012; Haski-Leventhal 2009). At the same time, female volunteers tend to choose an activity in the local communal domains while men do not limit themselves with a small scope of activity.

1.2. “Egoistic” and “altruistic” approaches, differences among young and old volunteers

“Egoistic” and “altruistic” approaches define the motivation types of a person. For instance, volunteers acting within a group put less effort in their activity than volunteers acting individually. This is explained through the approach shown by the person: the extent to which he or she is “altruistic” or “egoistic”. (Murnighan et al. 1993; Dolnicar and Randle 2007). The volunteers who receive personal benefits from the activity (work experience, promotion, career opportunities, protection) have more stimuli to put efforts. Interestingly enough, the approach is closely related to the age of the volunteer. While younger volunteers tend to prioritize personal benefits, the older ones prefer more to contribute for social benefits (values, enhancement, understanding, and help people).

There is a probability of transformation of motivation depending on age, priorities and dedication to an activity of the volunteer. The survey questionnaires show “multi motivational” approach in the volunteers who pursue personal gains (several motives to participate in volunteerism). Also it shows the “classic motivation to volunteer” is three-fold. It consists of three

types of drivers which are categorized in the following way: personal satisfaction, doing something worthwhile and helping others. (Haski-Leventhal et al. 2008).

The younger generation “suffers” from weak-altruism (“they think they act for the society, but in reality they act for themselves first”)(Murnighan, Kim, and Metzger 1993). Young people aged from 18 to 30 prefer to be involved in formal volunteering, especially in three attractive fields such as religion, environment, and education. The studies show that the volunteering motives tend to be career-related, therefore egoistic.

Such motives as reaching one’s goals, work experience, self-education and networking were more frequently reported by young volunteers. The lack of work experience is the particular gap that is being filled by volunteering activity, with an aim of increasing the chance to be hired in the future. Apart from this, several motivation drivers were revealed which were clustered into groups such as personal pleasure, curiosity about practical abilities and skills, self-education and networking. As it was observed, the drivers to volunteer were geared toward self-development and self-investment (Oostlander et al. 2013; Plagnol and Huppert 2010).

In contrast to young volunteers, the elder people over 50 years old consider volunteering the substitute to their minimized social role and they have fewer concerns about career-related gains and rewards than younger volunteers. An interesting difference between “egoistic” motive of the young and elder volunteers is that the “egoistic” motive was expressed in the wish of being supported in return in the future by others (reported by the elder volunteers) (Haski-Leventhal 2009).

Referring to the “altruistic” rationales of volunteering, many respondents report their “philanthropic” senses and the need to make a useful contribution to social life. This is explained with gaining the feeling of self-fulfillment and being needed. Volunteering is a “valuable use of

time” coupled with sense of satisfaction and recognition. Also altruistic motives to volunteer are mostly effective in the “close kin” relations (Murnighan, Kim, and Metzger 1993; Hustinx et al. 2010; Claxton-Oldfield et al. 2013).

Volunteering serves as a way to meet individual needs that are not met, where one obtains a possibility to “acquire a new role”, acquire self-perception, be useful for the society; this specially refers to elder people (Wymer Jr and Samu 2002; Handy et al. 2000; Hustinx et al. 2010). Though it is believed that elder people have more spare time, the studies show that employed people over 50 are more enthusiastic in providing their spare time for social contribution. In addition, they have more optimistic views for their life expectancy, better health and higher satisfaction of life compared to non-volunteers of the same age.

1.3. Volunteering activity and preferences in spheres

Another interesting approach is the sphere of volunteering activity. For instance, this is mentioned in the research conducted in a religious community (Wilson and Janoski 1995). The volunteers motivated by “theological thoughts” contribute solely in the realm related to the religion and within their own (or closely neighboring) community. They mostly abstain from being involved in the secular sphere. Regardless the fact of being encouraged by “altruistic” values of the religion, the volunteerism seems to be limited within certain sector.

Another example of such limited activity is found in the research of Rotolo and Wilson (2006). According to the results, the employees who worked for the non-profit sector tend to show a better performance in volunteering activity than those who were hired in the private sector. The interpretation given for such behavior is that first, money is not a strong motivator for better performance, and the second reason is that the private sector inhibits to certain extent the spirit of

volunteering. Moreover, the switch from the non-profit sector to the private sector drastically decreases the motivation to volunteer. It is explained with the idea of “have done too much” while being the employee in the non-profit sector and being involved too much in the socially beneficial activities (Rotolo and Wilson 2006; Plagnol and Huppert 2010; Anheier and Salamon 1999).

1.4. Demographics, ownership and other factors stimulating volunteering activity

Several factors as demographics have an impact on motivation and desire to volunteer. A study conducted by Thoits and Hewitt in 1995 in the United states revealed that people who are married and have dependent children are more inclined to volunteer than single volunteers without children. The demographic factors like age, education, marital status, employment status, as well as the level of well-being and even the sense of happiness and life satisfaction, can have a great impact on volunteering tendencies too. Six aspects of personal well-being (happiness, wealth, self-esteem, and life satisfaction, sense of control over life, physical health and depression) were examined in relationship to volunteering. Interestingly enough, people with greater personal well-being level may volunteer more often. Besides, the studies found the reciprocal effect of volunteering and well-being of a person. Positive correlation proved the fact of interdependency of “positive indicators” of the well-being and frequency of volunteering. The more a person volunteers the happier he or she is (Merrell 2000; Thoits and Hewitt 2001).

In contrast, the study throughout European countries showed that people who had dependent children or elderly at home, devote less time and effort to formal volunteering. In other cross-national study of the Eastern and Western European countries, the results showed that socio-demographic factors positively correlate with general volunteering activity, but still those factors

are not the determinants for segregation of the unpaid activity between formal and informal types. (Plagnol and Huppert 2010; Anheier and Salamon 1999).

Nevertheless, motivations drastically change depending not only on the demographic factors but also on the life situation of a volunteer. The research conducted on the volunteering activity of refugee women in the United Kingdom (who came from Kosovo, Turkey, and Syria) showed that their volunteering engagement closely links to their social and economic situation, impossibility to reestablish themselves in the workplace, though they had work experience in their country. The volunteer refugees mentioned such categories like “mainstream” volunteering (meaning volunteering being a popular trend), desire not to be excluded, and a wish to give back to the society (Tomlinson 2010; Hustinx et al. 2010).

Besides, people get involved in volunteerism through inspiration as the motivation to volunteer has a “contaminating” feature. Namely, the engagement into volunteering activity of one person serves as a rationale for another person to get involved in the same activity. The results of interviews indicated that people got interested in unpaid work because they “knew somebody from the organization in person” which had volunteering staff. (Clary and Snyder 1999; Dolnicar and Randle 2007). The attitude of the organization cannot be disregarded. Several volunteers express their discontent of not being appreciated by the organizations they were involved in; therefore, they preferred to leave. In many cases, this served as a stimulus for volunteers driven solely by altruistic motives to switch to informal format of volunteerism. The appreciation of the volunteers is a method to sustain the staff of volunteers within organizations as well as to stimulate the involvement of more people into formal volunteering (Wymer Jr and Samu 2002; Oostlander et al. 2013).

The well-being in terms of tangible property influences the volunteering motivation. The fact of greater amount of property and ownership in the community stimulates people to be more involved in unpaid works for the community they live in. The more the property the more people are energized for unpaid work. As for another example which shows the initial driver for volunteering motivation, another research by same researchers was conducted. In this case, the researchers verified if the ownership of the property impacts the volunteering motivation. As it was found, those who had more stakes in the community were actively engaged in volunteerism. In addition, the time factor played an important role, as the long-term residents showed obvious interest and better performance in the civic engagement or “moral citizenship” (due to loyalty, stability and a wish to invest in the community) (Rotolo, Wilson, and Hughes 2010; Principi et al. 2013; Hein 2011).

The “pessimistic attitude” to collective indifference also serves as a motivator for volunteering. The approach which is expressed in the following wording: “if not me than who?” emerges as a rationale for engaging in activities aimed at increasing the collective social benefits. Another set of volunteering motivations are the so-called “intangible incentives” such as socializing, status establishment, friendship, sense of group membership, networking and involvement (Baker 1994; Shye 2010).

Many findings indicate that women are less responsive to volunteering activity than men, though women are mostly driven by altruistic and empathic motives to volunteer, while men are driven by self-interest and so-called “egoistic” factors, and they provide more time to volunteerism than women. Besides, women have a greater tendency to volunteer in groups, show conformist

behavior, and occupy "maintaining" positions while men prefer to volunteer alone and to occupy "leading" and managerial positions.

The younger generation is moved by egoistic drivers to volunteer (such as filling the experience gap in CV, apply gained knowledge and get networking); contrary to them the elder generation has a need to return the “good deeds” to the society and to be needed, therefore elder people contribute with altruistic motives. The elderly people are enthusiastic about volunteering activity as it helps them to feel affiliated and regain their social neediness, they are not motivated by career-related drivers but by altruistic factors like help and support to the society. Regardless the age, men are the most active contributors to the social unpaid activities among young and old generations.

Depending on the sphere of activity, demographic and social factors, female and male volunteers show different preferences and are driven by variety of motives to volunteer. The previous studies reveal that the occupation and marital status, as well as the presence of dependent children are not the obstacles for being a volunteer in some countries, whereas in European countries this factor is just a limit for formal type of volunteering. In addition, the studies show that the level of well-being directly impacts volunteering motivation. The happier the people are in terms of income and self-satisfaction, the more engaged in volunteering.

1.1 Research questions and hypotheses of the study

This study investigates the motivational differences between genders as well as motivational transformation within age groups of volunteers. Therefore, the research questions and hypotheses of the study are as follows:

Research Question 1: What motivates Armenian men to volunteer?

➤ *Hypothesis: Men are motivated by egoistic drivers to volunteer*

Research Question 2: What motivates Armenian women to volunteer?

➤ *Hypothesis: Women are motivated by altruistic drivers to volunteer.*

Research Question 3: How does the motivation of volunteers change with age?

Chapter 2. Methodology and research design

The current study applies qualitative and quantitative (mixed) method of research, exploratory research design. There are primary and secondary data collected for the current study.

The primary data is collected via eight in-depth interviews and two focus groups with volunteers recorded verbatim and turned into transcript for content analysis. Volunteering motivations' six types defined by Clary and Snyder (1999) are used as an indicator for clustering the answers of the respondents. The abovementioned six types of motivations are the following:

1. Career (career-related activities, gaining knowledge)
2. Enhancement (psychological development)
3. Social (Improving network)
4. Protective (minimizing negative senses)
5. Understanding (application of skills and interest in target groups)
6. Values (socially oriented humanitarianism)

These categories are clustered into “egoistic” and “altruistic types as depicted in Table 1:

Table 1: Egoistic and Altruistic categories

Egoistic		Altruistic	
Motivation category	Example	Motivation Category	Example
Career	Work-experience, knowledge, skill development	Understanding	Contribution in society, being useful for others, making changes in society
Enhancement	Leisure, friendship, exchange, express oneself	Value	Compassion, help, support, self-satisfaction(satisfying psychological need to help somebody)
Social	Reciprocity, solidarity		
Protective	Self-esteem, life-style, image of volunteer		

Source: (Clary and Snyder 1999)for conceptual framework and primary data as examples.

The available quantitative data on Armenia from 2011 to 2013 was analyzed through SPSS program for regressions, cross-tabulations and descriptive statistics. The data is retrieved from Caucasus Barometer nationwide representative survey, carried out by Caucasus Research Resource Center (“Caucasus Barometer” 2011 available at <http://caucasusbarometer.org>).

Secondary data includes also two research reports on volunteering activity in Armenia, conducted in 2010 and 2014 respectively. Those are “Culture of Volunteering in Armenia: Case Study” conducted by Counterpart International in Armenia NGO (Tadevosyan and Hakobyan 2010), and “Armenian Civil Society after Twenty Years of Transition: Still Post-Communist?” conducted by Turpanjian Center for Policy Analysis (Paturyan and Gevorgyan 2014).

Interviews

Eight volunteers (four male and four female) of different demographic and volunteering activity background were interviewed for the current research. In average the duration of in-depth interviews was 18 minutes, the longest interview lasted 28 minutes and the shortest one lasted 14 minutes. The answers were recorded verbatim and turned into transcripts for content analysis.

Focus groups

Two semi-structured focus groups were held in Yerevan and in Vanadzor. The participants of the focus groups were selected from different NGOs as well as included informal volunteers. First focus group session took place at the NGO center of Vanadzor with eight participants (four male and four female). It lasted an hour and five minutes. Second focus group session took place in Yerevan at the American University in Armenia with eight participants (three male and five female). It lasted 48 minutes.

The focus group discussion guide consisted of two parts. Participants before start of focus group session filled the demographic part with ten questions and two semantic differential scales on health state and happiness measurement. Health and happiness scales were included in order to verify whether the health and satisfaction (happiness) influences anyhow on volunteering activity of a participant. See Annex 1 for the pre-discussion questionnaire.

The discussion guide proper included 15 questions on participants' own description of volunteering, the reasons to become volunteer, positive and negative sides of volunteerism, drivers of volunteering etc. See Annex 2 for the focus group discussion guide.

Focus group organization.

Numbers were assigned to each participant of focus group discussions; they were asked to fill out a short form regarding their demographics before the start of the session. In order to

consider each answer of the participant, the assistant of facilitator took quick notes of the answer, noting the number of the respondent. In both focus groups, the participants either came from fifteen different NGOs, or were informal volunteers.

Recruitment of participants

In order to ensure the variety of answers the purposive sample consisted of volunteers with different demographic features regarding age, education background, marital status, and employment. The volunteers were found via following methods:

1. Search for the NGOs with the key word “Volunteer” in the name (in the NGO online directory)¹
2. Facebook groups of the NGOs containing “volunteer(ing)” word
3. Word of mouth

In order to ensure the diversity and comparison of answers the strategy of sample selection was based on the selection of a pair of same age and same gender volunteers with different demographic features (i.e. one married one single, one employed other unemployed) and preferably of different places of residence (i.e. from Yerevan and from Vanadzor). Volunteers were divided according to three age groups: Group 1 volunteers aged from 20 to 30, group 2 volunteers from 31 to 45, group 3 volunteers aged over 50. No volunteers within 45 to 50 age range have participated in interviews or focus group sessions.

¹ “Areg” Online directory. Access URL: <http://areg.biz/ca/?lng=am&CID=27>

Chapter 3. Secondary data analysis and reports

3.1 General volunteering tendencies in Armenia

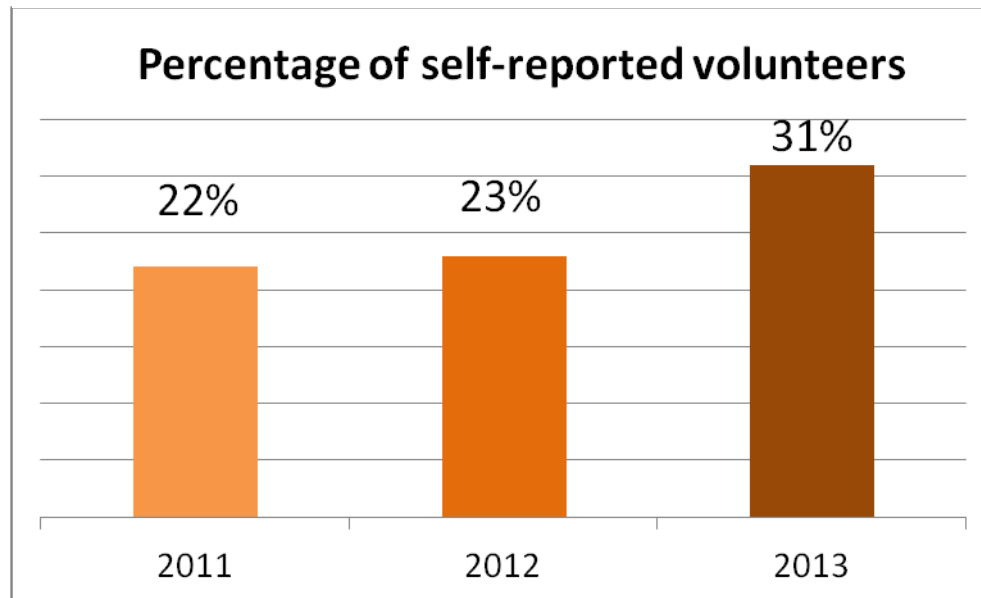
By means of using the database from Caucasus Barometer, the data analysis was done through SPSS program for cross-tabulations and descriptive statistics. The obtained results are discussed below.

In 2011, 27% of men declared to be volunteers, whereas only 15% of women declared to have done unpaid work during last six months. In 2012, the rate of volunteering was 28% for male and 18% for female respondents. As for the year 2013, 42% of men and 20% of women reported doing unpaid work. The results indicate overall volunteering activity both in formal (within organization) and informal way (independent volunteering, not organized by any institution). It is obvious, that during the last three years men tended to be more active in volunteering activity than women. Therefore, the analysis indicates that men are more inclined to do unpaid (therefore) volunteer work than women (Table 2). As for the general tendencies in volunteerism in Armenia, starting from 2011 to 2013, the percentage of active volunteers increased. Table 2 reflects the general volunteering tendencies in Armenia (both informal and formal) during last years (2011-2013).

Table 2 Volunteering among genders % of “Yes”

Respondents gender/Year	2013	2012	2011
Male	42%	28%	27%
Female	20%	18%	15%

Figure 1: General volunteering tendencies in Armenia (2011-2013)



Source: "Caucasus Barometer" 2011-2013 available at <http://caucasusbarometer.org/en/>

As we can observe from the Figure 1, the volunteering activity has increased. In comparison with 2011 when the percent of self-reported volunteers was 22% it bared a slight increase of 1 percentage point in 2012 and became 23% then it increased up to 31% in 2013. No data is available for 2014 and 2015.

3.2 Formal and informal volunteering tendencies

If men show active participation in general volunteering activity, women are more inclined to participate especially in informal volunteering. The questions describing the informal volunteering activity received more positive answers from female respondents than from men.

In 2012, 58% of women reported helping to clean a public space and 52% of female respondents helped a neighbor or a friend with chores. In 2013, the number of self-reported female volunteers in the informal sphere decreased: 19% declared support to clean public space and 41% helped friend or a neighbor with chores. As for men, 42% reported to help to clean public space and

49% reported to help neighbor or a friend with chores in 2012. In 2013 these numbers decreased: only 9% of male respondents helped to clean public space and 24% helped neighbor or a friend with chores (see Table 3).

Table 3: Positive answer to informal volunteering questions categorized by years and gender

Year	Informal volunteering type	Men	Women
2012	Helped to clean public space during last six months	42%	58%
	Help neighbor/friend with chores	49%	52%
2013	Helped to clean public space during last six months	9%	19%
	Help neighbor/friend with chores	24%	41%

Source: “Caucasus Barometer” 2012, available at <http://caucasusbarometer.org/en/>

3.3 Reports on volunteerism in Armenia

Informal volunteering is a quite popular mode to volunteer in Armenia. This is proved by the case study research conducted by Counterpart International Armenia in 2010. According to the results, back in 2005, 80% of Armenian population was involved in the volunteering activity, from which only 8% were members of any organization. In addition, informal volunteering in some cases has a positive impact in terms of bringing the informal volunteers into formal volunteering domain (Tadevosyan and Hakobyan 2010).

Young people aged from 18 to 30 tend to be more involved in formal volunteering in Armenia. In 2014, the most “popular” spheres for formal volunteering involvement tend to be religious (or church) organizations (4.3%), environmental organizations (3.1%), art/music or educational organizations (2.8%) (Paturyan and Gevorgyan 2014).

3.4 Motivation to volunteer

The case study conducted in 2010 by Counterpart international Armenia, revealed that the majority of people who engaged in volunteering are driven by altruistic motives. More precisely, they reported “philanthropic” drivers to do a useful work for the society, which gave them a sense of self-fulfillment with no reward. As the analysis of conducted interviews showed, the volunteers did not expect gratitude in return for their “good deeds” (Tadevosyan and Hakobyan 2010).

Another driver that was mentioned by volunteer respondents was the “valuable use of time”, sense of satisfaction, being needed and recognized. Because of not being appreciated by the organizations, they were involved in, several volunteers preferred to switch to informal volunteering. Consequently, the appreciation of the volunteers seemed to be a method to sustain the staff of volunteers within organizations as well as to stimulate the engagement of more people into formal volunteering in Armenia (Tadevosyan and Hakobyan 2010).

More pragmatic volunteers reported such motives as improving their career path (i.e. filling CV), building self-confidence, self-esteem and gaining practical work experience. These motives can be interpreted as “egoistic”. However, according to the case study of 2010 the altruistic motives to volunteer stood in the first place before egoistic drivers according to answers of interviewed volunteers (Tadevosyan and Hakobyan 2010).

Controversially, the latest study of 2014 showed that the volunteering motives tend to become more self-oriented. The motives as reaching one’s goals, work experience, self-education and networking were more frequently reported by volunteers. Volunteering is perceived to fill the gap of lack of experience and serves as an alternative means for gaining work skills. This increases chances of being hired in the future. (Paturyan and Gevorgyan 2014).

Finally, it can be observed that in comparison with the case study of 2010, volunteering motivations in 2014 have switched from being altruistic to being more egoistic. While in 2010, volunteers prioritized social benefit from their own activity, the respondents in 2014 gave preference to self-development and personal benefits from unpaid activities.

Chapter 4. Analysis of the primary data (interviews and focus groups)

4.1 General characteristic of volunteering

4.1.1 How do volunteers get involved in volunteering activity?

According to participants of focus group discussions and interviews, general and broad description of volunteering activity is as follows: *volunteering is an unpaid job performed for the social benefit*. This description broadly presents the attitude of both genders regarding volunteerism, that is to say, men volunteers refer to the activity as their “unpaid job”, and female volunteers refer to it as an action towards “social benefit” and social good.

The analysis of interviews and focus group sessions reveals the following four types of initial involvement in volunteering:

1. Self-initiative (having an idea to do volunteering which implies an active search)
2. Interest (announcements or institutional calls for volunteers, respond to calls)
3. Inspiration (engagement by a friend/family member or by an occasion)
4. Institutional engagement (being recruited in volunteering as a *mandatory requirement* within a program by an institution/NGO, schools, universities etc.).

As we can see the first two types (Self-initiative and Interest) are active types of engagement, namely the person takes actions to get involved into volunteering activity, and third and fourth options (Inspiration and Institutional engagement) are passive, that is the potential volunteer is the

subject of influence by exterior factors. Both genders are inclined to get involved in volunteering activity via above-mentioned types with equal chances.

1. Self-initiative is an active type of involvement when a person comes up with an idea to do volunteering in a certain field. For example, one of the female volunteers stated that she kept in mind to become a blood donor for children. She has never been inspired or influenced by any exterior factor and started to volunteer when she found a convenient NGO to collaborate.

2. Interest is a semi-active type of involvement when a person motivated by mental attraction responds to a call for volunteering or any activity initiated by an organization. For example, a respondent started her activity once she learned that a youth club opened at their village. She declared her first motive was interest in youth club's activities at their community.

3. Inspiration is a passive involvement through exterior influence on mental and emotional senses of a person, directing him or her to a certain action. For instance, one of volunteers said his sister inspired him to become a volunteer at the Red Cross volunteer corps, as she had been already volunteering there.

4. Institutional engagement is an "imposed" type of involvement when an institution or a program assigns participation in volunteering activity to a potential volunteer. In certain way, this type does not clearly refer to volunteering sense as it has a "mandatory" component. Nevertheless, since a few volunteers among respondents started their activity through this way, it also has to be included in the involvement types. For instance, two interviewees said that the exchange youth program, they had participated in, had a mandatory requirement to the members that is to volunteer for a certain period.

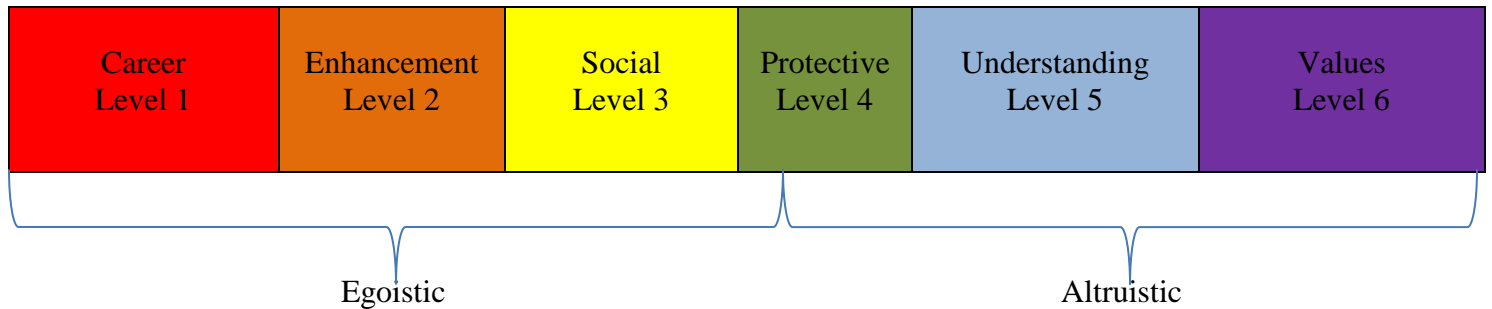
4.2 Motivational levels and tendencies of volunteering

For an illustrative explanation and analysis of the primary data, the conceptual frame of six-fold motivational categories by Clary and Snyder (1999) was used. The categories are nominated with numerical levels and distributed along color spectrum. On the color spectrum the levels are distributed in the increasing order from “the most egoistic” motivational level (red) to “the most altruistic” motivational level (violet) (see Figure 2). The categories on the color spectrum are clustered into egoistic and altruistic groups as it is depicted in Table 4. Examples in the table are taken from the analysis of qualitative data (answers received from interviews and focus group discussions).

Table 4: Six-fold categories by Gil Clary and Mark Snyder (1999) and the examples from the qualitative data

Level No	Motivational category	Explanation	Example
Level 1	Career	Career-related motives	Work-experience, knowledge, skill development
Level 2	Enhancement	Psychological development	Leisure, friendship, exchange, express oneself
Level 3	Social	Strengthen networking potential	Reciprocity, solidarity
Level 4	Protective	Reduce negative feelings	Self-esteem, life-style, image of volunteer
Level 5	Understanding	Learn about target groups, and exercise skills being unused	Contribution in society, being useful to others
Level 6	Values	Express an important manifestation, such as that of humanitarianism	Compassion, help, support, self-satisfaction (satisfying psychological need to help somebody)

Figure 2: Color spectrum of motivational levels



The protective level is included in both categories and consists of both egoistic and altruistic motivations, when a person does not pursue material benefits, but is also not totally dedicated to a social benefit oriented work. A good example of it is the description of volunteering as a “lifestyle”.

Based on the analysis of the participants’ answers, it becomes clear that motivation to volunteer essentially changes closer to the age of 30. The breaking point of the motivation change comes around age of 27-28. Employment is a major factor for the change of volunteering motivation. Once employed and rewarded, a volunteer’s motivation transforms to more advanced level. Existence of work and the factor of age play a major role in the type of motivation of a volunteer.

Younger volunteers (aged from 20 to 30) tend to be driven by egoistic motives for the start. The absence of work and experience, of several skills are salient factors to look for some activity in order to fill CV and raise one’s competitiveness among fellows. Figure 3 and Figure 4 demonstrate the change of motivation of male and female unemployed volunteers under age of 25.

Figure 3: Female volunteer under age 25

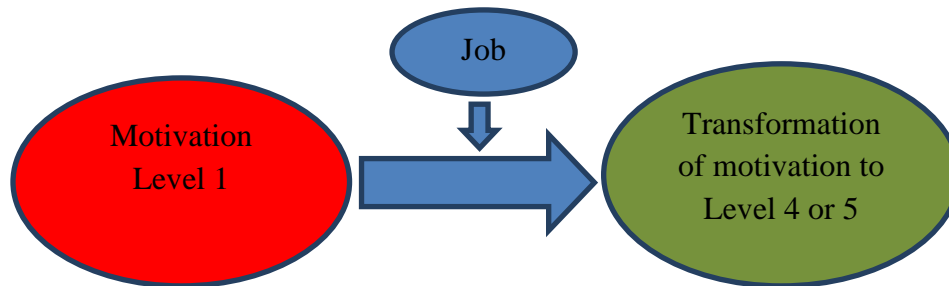
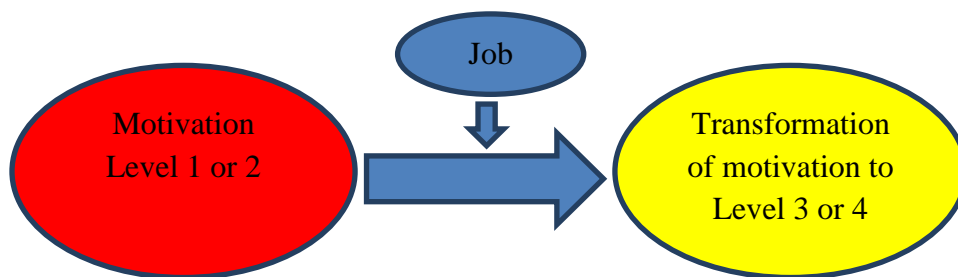


Figure 4: Male volunteer under age 25



Volunteers are not concerned about the financial expenses they make while volunteering; at least none of the respondents expressed a discontent about expenses in terms of money. The volunteers refer to the question as something unimportant. One of volunteers said: “If one does volunteering, he or she should be ready for such thing.... The money that I spent makes a miserable sum, I would not think about it”.-*Simon, 57, Informal volunteer*

4.3 Gender differences in volunteering motivation

4.3.1 Specificity of male volunteers

An average characteristic of a male volunteer is: self-initiator or an inspired person, looking for self-esteem and recognition, expecting appreciation, selecting the sphere of activity which can contribute to one’s skills, development or interests. Men are equally fine with group work and

doing the tasks alone. Men are inclined to be involved in volunteerism but not to engage friends or acquaintances to volunteering activity.

The more frequent answers of male volunteers regarding what is volunteering for them are presented in the descending order (from more to less often mentioned) below:

- Work experience
- Chance for gaining knowledge and development of skills
- Unpaid job for somebody's benefit
- Self-challenging
- Social responsibility

Among the answers of respondents there are such characteristics of volunteering as good chance to gain experience, development of professional skills, an opportunity to express oneself in a certain field, find new friends, create a network, self-esteem, doing an unpaid work for somebody's benefit, a way to spend time (leisure) as well as taking certain amount of responsibilities to support the society.

Male respondents of interviews and focus group discussions give three-fold answers regarding their definition of volunteering. As illustrated in

Table 5 below, in general, first characteristic mentioned is the useful sides of volunteering they personally have received from volunteering. Secondly, there is the characteristic, which mainly supports the personal gain, but does not have primary importance and thirdly, they mention the least important characteristic of their own three-fold definition.

Table 5: Model of a three-fold definition of what is volunteering given by male respondents

What is volunteering for you? (Describe the volunteering with your words)	Example 1	Example 2
1. “Personal” profit gained from activity	Experience	Skill development
2. Useful characteristic supportive to the personal gain	Network creation	Self-esteem
3. Characteristic which describes social benefit of volunteering	Unpaid work for somebody else	Responsibility towards others

Male respondents are likely to use word “receive” non-material gains from volunteering activity rather than “give” to society. None of male respondents ever used the terms like “help society”, “compassion”, “need” during interviews and focus group sessions. Men perceive volunteerism as an activity, which can contribute to their personality or self-esteem regardless the age of the respondent. One of respondents stated: “It seems that you give when you do volunteering, but it is not so, volunteering gives you much more!”. Therefore, the motivation of interviewed male volunteers varies in Red-Orange-Yellow-Green sectors in the Color spectrum of motivation (see Figure 2), among “egoistic” category of motivation.

Although male respondents claim that they do not care for appreciation or estimation of their volunteer work, while being asked about the negative sides of volunteering they mention “lack of appreciation and exploitation of their good will”. Appreciation and reciprocity (“do something for somebody, because one day you may need something too”) are important components for male volunteers.

Men are weak volunteer recruiters. Once involved in volunteering activity they are not inclined to involve their friends, family members, or relatives into their volunteering activity. At the same time, men are more inclined to be self-initiators. Alternative way for involvement of males into volunteering is being inspired by some occasion. They are inspired by somebody (generally female volunteer) to start their activity.

One more specificity of men volunteers is setting limits in volunteering, for instance, preferring to do voluntary work for people who they already know, or limit the amount of work they would agree to do at the NGO, otherwise it is considered as exploitation.

4.3.2 Specificity of female volunteers

An average characteristic of a female volunteer: self-initiator, looking for making changes in the society (or in a certain target group) selecting the sphere of activity where she can apply skills or have active participation, and help society being moved by a sense of compassion. Women, like men, do not give preference to solo or group work. They tend to be active encouragers and recruiters into volunteerism.

One of the volunteers explained it in the following wording: “As soon as I became a member of our NGO, I started to “poke” people around me.... If there were charity events or concerts, I was organizing and gathering people to engage them into my work (refers to volunteering). You know the money gained from concerts was sent to orphanages. That is why I always look for people who are convenient for our organization.” –*Sona, 33, NGO member.*

The more frequent answers of female volunteers regarding what is volunteering for them are presented in the descending order below:

- Help to society
- Support vulnerable groups

- Self-satisfaction (psychological)
- Social responsibility
- Self-expression and lifestyle

Among the answers of respondents, there are such characteristics of volunteering as a chance to help and support society, self-expression, self-satisfaction, development of skills, lifestyle, doing something useful, development of communication skills, a way to change something, “call of soul”. The definition formulated by female respondents of interviews and focus group sessions include socially oriented characteristics rather than self-oriented ones.

Unlike male volunteers, female volunteers tend to use the word “give” rather than “take” more frequently. Depending on age categories, discussed in the next chapters, the motivation categories of female volunteers vary in Red-Green-Blue-Violet parts of the color spectrum (see Figure 2).

Young female volunteers (aged from 20 to 27) start their volunteering activity moved by career-related rationales. Later they switch from career-related level to protective or understanding and value levels of motivations. It is notable to mention, that women who have started their volunteering activity in the age close to 30 are initially driven by purely altruistic motivation. One of respondents expressed her opinion on volunteering in the following way: “When God created us He said "You should love each other!" and Volunteering is a way to express this love”.-**Anahit, 29, NGO member**

Chapter 5. Changing motivations with age; and additional findings

5.1 General characteristics and specificity of genders

Motivation type of volunteering tends to change within age. This tendency links to the employment status of the volunteer. The explanation for every specific group of volunteers is given below:

Group 1 (Volunteers aged 20-30). The younger participants of focus groups and interviews declared that their primary motives were career-related. It is notable that young volunteers deliberately choose those organizations where they can enhance their professional skills and gain useful knowledge related to their profession. One of the volunteers stated: “It is not the same to collect garbage in the public place and to prepare materials for a presentation. When I had a chance to choose among various activities I could do at our NGO, I chose those that contributed to my professional development”.-*Alen, 22, NGO member*

Another number of young respondents of this group told that becoming a volunteer, was something done for fun or for time spending. Notably, male volunteers were more inclined to choose spheres of their interest or close to their professional qualification, whereas female volunteers were more inclined to go for NGOs where along with professional development they could be involved in socially profitable activities, make changes or be useful.

Female volunteers of this group tend to begin their volunteering activity with career-oriented motives, but by the time they are employed (or switch to the next age group); they change their motivation to more advanced levels such as protective or understanding (see Figure 3)

Group 2 (Volunteers aged 31-45). The essential change of motivation type of a volunteer is notable in this group. The respondents of this age group are mostly inclined to switch from their primary motivation to the upper level along the color spectrum of motivation. .

The respondents from this group tend to keep the image of a volunteer as a life-style, especially those, who have been involved into volunteering commitment for several years. They are no longer interested in career-related developments and “benefits”.

Nevertheless, there was specificity of female volunteers, who started their volunteering activity at the age close to 30. Those female volunteers were driven by purely altruistic motives. “I always wanted to be a blood donor for children. I have always had this idea in my mind and fortunately, I found an NGO which was helping children, hence I found my place there”.-*Sona, 29, NGO member.*

Group 3 (Volunteers aged over 50). The respondents in this group explain their motivation as a personal need. For the respondents of this age category volunteering is a part of their everyday life and not the issue of social activism. It is interesting that the respondents of this group often refer to their family, identity and national culture while explaining why they started to volunteer. In other words, they describe volunteering as a feature of their affiliation to Armenian identity (i.e. “we are Armenians therefore we should help”), or linking volunteerism to the “lifestyle” of their parents or elders. “My grandmother was saying to help people who are in need. Maybe there is something what is not useful for you but it can be useful for somebody else”-*Hrachuhi, 61, informal volunteer.*

Social level of motivation is the highest level for male volunteers of this group. Although they do not expect to enlarge their network, enhance their knowledge, or work experience, they still expect appreciation of their work as well as solidarity and reciprocity.

Consequently, it can be stated that motivation of male volunteers varies along “Egoistic” group of motivational levels of the color spectrum, while the motivation of female volunteers varies

along “Altruistic” part of levels. The model of motivation change of male and female volunteers depending on age group is presented in Figure 5 and Figure 6.

Figure 5 : The models of changing the motivation of male volunteers

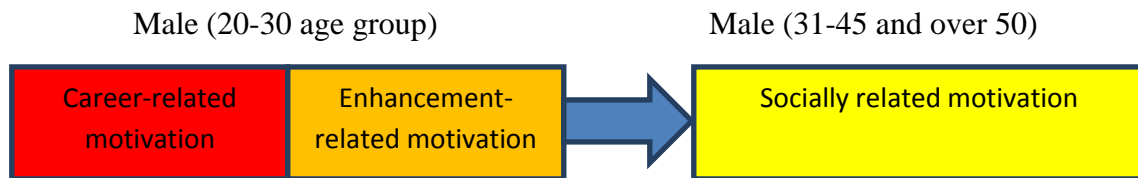
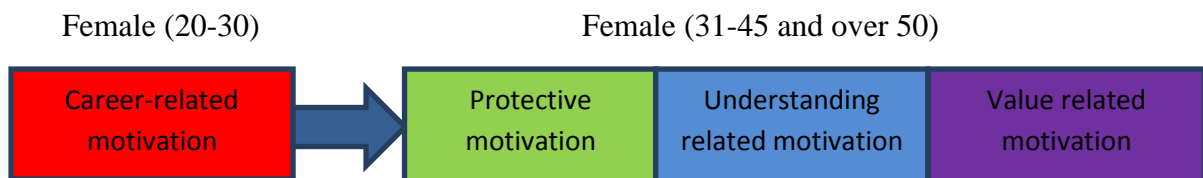


Figure 6: The model of changing the motivation of female volunteers



As mentioned earlier, the specificity of female respondents who started volunteering closer to the age of thirty is that they do not switch to other levels of volunteering. Their motivation type is altruistic, namely varies in “Understanding” and “Value” related levels. Female respondents did not report enhancement and social type of motivations; consequently, they “skip” them, and move to protective or a higher level of motivations.

5.2 Additional remarks on volunteering tendencies

In the framework of the current study, additional findings refer to the average time that volunteers spend on their activity, the assessment of their health condition and the sense of satisfaction from life (happiness).

Regardless the marital status and employment of the respondents, on average a volunteer spends from two to three hours per day on volunteering activity. Moreover, several respondents consider hours spent online (i.e. coordination of work with NGO members or Facebook

discussions), and NGO-related tasks done from home (i.e. preparation of the materials, translations of documents etc) as volunteered time.

Volunteering indirectly enlarges the circle of acquaintances. That is to say, volunteers keep their connections with those who they have previously helped. Interestingly, by a coincidence those volunteers who worked with orphans within NGOs and one informal volunteer reported that they still keep in touch with those children (i.e. taking them to cinema and different cultural events, baptized them, writing letters and having phone calls).

Volunteers face the issue of being isolated and not being understood by the surrounding people (friends or family members and acquaintances). One participant explained this as follows: “People did not understand how can I work and not receive reward.... They thought volunteerism is something like a sect and reaction was... like “don’t mess with them, stay away!” I could not explain to those people what is volunteering”. Another male volunteer added, “I had that feeling of not being understood too. Every day I was getting ready to go to “work” (refers to volunteering), and every time my friends and relatives were asking if I work, I was answering yes.... Still they did not get where I was going to “work” without receiving money”.-*Vahe, 31, NGO member.*

The respondents were asked to assess the state of their health on a ten-degree scale. This was done to observe if volunteers consider themselves in a good health and if this could affect anyhow their activity. On the ten-degree scale, the average health state of volunteers is 8.0. As for the happiness scale, the average number is 7.9. In addition, none of the respondents chose the number below five on the scale. Therefore, the research participant volunteers estimated their health above average (rather good) as well as they considered themselves happy.

The questions on marital status, existence of dependent children or elderly at home and employment status were included in order to observe the possibility of major occupation of a person

to impact on volunteering activity. No connections were found in this regard, as none of the respondents ever mentioned the abovementioned factors as stimulus or a hinder for volunteerism.

Chapter 6. Results of the study

According to analysis of the survey results from Caucasus Barometer (2011, 2012 and 2013), the volunteering tendencies in Armenia have increased. It shows that in 2011 the percent of self-reported volunteers was 22%, then rose by 1 percentage point next year and became 23%. In 2013, the percent of volunteers reached 31%.

The case study conducted on Volunteering culture in Armenia (2010) revealed that 80% of surveyed respondents declared being a volunteer, from which only 8% were formal and 72% were informal volunteers (Tadevosyan and Hakobyan 2010), whereas the study conducted in 2014 by TCPA research center indicate that young people aged from 18 to 30 chose formal volunteering within NGOs. Also, they tend to prefer the spheres of religion, art or music, education and environment (Paturyan and Gevorgyan 2014).

The analysis of collected primary data for the current research revealed several common characteristics of volunteering regarding specificities of gender and their age. The current study described four types of involvement in volunteering activity. The first one is self-initiative (when potential volunteer takes steps to find a way to volunteer). Second type is interest, which is a semi-active type of involvement expressed in the “response” of the potential volunteer to get involved. Next type is the inspiration that is an involvement by external impact of the image or “transmitted” enthusiasm of other volunteer.

The last type is institutional involvement, which implies “imposed” calls to volunteer by an institution or a program. Despite the controversial character of the latter, it is an existing type of

involvement because a number of volunteers start their path through “imposed” volunteering. Notably, both genders have equal chances to be involved in volunteerism in these four ways.

Another finding to be stated is that volunteers feel isolated from the society because of being misunderstood by relatives, friends and family members. Misunderstanding is one of the common responses concerning negative sides (disadvantages) of volunteering.

Referring to the motivation differences of male and female volunteers, the results of analysis reveal that women perceive volunteerism as a chance for social inclusion whereas men perceive it as a useful activity to gain “intangible” benefit.

Women are mostly motivated by desire to help, support vulnerable groups (i.e. work with disabled children) in order to be useful for society. For women, volunteering is a means to contribute to society rather than to receive any intangible “profit”. Moreover, women are active engagers. Once involved in volunteering commitments, they try to involve non-volunteers in it as well. Women are more inclined to do informal volunteering. At the same time, they provide less time for their unpaid activity according to analysis of the cross-national survey and reports on volunteerism in Armenia (“Caucasus Barometer” 2012 available at <http://caucasusbarometer.org/en/>).

As for male volunteers, they prefer the spheres of volunteering, which can contribute to their interests and professional growth. That is to say, they are more career-oriented especially in young age. Moreover, they draw precise limits on tasks they agree to do for unpaid work. Men perceive volunteering activity, as something from which they gain either useful knowledge or at least appreciation and networks. Men are weak recruiters; they do not involve others in volunteerism.

Age and employment status are important factors for motivational change of volunteers. Younger volunteers (aged from 20 to 30) are more inclined to be driven by egoistic motives (enhancing their professional skills, build network, gain work experience). However, this tendency changes by the time volunteer finds a paid job. Once being hired, volunteers switch from being career-oriented to other types of motivation, for example keeping the image of a volunteer and perceiving it as a lifestyle.

The motivation of the second age group (from 31 to 45) bears changes, as they switch from their primary driver to more advanced one. Those who have long experience of volunteering try to keep their “image” and refer to volunteerism as their lifestyle and a part of their everyday life. The essential change of motivation type of a volunteer is notable in this group. The respondents of this age group are mostly inclined to switch from their primary motivation to the upper levels of motivation.

As for the third group of volunteers (aged over 50), they refer to their family as a role model for their volunteering activity. They explain volunteering as their responsibility towards society and with their affiliation to Armenian nation and their family culture.

It was also observed that main factors, such as employment, family, state of health, satisfaction from life (happiness) and existence of dependent children or elderly at home are neither obstacle nor a rationale for volunteering activity.

Finally, based on the results, it can be stated that the first hypothesis - “Men are driven by egoistic motives to volunteer” as well as the second hypothesis- “Women are driven by altruistic motives to volunteer” are proved. As for the third research question, it can be stated that the motivation of younger volunteers have a tendency to change from being egoistic (i.e. career-related) to being more altruistic in older age.

Nevertheless, there is an exception regarding male volunteers: their motivation changes within egoistic drivers' range, whereas female volunteers who started volunteering with egoistic motives in young age switch to more advanced altruistic rationales in older age.

Conclusion

Volunteering activity is a part of civil society recruitment. It also serves as a stimulator for human resources development within society, a kind of energizer for citizens to get involved into civil life of the country. As any type of labor was often separated between genders, the current study aimed to reveal the differences of motivations of male and female volunteers in Armenia. In the framework of the current research, motivational change within age of volunteers as well as general tendencies of volunteering in Armenia during last years (from 2011 to 2013) are studied.

The following aspects of volunteering in Armenia were investigated: the extent of involvement of men and women into volunteering activity, the spheres of volunteering and the main drivers to volunteer. The results indicated that men are mostly driven by egoistic while women are motivated by altruistic rationales of volunteering.

Employment plays a major role in alternation of motivation of a volunteer. Because of employment, young volunteers move from career-related motivations to more advanced categories of motivation (as enlargement of the network, or keeping the image of a volunteer and supporting target groups of the society).

In young age, volunteers are mostly driven by egoistic motives, while in older age they switch from egoistic motives to more altruistic rationales. Nevertheless, there is a difference between motivations depending on the gender. Male volunteers' motivation changes within egoistic categories, while females' motivation switches from egoistic to altruistic drivers over time. According to findings from qualitative data analysis, women who started to volunteer in the age

close to 30, are driven by altruistic motivation. The findings from the primary data analysis indicate that both genders are fine with group or solo work, also both male and female volunteers feel not understood by their family members and relatives or friends, therefore they indicate “isolation” and “misunderstanding” as a negative side of volunteering.

Generally speaking, doing unpaid activity has a tendency of increasing. The percent of people involved in volunteering activity increases with each year. Though, the comparison of the last three years (2011-2013) do not show drastic increase in percentages, nevertheless, the number of self-reported volunteers tends to grow. The analysis of the secondary data and the findings of the reports showed that the most popular spheres of volunteering are religion, art/music and environment.

In addition, according to primary data analysis, it was found that both genders provide equal time to their volunteering activity and that they are rather satisfied with the state of their health and consider themselves happy. The factors like existence of children, or elderly at home are not the obstacles or additional stimulus for volunteering activity.

The character of motives to volunteer have a tendency to transform. While in 2010, the altruistic motives served as main impetus to volunteer, the study in 2014 showed the switch to more self-development and personal benefit orientation of volunteers. There is a general tendency of increase in the percentage of volunteers in Armenia.

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ANNEX 1

Demographic questionnaire for the focus group discussion participants

Questionnaire N_____

Date_____

Start of the interview (time) _____ End of the interview (time)_____

Gender			
Age			
Residence			
Marital status			
Employment			
Education			
Profession			
Whom do you live with?			
If there are children living with you, please indicate their ages			
If there are elderly living with you, please indicate their ages			

On the scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means very dissatisfied and 10 means very satisfied, please tick how you assess the state of your health

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
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On the scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means very unhappy and 10 means very happy, please tick how much happy you consider yourself

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
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ANNEX 2

Interview and focus group discussion guide

1. What is volunteering?
2. When did you start your volunteering activity?
3. How much time do you provide for your volunteering activity?
4. In which sphere do you volunteer?
5. Why did you choose that sphere?
6. Why did you start to volunteer? (What inspired you to become a volunteer?):
7. How did you find a way to volunteer? (Announcements, NGO calls, friend, volunteer movements).
8. Are there any volunteers among your friends/relatives or family members?
9. If yes, how their activity affected your decision to become a volunteer?
10. Have you ever affected/ inspired anyone to become a volunteer?
11. Do you prefer to do volunteering alone or in a group? And why?
12. What are the advantages of volunteering?
13. What do you receive from your volunteering activity?
14. What are the disadvantages of volunteering?
15. How does your network affect your volunteering activity? (Or vice versa, how does your volunteering activity affect your network?)