

When the State Fails:
The Rise of Informal Civil Society
Organizations in Greece

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Abstract

This thesis by using quantitative and qualitative data investigates the new forms of social and political collective action that rose after the financial crisis of 2009 in Greece. It attempts to study the rise of Informal Civil Society Organizations (ICSO) through the use of the research question, *how can we understand the rise of informal civil society organizations in Greece after the onset of the crisis in 2009?* With survey data from individuals involved in ICSOs, I analyze the motivations of these individuals, answering the question, *what motivates people to voluntarily engage in informal civil society organizations?* Through the use of interviews, I investigate the question, *why did people establish informal civil society organizations?* The quantitative results show that people are motivated to volunteer mostly because of altruistic reasons. The qualitative results show that ICSOs were created to promote social solidarity, as well as to protest against societal change. This thesis concludes that the rise of ICSOs can be interpreted as a new form of social movements.

Keywords: civil society, volunteerism, social movements, informal organizations, solidarity, Greece

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1 Introduction

The degradation of the Greek welfare state alongside the rapid growth of unemployment and poverty and the changes in working conditions has created a reality of millions of citizens who have no access to welfare services. These conditions are the starting point for the creation of social groups and networks that operate in the context of civil society.

Evidence from various sources shows that after the crisis erupted in 2009, Greek citizens faced appalling social conditions with high levels of unemployment and poverty. The state was unable to provide support and the traditional family networks were powerless. However, the admittedly weak civil society, according to recent studies, recorded a relative increase in voluntary participation, especially in the form of informal voluntary activities such as local or neighbourhood citizen communities and self-managed movements.

These new entities operate on two levels. On one hand they provide services for health, medicine, food, clothing and other welfare services, and on the other hand they identify, record, and report the changes that take place in society and the dramatic consequences associated with these changes. Furthermore, the mode of operation they adopt encompasses the principles of direct democracy, self-organization and co-decision. Their active and tangible solidarity articulates a new ground for the social and political life, while they put forward a dialectic that redefines citizenship as an active political subject and the concept of volunteering as a political act of resistance detached from the meaning of charity.

The combination of the above reveals a social reality which shapes itself and new social situation. This raises particular interest for research in the field of social sciences. Thus, the subject of this thesis is to investigate the emergence and the role of these social groups and networks, seen as new forms of social and political action.

The paper will be structured in the following order. In this chapter I provide background information regarding the socioeconomic situation in Greece, the civil society and the rise of informal organizations. Then I state the purpose of the study and the research questions that will guide the inquiry. The last section of this chapter contains the concepts and definitions of this study. In chapter two I present the theoretical framework followed by the methodology in chapter three. Chapters four and five include the analysis and the findings of the research. In the final chapter I answer the research question and present the contribution of the study and suggestions for further research.

1.1 Background

The Greek financial crisis that began in 2009 as a fiscal crisis, quickly turned into a sovereign debt crisis and at the end mutated into a full-scale recession. On May 2010, the European Union, the European Central Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the Greek government, signed a Memorandum of Understanding which launched a €110 billion bailout loan in order to rescue Greece from sovereign default. This forced the Greek government to implement austerity measures and structural reforms. This, as a result, triggered a series of reforms which affected the socio-economic situation of the society.

The crisis instigated the suffering and impoverishment of Greek citizens and caused severe changes in the societal stratification of the Greek society. Growing numbers of people live in, or at risk of, poverty, while existing economic and social inequalities were intensified (Matsaganis & Leventi, 2013).

Greece is considered a Southern European welfare state (Ferrera, 1996), which means that it is characterized by little state intervention, no articulated net of minimum social protection, high levels of clientelism and a significant role of family networks regarding social protection. The absence of state intervention can be illustrated by recent statistics. In February of 2014, according to the Greek Statistical Authority (ELSTAT), unemployment rose to 26.5%, while the highest percentage was recorded in the young people group aged 15 to 24, with 56.9%. Only 11.7% of the unemployed received regular unemployment benefit (ELSTAT, 2014). This shows that the state is unable to provide support even for a substantial issue like unemployment.

With the state being absent, one could expect that the family institution would contribute to the situation since family networks traditionally have the responsibility to fill the gaps that the state cannot cover. As Pichler and Wallace argue, family help can be a compensation for the absence of welfare provisions, as it usually happens in some parts of Eastern and Southern Europe (Pichler & Wallace, 2007). However, it appears that this is not the case; firstly, according to the annual report of the Bank of Greece regarding living conditions, in 2013 23.1% of the population –which is more than 2.5 million people–, were living below the relative poverty line (Bank of Greece, 2014). Secondly, Zografakis (2013) found that 51% of the households that were in poverty, were surviving by support that was provided by friends or neighbours, while 25% survived by a combination of sources of support, such as friends, relatives, day work, benefits etc. Lastly, cuts to pensions up to 30% were made by the government (Huliaras, 2014). Therefore, considering these facts, we can argue that the crisis severely affected a broad range of people. As a result, family networks appear insufficient to support their members.

The concluding argument here is that both the state and the family appear to be insufficient to provide any form of social protection during the crisis. However, it is argued that in periods of severe crises there is a chance for new mobilizations and identities to emerge (Crouch, 2004), and where there is lack of

state support, social capital in the form of voluntary organizations might provide an alternative form of welfare (Pichler & Wallace, 2007). Therefore, it can be argued that the burden of social protection was shifted from the state and the family institution to the so called third sector, which is civil society. The aspects of civil society in contemporary Greece will be discussed in the next section.

1.2 Civil Society in Contemporary Greece

Since the political regime change in 1974 and the establishment of a democratic political system in Greece, the academic community has concluded that civil society in Greece is weak (Sotiropoulos D. , 2008). It is suggested that the participation in civil society associations is relatively low (Mouzelis, 1987 and 2002, Diamandouros, 1991, Mavrogordatos, 1993, Markydemetris, 2002, Lyrintzis, 2002, as cited in Sotiropoulos, 2004). Throughout the literature, the main factors identified that have prevented the creation of a strong civil society are considered to be the large size of the Greek state, clientelism, powerful political parties and the dependence of many unions and syndicates with the state (Mouzelis, 1977 and 1987; Tsoukalas, 1977 and 1986; Sotiropoulos, 1993; Diamantouros, 2000; Voulgaris, 2002; Nicolacopoulos, 2005; Lyrintzis 2005; as cited in Sotiropoulos, 2008).

Furthermore, Greece is characterised by widespread apathy towards voluntarism and a lack of civic engagement among citizens, while institutionalized civil society organizations are few and poorly organized and, consequently, have little impact and limited influence (Sotiropoulos & Karmagioli, 2006). In general the situation can be summarized in Hadjiyanni's (2013, cited in Huliaras, 2014, p.4) argument: "every social scientist studying civil society in Greece or documenting and measuring social capital at the societal level (...) agrees that [Greek] civil society is cachectic, atrophic or fragile". This argument is further confirmed by other studies.

A study for the European Union conducted by the Educational, Audio-visual and Culture Executive Agency in 2010 (as cited in Sotiropoulos & Bourikos, 2014), places Greece in the group of countries in which less than 10% of the population is involved in voluntary activities, and only a very small fraction of them are regular volunteers. Similar results come from the World Giving Index which is compiled by the Charities Aid Foundation. The Index ranks 135 countries according to how charitable their populations are. The survey asks respondents if in the last month they have donated money to a charity, they volunteered their time to an organization or they helped a stranger, or someone they didn't know who needed help. In the 2013 Index, Greece occupies the last position (cited in Huliaras, 2014, p. 5). Moreover, according to the 2012 survey of the Greek General Secretariat of Youth (GSY), the vast majority of the population in Greece does not participate in voluntary activities. More specifically, the

research results show that 81.1% of the research population has never participated in social activities, and only 3.2% have participated in the activities of charity organizations, 8.2% in entertainment or cultural groups and, lastly, only 5% in activities of political parties and trade unions.

Regarding the causes that led to a weak civil society, Huliaras (2014) identified and summarised them in four categories. The first reason concerns the rapid economic development that started during the 1960's, which has not been followed by equivalent social transformations. The second reason is related to the clientelistic networks that political elites have created, causing distortions in the political system. The dominance of the state prevented the rise of an active and healthy civil society. The third reason relates to the role of the Church in Greece, which is believed to have stalled the growth of civil society. While the Greek tax system endorses donations to the Church and the state, it offers limited incentives for donations to NGOs and other civil society organizations. Lastly, a major factor for Huliaras is the lack of civic education. In addition, Valvis (2014) points out that the regulatory framework regarding NGOs and other civil society associations is scattered and fragmented, where a concrete definition of what consists an NGO does not exist in the Greek legislature.

Apart from the abovementioned causes that explain the origins of the issues that concern the problematic Greek civil society, another cause that explains the apathy and mistrust of the people towards civil society organizations (CSOs) is the scandals that came to light during 2010 (Sotiropoulos & Bourikos, 2014b; Valvis, 2014). Several cases of CSOs that were publicly funded based on loose procurement rules and procedures became the main point of interest in the Greek Media. As a result, the trust towards such organizations decreased even further (Valvis, 2014).

Lastly, another odd characteristic regarding the Greek civil society is the lack of an official registry of NGOs and CSOs (Valvis, 2014). The diachronic lack of primary and secondary data makes it impossible to accurately determine the number of volunteers in Greece and the degree of public participation in formal or informal voluntary activities (GSY, 2012).

Overall, based on the above discussion, the conclusion that can be drawn is that civil society in Greece is weak, problematic and complex. However, recent evidence from several studies shows that since the onset of the crisis an increase in voluntary activities has been recorded, which will be discussed in the next section.

1.3 The Rise of Social Groups and Networks

Despite the evidence presented in the previous section, recent studies show that changes in Greek civil society have occurred. First of all, in 2013 the General Secretariat of Youth (GSY) conducted a study which shows that

voluntary participation has increased in comparison to a 2008 study conducted by the Hellenic Statistical Authority (ELSTAT) (GSY, 2013; ELSTAT, 2008, as cited in Bourikos, 2013).

More analytically, in this research, voluntary participation was divided into formal and informal social activities. Informal activities were considered to be those that take place outside an organizational context and relate to assistance to fellow humans such as neighbourhood or local level initiatives. The results showed that 78.3% of the participants in the survey that were already volunteering in formal activities were also participating in informal ones and that 43.4% of non-volunteers had participated in informal activities. Overall, 46.8% of the research population had participated in informal activities, such as providing service or work, contributions in cash, participation in citizen communities and self-managed thematic actions and movements. On the other hand, in the 2008 study conducted by ELSTAT, only 18.9% of the population had participated in informal activities, a percentage that was almost double the percentage of participation in formal activities. Thus, a trend of increasing citizen participation in the informal voluntary sector is suggested (Bourikos, 2013).

This trend is further validated by a survey that was carried out by HumanGrid in 2013, which shows a significant increase in voluntary participation after the beginning of the crisis. 44% of people that participated in voluntary activities responded that they began after 2010, while 34% stated that they will participate in such activities in the near future. Furthermore, several authors in recent studies (Bourikos, 2013; Sotiropoulos & Bourikos, 2014; Huliaras, 2014) argue that there is indeed an increase in both formal and informal voluntary participation.

Apart from the recorded increase in voluntary participation, several studies (Bourikos, 2013; Huliaras, 2014; Sotiropoulos & Bourikos, 2014a; Sotiropoulos & Bourikos, 2014; Sotiropoulos & Bourikos, 2014b) have identified the emergence of various social solidarity structures, which operate within civil society. Such solidarity initiatives consist of citizen groups which cooperate, organize and manage many activities, such as alternative exchange networks, local economies, social clinics and other informal groups and networks. This shows that social solidarity has expanded and that several organizations have been established in order to deal with the new social needs of the population.

1.4 Purpose of the Study

All the contemporary studies that deal with the phenomenon of informal organizations (Bourikos, 2013; Huliaras, 2014; Sotiropoulos & Bourikos, 2014a; Sotiropoulos & Bourikos, 2014; Sotiropoulos & Bourikos, 2014b) analyse the social consequences of the economic crisis in Greece, examine the anaemic status

of the Greek civil society and explore the aspects of informal social solidarity organisations in terms of the impact they have to society. They all agree the key reason that led to the creation of such organizations was the onset of the crisis and its consequences on the welfare state and the living conditions of the population. However, none of these studies emphasize the motives and the reasons that led citizens to establish these organizations. Therefore the main objective of this thesis is to investigate these reasons.

Furthermore, these organizations can be considered as social movements. During the preliminary research, I found that these organizations hold a social movement dynamic; they not only offer goods and services but they also promote social mobilization. The investigation of the organizations' websites, blogs, and Facebook groups revealed that they are making efforts to mobilize citizens and raise awareness on both the local and national level, in order to protest against the government policies which lead to the impoverishment of the society. However, these characteristics are not yet registered in the literature; previous studies have focused only on the charitable features of the organizations. For this reason, the secondary purpose of this thesis is to fill the gap in the literature.

To summarise, the main purpose of this study is to investigate the reasons that led to the establishment of these organizations. The secondary goal is to document the social movement aspects of the organizations.

1.5 Research Question

Based on the above, the purpose of this thesis is to understand the causes of the establishment of informal civil society organizations. Therefore the following research question will be examined:

- *How can we understand the rise of informal civil society organizations in Greece after the onset of the crisis in 2009?*

In order to answer this question two more specified sub-questions will be used to guide the inquiry. The first one is:

- *What motivates people to voluntarily engage in informal civil society organizations?*

This sub-question relates to the personal motives of those involved in the organizations and its purpose is to illuminate the aspects of the personal motives of those involved in the organizations.

The second sub-question is:

- *Why did people establish informal civil society organizations?*

This sub-question relates to the social movement dynamic that the organizations hold. Its purpose is to shed light on underlying aspects of the organizations that are not yet investigated in the literature.

1.6 Concepts and Definitions

The purpose of this section is to present key definitions and concepts that will be used in the study. The first sub-section defines the concept of civil society. The second sub-section defines the organizations that concern in this study and the third provides the types of these organizations. The final sub-section defines the concept of volunteerism.

1.6.1 Civil Society

The concept of civil society is ingrained in the tradition of political thought. The origins of the concept can be traced back to Aristotle's "*koinōnia politikē*" (political society), or as it was later translated in Latin, "*societas civilis*". This term referred to a broad community which included all the social and political groups, from the state itself to family. It was not until the late 17th and 18th centuries and the age of Enlightenment that philosophers such as Hobbes and Locke described civil society as a separate entity, distinct from the state (Pietrzyk, 2001). Since then, the notion of civil society was interpreted and defined in many different ways. In general, however, the contemporary usage of civil society refers to economic and other social arrangements that are separated from the state, the private sphere of the family, and the market (Pietrzyk, 2003). For the purposes of this thesis, a definition that best describes this contemporary notion will be employed. The definition is provided by the Centre for Civil Society at the London School of Economics:

“Civil society refers to the arena of un-coerced collective action around shared interests, purposes and values. In theory, its institutional forms are distinct from those of the state, family and market, though in practice, the boundaries between state, civil society, family and market are often complex, blurred and negotiated. Civil society commonly embraces a diversity of spaces, actors and institutional forms, varying in their degree of formality, autonomy and power. Civil societies are often populated by organisations such as registered charities, development non-governmental organisations, community groups, women’s organisations,

faith-based organisations, professional associations, trades unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, coalitions and advocacy group". (Centre for Civil Society, 2010)

According to this definition, civil society is in theory distinct from the state, family and the market, although in practice the boundaries between them are not always clear. Civil society includes a number of different organizations that have various characteristics and have different purposes. However, even though this definition describes what constitutes civil society, it does not include what is the purpose of civil society. For example, Mary Kaldor gives an activist version of the definition of civil society:

"Civil society refers to active citizenship, to growing self-organization outside formal political circles, and expanded space in which individuals can influence the conditions in which they live both directly and [indirectly] through political pressure". (Kaldor, 2003, p. 8)

Thus, in order to have a definition that will provide a comprehensive view of the concept of civil society, the definition given by Larry Diamond will be utilised for the purposes of this research:

"[Civil Society] is a network of formal and informal groups, voluntary, self-generating, (largely) self-supporting, autonomous from the state, representing different social, political, professional and economic groups. It is distinct from 'society' in general in that it involves citizens acting collectively in a public sphere to express their interests, passions and ideas, exchange information, achieve mutual goals, make demands on the state and hold state officials accountable" (Diamond, 1994, p. 6).

1.6.2 Informal Civil Society Organizations

As mentioned above, civil society consists of various types of organizations such as professional associations and trade unions, charitable or religious associations, NGOs, non-profit organisations (such as public benefit foundations and think tanks), social movements, informal community groups and networks and also grassroots associations (Sotiropoulos & Bourikos, 2014a). Throughout the literature these organizations are often referred to as civil society organizations (CSOs) and are defined by OECD as:

"[CSOs are] the multitude of associations around which society voluntarily organizes itself and which represent a wide range of interests and ties. These can

include community-based organisations, indigenous peoples' organisations and non-government organisations." (OECD, 2007)

These CSOs according to Salamon, Anheier and List, share five common characteristics:

"Firstly they are organized, i.e., they possess some institutional reality. They are private, i.e., institutionally separate from government. They are non-profit-distributing, i.e., not returning any profits generated to their owners or directors. They are self-governing, i.e., equipped to control their own activities. They are voluntary, at least in part, i.e., they involve some meaningful degree of voluntary participation, either in the actual conduct of the agency's activities or in the management of its affairs". (Salamon, Anheier, & List, 1999, pp. 3-4)

According to this, CSOs operate in an institutional or formal framework. However, the subject under investigation in this research is what Sotiropoulos and Bourikos (2014b) refer to as "informal social networks and self-help groups which have neither a formal organizational structure nor are registered with any official authority". For simplicity reasons, they are also referred to as social solidarity groups and networks. Therefore, for the purposes of this research, such entities are defined and will be referred to as informal civil society organizations (ICSOs).

However, one can argue that these groups and networks could be also defined as associations instead of organizations. In the dictionary form, an organization is a structure of people with well-defined roles and functions and can be any entity from a small business to a world body, formed for a particular purpose. On the other hand, an association is a group of people with common interests forming an alliance for a particular purpose. However, Sotiropoulos and Bourikos (2014b, p.7) argue that "informal networks and groups, in which individuals participate, forming informal ties both amongst them and with the beneficiaries of their activities, may still be understood as organizations." Therefore, the term organizations will be utilised in this thesis.

To sum up, ICSOs are defined as voluntary organizations which react to the increasing inequalities created by the retrenchment of the welfare state, and are not registered under any official authority.

1.6.3 Types of ICSOs

Sotiropoulos and Bourikos (2014, 2014a, 2014b) have identified six different types of ICSOs that exist in Greece: exchange networks, social groceries, social clinics, social pharmacies, time banks, and social interventions.

Exchange networks refer to networks that exchange goods. These are open access networks which facilitate the exchange of goods without money. The

transactions may also include the exchange of goods for vouchers or online credit, and in some cases local currency. They usually operate online, where each member exchanges products with other members. They also organize exchange bazaars in which people exchange various products, such as clothing, food, art, etc.

The second type is social groceries. These alternative groceries stores distribute food, groceries, personal hygiene items, clothing and footwear, books, and other goods to poor citizens on a regular basis. These shops are usually housed on the premises of municipal buildings, in which volunteers distribute the goods.

The third type refers to social clinics. Volunteering doctors, nurses, social workers, and ordinary citizens put together these social medical centres. They provide free of charge medical assistance and health care to all Greek citizens and immigrants that lack health insurance or are unable to pay the fee of the public hospitals. The medical treatment offered is of a wide variety, including minor surgical procedures and dental care, and is provided by volunteers with diverse medical expertise. Social pharmacies, which are the fourth type, provide free medicines, sanitary material and pharmaceutical products to the same categories of people as the social clinics. It often occurs that a social clinic includes a social pharmacy, thus social clinics and pharmacies will be interpreted as one. Social clinics are often referred to in English as community clinics. However I will use the term social because it better explains their function.

The fifth type refers to time banks. These are networks which give their members the opportunity to exchange services and products without money. The currency that is used is time, relying on principles relating to the solidarity economy and eliminating the value of money. This aims to meet different needs based not on the profit but on the use value of services and products. Anyone can offer services or stuff and in return receive services or things he or she needs.

Lastly, the sixth type concerns social interventions, which includes cultural, environmental and community work. These are groups of people that gather together in order to perform cultural events, recycling and maintenance work in streets and squares. In the same category fall the social tutoring schools. Groups of volunteering high school teachers set up these schools in order to prepare pupils for the university entrance examinations. These schools serve low-income families that cannot afford to pay for private tutorial schools.

However, in my preliminary research I identified ICSOs that provide multiple services for example; an ICSO performs food distribution, organizes cultural events and has a social tutoring school. Therefore, for utility purposes, these ICSOs along with those in the category of social intervention will be mentioned as “other”.

The abovementioned shows that ICSOs are involved in a wide variety of functions and services and that their common feature is that they all concern people in need. Furthermore, ICSOs aim to mobilise people in movement actions.

1.6.4 Volunteerism

Basic definitions describe volunteerism as a type of activity that intends to improve the well-being of others and volunteers as those who help others with no expectation of monetary benefits. However, several definitions exist for volunteerism from various statistical institutions, international organizations and researchers that have studied the phenomenon. All these definitions converge to emphasize that “volunteering includes activities or work that some people willingly do without pay to promote a cause or help someone” (ILO, 2011).

Furthermore, the International Labour Organization (ILO, 2011), by building on previous efforts, identified six main characteristics of volunteerism: a) it involves work, b) it is unpaid, c) is non-compulsory, d) it embraces both direct and organization-based volunteering, e) it includes volunteering done without compulsion in institutional settings, such as nonprofit organizations, and f) it does not limit the scope of volunteer work to a particular beneficiary.

More comprehensive definitions, however, describe volunteerism as unpaid, continuous, and planned helping behaviour which increases the well-being of others, offers no monetary compensation, and typically occurs within an organizational context (Clary et al., 1998; Finkelstein, 2009). Therefore, in this thesis, volunteerism will be defined as the ILO did so above.

2 Theoretical Framework

This chapter provides the theoretical framework that will be utilised in this study. As the research question and sub-questions suggest, there are two units of analysis; individuals and the ICSOs. In regard to individuals I apply the functional approach to volunteerism in order to answer the first research sub-question regarding the individual motives of those involved in ICSOs. Regarding the second unit of analysis, the ICSOs, I employ social movement theories. These theories provide a different perspective for the interpretation of ICSOs and relate to the second research sub-question regarding why people founded the ICSOs.

The first section of this chapter provides the theoretical approaches regarding volunteers' motivation and the second section the theories of social movements.

2.1 Approaches to Volunteers' Motivation

The idea that someone will make significant personal sacrifices in order to help another person, especially when that other person is a stranger, has intrigued scholars for long time (Clary, et al., 1998). Many studies have attempted to understand the motives that lead an individual to volunteer. This effort has resulted in the creation of basic models and theories which attempt to categorise and explain the incentives that drive someone to take voluntary action. In this section existing theories regarding volunteer's motivation will be presented.

Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen (1991) identified 28 different motives such as leisure, religion, and reputation that existed in the literature, and conducted a survey to 285 volunteers from 40 different non-profit organizations using these motives. They found that these motives form a 'unidimensional' scale, which implies that volunteers are motivated by both altruistic and egoistic motives. Therefore, they suggest that volunteers are motivated by one category which consists of a combination of motives, and not by different categories of motives. However this unidimensional model is one of the least utilised models in the literature (Widjaja, 2010).

In contrast to the one-dimensional model of Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen, a two-dimensional model suggests that volunteer motives consist of two categories; egoistic and altruistic motives (Frisch & Gerrard, 1981). Frisch and Gerrard administered 11 items on motives for volunteering to a sample of Red Cross

volunteers and found that altruistic and egoistic motives were distinct dimensions of volunteer motivation. Individuals that are motivated by egoistic motives, engage in volunteer service for the improvement of their own welfare, while the ones that are motivated by altruistic motives engage in volunteerism with the purpose of enhancing the welfare of others.

Another two-dimensional model is the intrinsic and extrinsic model which is related to the broader context of motivated behaviour. Intrinsic motives are considered those that are satisfied by the volunteer activity itself, while extrinsic require an outcome separate from the volunteer work in order to be fulfilled (Finkelstein, 2009). However, two-dimensional models are not broadly utilised within the literature.

The models that prevail in the literature of volunteering motives are the multi-dimensional ones. Such models theorise the existence of multiple categories of motives (Widjaja, 2010). One example is the octagon model that was put forth by Yeung (2004). This model uses a phenomenological approach and intends to shed light on the nature of volunteer motivation more holistically. Her research includes 767 motivational elements in 47 themes and develops an innovative four-dimensional octagon model of volunteer motivation. She argues that each motivational dimension has an inherently holistic and interlocking nature and that each motivation consists of a complex multi-layered nature (Hustinx, Cnaan, & Handy, 2010). However, the most frequently used model for measuring multiple motivational dimensions was created by Clary et al. (1998) which is built upon functional theories. In the next subsection this approach will be examined in depth.

2.1.1 The functional approach to volunteerism

Clary et al. (1998) developed the functional approach to volunteerism drawing on the principles of functionalism. They adopted the strategy of functional analysis in order to examine why people volunteer and what sustains voluntary activity. According to Snyder (1993), this strategy is an approach to understand the motivational foundations of volunteerism. Functional analysis is concerned with the purposes, reasons, plans and goals that motivate and generate the personal and social functions that are served by an individual's thoughts, feelings and actions (Clary, et al., 1998; Snyder, 1993).

Functionalism has a long history in psychology (Snyder, 1993). Contrary to the description of psychological structures and contents that prevailed in the 19th century, functionalism gives weight and value to the utilitarian and applied aspects of psychological activities. The rapid spread of functionalism, especially in American psychology, led to the emergence and development of functionalist themes such as psychoanalysis and behaviourism (Snyder, 1993). These themes emphasize the adaptive and purposeful strivings of individuals toward personal and social goals (Clary, et al., 1998). One example is the "teleonomic" theory of

F.H. Allport, in which he argued for the importance of viewing one's personality in terms of what the individual is "trying to do" (1937, p.204, as cited in Snyder, 1993, p. 254). Under a functionalist perspective this means that the same traits that different people have, may serve different psychological functions in each one of them (Snyder, 1993).

The same functional theme emerges in social psychology, in theories of attitudes and persuasion, for example in the work of Smith, Bruner and White as well as Katz (Snyder, 1993). These theorists suggested that "the same attitudes could serve different functions for different people and that attempts to change these attitudes would succeed to the extent that they addressed the functions served by those attitudes" (Clary, et al., 1998, p. 1517). In other words, there are various underlying motivational factors that drive an individual to begin an activity and remain active in it (Papadakis, 2004). These suggestions provided a point of departure for research, in which the functional approach has been applied to the motivations underlying involvement in volunteerism (Clary & Snyder, 1991; Clary & Orenstein, 1991; Clary, Snyder, Ridge, Miene, & Haugen, 1994). This work resulted in the development of the functional approach to volunteerism (Clary, Snyder, & Stukas, 1996; Clary, et al., 1998).

In the tradition of functionalism, Clary et al. (1998) developed the functional approach to volunteerism. Their argument is that "the key themes of functional analyses that have contributed to the understanding of phenomena and processes in the realms of attitudes and persuasion, [...] also hold the promise for unravelling the complex motivational foundations of volunteer activity" (Clary et al., 1998, p. 1517). Therefore the core proposition of the functional approach to volunteerism is that "acts of volunteerism that appear to be quite similar on the surface may reflect markedly different underlying motivational processes and that the functions served by volunteerism manifest themselves in the unfolding dynamics of this form of helpfulness, influencing critical events associated with the initiation and maintenance of voluntary helping behaviour" (Clary, et al., 1998, p. 1517). That is, individuals begin to volunteer in order to achieve important psychological needs or goals, and that different individuals will be seeking to satisfy different motivations through volunteer activity (Clary, Snyder, & Stukas, 1996).

In light of the above, Clary et al. (1996; 1998) identify six categories of motivations or psychological functions that may be served in volunteerism: values function, career function, understanding function, social function, protective function, and enhancement function. The values function relates to one's altruistic and humanitarian concerns for others. The volunteers engage in voluntary activity due to their desire to help others that are less fortunate than themselves. The career function is concerned with the strengthening of one's qualifications and professional experience. Volunteers are motivated by career-related benefits that may be obtained from participation in volunteer work. The understanding function involves one's desire to acquire new skills and utilise knowledge or abilities that might otherwise go unpractised. Also, volunteers that are motivated by the understanding function seek to explore their own strengths and expand their understanding of their environment. The social function reflects motivations

concerning relationships with others. Those that engage in volunteerism under the social function seek to develop and strengthen their social relations, to acquire and strengthen their social identity, and to feel accepted and recognised by their social environment. For example, individuals may volunteer to meet new people and make new friends or to be with their friends. The protective function relates to motivations that involve processes associated with the functioning of the ego. This function may serve to reduce one's guilt over being more fortunate than others and to address one's own personal problems. For example, someone that is motivated by the protective function volunteers in order to escape from the daily routine. Lastly, the enhancement function in contrast to the protective function's concern with eliminating negative aspects surrounding the ego, involves a motivational process that focuses on the ego's growth and development and involves positive strivings of the ego. Individuals engage in volunteer service in order to feel important and needed or to enhance their self-confidence.

The main hypotheses of the functional approach to volunteerism are: a) volunteers engage in volunteer work in order to satisfy important personal goals, b) volunteers performing the same volunteer activity for the same organization may have different reasons for volunteering, c) an individual volunteer may be attempting to satisfy two or more motives through one activity at the organization, and d) successful volunteer recruitment, satisfaction, and retention is tied to the ability of the volunteer experience to fulfil the volunteer's important motives (Clary, et al., 1998).

The functional approach to volunteerism will be employed in order to answer the first research sub-question regarding the motivations of individuals to engage in ICSOs.

2.2 Social Movements

The purpose of this section is to review the theories of social movements in order to build a framework under which I will interpret ICSOs. The rationale of this choice stems from my preliminary research which revealed that ICSOs hold a social movement dynamic.

Many theoretical approaches seek to elucidate the creation, structure and effectiveness of social movements, as well as to explain the motives of their creation and their confrontational dynamics. These theoretical approaches and frameworks vary according to the historical and social context in which they developed and the ways in which they prioritise the causality of the development of social movements.

In this section I first define social movements based on existing relevant literature and then review social movement theories. Finally, based on these

definitions and theories, I conceptualise a framework for the interpretation of ICOSOs.

2.2.1 Defining social movements

The term social movement is used to describe a plethora of forms of collective action that occur historically and structurally. It is often unclear when the movements start or end, who belongs to them and who does not, and if they exist in order to achieve a certain goal or to fulfil a general interest of those involved in them (Della Porta & Diani, 2009). Social movements do not follow institutionalised frameworks or procedures and there is a disagreement in the literature regarding whether a particular protest or conflict group constitutes a social movement (Alexandropoulos, 1995). These difficulties explain why so many definitions and classifications exist regarding social movements.

A series of definitions indicates the difficulties regarding the determination of the social movement. Wilson (1973, as cited in Alexandropoulos, 1995) defines social movements as an attempt to transform or resist against large-scale changes in social status through non-institutionalized means. A rather radical definition is given by Touraine (1979, as cited in Alexandropoulos, 1995), according to which society is the confrontational production of itself, where confrontational production is expressed by social movements. However a fairly broad and descriptive definition is given by Giddens (1989, as cited in Alexandropoulos, 1995). He describes social movements as a collective effort that aims to promote a social interest or to ensure a common goal through collective action outside the sphere of established institutions. The scope of this definition can accommodate the variations of the different types of social movements.

According to Della Porta and Diani (2011) social movements are just one possible mode of coordination of collective action within civil society. The argument behind this statement is that “depending on one's definitions, social movements may be seen as an integral component of civil society, and vice versa, associational life and participatory processes within civil society may be regarded as one instance of broader social movement dynamics” (Della Porta & Diani, 2011, p. 70). Also, a social movement is a process which includes mechanisms for recruiting individual actors for collective action (Della Porta & Diani, 2009). Thus social movements are defined as “informal networks created by a multiplicity of individuals, groups, and organizations, engaged in political or cultural conflicts on the basis of a shared collective identity” (Diani, 1992; Della Porta & Diani, 2006, as cited in Della Porta & Diani, 2011, p. 70). Social movements can be also be interpreted as a reaction to the retrenchment of the welfare state and to the increasing inequality that has occurred due to this retrenchment (Della Porta & Diani, 2011).

The abovementioned evidence suggests that social movements may be defined narrowly or vaguely depending on the context, scope, and purpose of the researcher. The purpose of this study is not to examine social movements per se, but to interpret ICSOs as social movements. Thus, social movements are broadly defined as an effort by a group which aims to protest against societal changes or work to change the society.

2.2.2 Theories of social movements

In this sub-section I critically review theories of social movements which will be utilised for the interpretation of ICSOs. The field of social and political science offers a great amount of theories and approaches regarding the social movements. Therefore I will only focus on theories that prevail in the literature of the field and had significant impact on the interpretation of the phenomenon.

Since the first conceptualization of the concept by the scholars of the 19th century, theories of social movements stem from the struggles and protests of socialist workers (Alexandropoulos, 1995). Marxism, for example, strongly emphasizes the collective rationality of political action. However, these theories did not have a clear conceptual distinction between theoretical systems and ideologies and the practical social movements.

In the beginning of the 20th century and up until the 1970s however, the theories of social movements stem from the socio-psychological tradition of the Chicago school and especially the theory of collective behaviour. Among many others, the main variants of this paradigm are the mass-society theory which has its roots in the work of de Tocqueville and Durkheim, and the value-added theory of collective behaviour which originates from the field of economic theory (Alexandropoulos, 1995). All the theories that are classified under the collective behaviour paradigm share five common assumptions: a) the distinction between institutionalised and non-institutionalised collective behaviour; b) non-institutionalized collective behaviour constitutes a kind of action that is not driven by existing social norms, but is formed under the influence of undefined and unstructured situations; c) these situations are understood as a disruption of institutional social control which is caused by structural changes; d) resentment, oppression and aggression drive the individual to participate in the collective behaviour; e) non-institutionalized collective behaviour follows a life cycle which starts from spontaneous actions of the masses to reach the formation of social movements (Alexandropoulos, 1995).

During the 1960s there was a proliferation of studies concerned with social movements. Many of these studies were affected by the emergence of new forms of mobilization with specific objectives. Such objectives were minority rights, civil rights, etc. At the same time, a series of new movements emerged such as anti-colonial movements, anti-war movements, student movements etc. which led to the development of new theoretical paradigms and methods designed

for understanding social movements. For example, the resource mobilization theory (RMT) arose in the 1970s, which deals in general with the dynamics and tactics of social movement growth, decline, and change and examines how social actors gain access to key resources in order to pursue a common agenda (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). RMT is divided into two main approaches; the economic and the political. The economic model using organization theory, suggests that social movements are a result of economics factors and that conflict alone cannot explain their creation (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). The political model focuses on the political struggle (McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly, 2003). In general RMT argues that the success of social movements depends on resources (time, money etc.) and the ability to use them. This approach focuses on movement organizations as the principle unit of analysis, in order to complement the social-psychology approaches of individuals that had dominated the study of collective behaviour (McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Snow & Soule, 2004). This paradigm accepts that social movements exist in competition between collectivities which have autonomous organizations and processed forms of communication (e.g. networks). It also accepts that confrontational collective action is natural and that participants are usually rational and well integrated members of the organizations. This means that social movements do not develop on the basis of mass society but rather on the intermediary and autonomous associations of civil society.

Since the mid-1960s the theory of new social movements emerged in order to explain new movements such as feminist, ecological and peace movements that emerged in the post-industrial society and operate in the context of civil society (Alexandropoulos, 1995; Melucci, 1980). Alain Touraine (1985) one of the main contributors to the new social movement theory, perceives post-industrial society as a new type of society which is characterised by new types of power, forms of authority and a new cultural model. For him, social movements consist of struggles about social norms that exist in the new function of society (Touraine, 1985). Touraine's views on the post-industrial society and the new social movements have significant similarities with other theoretical positions that have been reported in the framework of new social movements. For Habermas, what is new about social movements is that they "arise in areas of cultural reproduction, social integration, and socialization and they are manifested in sub-institutional, extra-parliamentary forms of protest" (Habermas, 1981, p. 33). Furthermore, according to Offe (1985), new social movements act in spontaneous ways, are informal, have low degree of horizontal and vertical differentiation, and formulate their requests mainly in a negative way. New social movements are considered as producers of new identities and that they broaden civil society (Alexandropoulos, 1995). However, the theory of new social movements has been criticised for a number of reasons. Pichardo (1997) for example, argues that new social movements can co-exist with traditional movements concerned with economic well-being, that the differences between new and old social movements have been explained by older theories and that the new social movements, when compared to the traditional movements have few differences.

A recent and broadly used theory is the political opportunity theory (McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly, 2003; Meyer & Staggenborg, 1996; Meyer, 2004),

which mainly argues that success or failure of social movements is primarily affected by political opportunities. This theory, closely associated with the resource mobilization theory, suggests that organizations play a major role in recruiting and motivating actors to join and participate within social movements and attempts to explain why social movements emerge and/or increase their activity at a particular period of time. This approach understands the timing and outcome of movements as mainly dependent on how much opportunity is afforded to activists, and how receptive the social system is (Meyer, 2004). This theory has been criticised for conceptualising opportunities too broadly and that the connection between opportunities and mobilization is not always clear (Meyer, 2004).

Lastly, another broadly used theory is the framing theory or framing perspective (Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1986; Benford & Snow, 2000). It was developed in order to explain the ways in which individuals become interested in the issues that social movements represent. Framing explains how individuals, groups, and societies organize, perceive, and communicate about reality. Deriving from this, a social movement is considered successful when the frames projected by the movement align with the frames of participants (Benford & Snow, 2000). It is considered the link between structural-organizational factors and individual social-psychological dynamics. This approach interprets social movements “not merely as carriers of existing ideas, but as signifying agents actively engaged in producing and maintaining meaning for their constituents, antagonists, and bystanders” (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 613).

To summarise, the abovementioned theories and approaches can be divided into structural (resource mobilization, political opportunity and framing) and cultural approaches (new social movements). This review of theories shows that they provide different perspectives on the phenomenon of social movements and interpret it in relation to the historical and social context in which they developed.

Deriving from the definitions, a social movement is an effort by a group of people which aims to protest against societal changes or work to change the society through collective action. Each theory presented above explains these characteristics differently and provides different answers on questions such as what motivates people to protest, why people participate, and what forms of protest participants use (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2009). Therefore, in order to examine the ICSOs from a social movement perspective, I will use the theories presented above to derive inferences about the functions of the ICSOs. These inferences will create a framework through which I will interpret ICSOs. The reasoning behind this decision is that ICSOs are new entities which perform various functions and have not yet been adequately addressed by academia. In other words, ICSOs cannot be linked with one specific social movement theory.

The framework under which the ICSOs will be interpreted consists of the following inferences that derive from the social movement theories:

- a) ICSOs are organized in groups based on shared beliefs and solidarity.
- b) ICSOs mobilize people and resources to pursue their goals.

- c) ICSOs act collectively.
- d) ICSOs pursue collective and individual interests.
- e) ICSOs include goal-oriented strategic action aimed at achieving social change.
- f) ICSOs are solidarity networks.

Through these inferences I will attempt to answer the second research sub-question regarding why people established ICSOs. The reasoning behind the utilisation of these inferences will be described in the methodology section.

3 Methodology

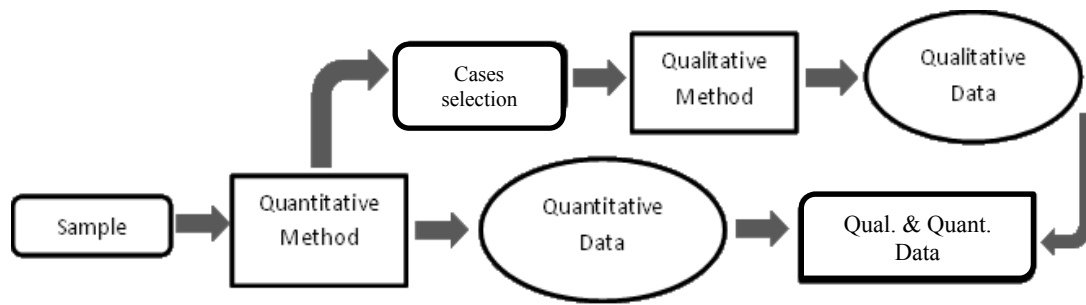
Drawing upon the theories that were discussed in the previous chapter, the methodological process of the research will be divided into two parts. In order to answer the research questions, both quantitative and qualitative methods will be employed. The Volunteer Functions Inventory (VFI) will be used in order to explore the individuals' motivations underlying the creation of the ICSOs. Semi-structured interviews will be conducted in order to investigate the reasons for why people established the ICSOs.

In the following section, I present the research design of this thesis. The second section contains the quantitative methods and the third the qualitative. The fourth section explains the analysis of the data and the last section contains the limitations.

3.1 Research Design

I will use a mixed methods design, which is a procedure for collecting, analysing and mixing both quantitative and qualitative data within a single study, in order to understand a research problem more completely (Creswell et al., 2003). The rationale for this is that quantitative and qualitative methods complement each other and allow for more complete analysis (Creswell et al., 2003). Both numerical and text data can provide a better understanding of the research problem. Therefore, the method design I will use is the sequential explanatory method which consists of two phases. First, the quantitative data will be collected using a web-based survey and in the second phase, a qualitative approach will be used to collect data through individual semi-structured interviews (Creswell et al., 2003). The priority given to quantitative methods does not concern the interpretation but the implementation process. Both qualitative and quantitative data collection is used equally and in parallel. The visual model of the procedure for the methods design of this thesis is presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Visual representation of the methodological process.



First, in order to investigate the issue quantitatively, a questionnaire will be given to a sample of the population and quantitative data will be collected. Then, respondents from the sample will be chosen for semi-structured interviews for the purpose of collecting qualitative material. Finally, the qualitative and quantitative data will be presented and discussed.

For the qualitative part of the research I will use a descriptive case study design. This type of design is used to describe an intervention or phenomenon and the real-life context in which it occurred (Yin, 2013). This design is considered valuable for collecting information that will demonstrate relationships and describe the world as it exists.

3.2 Quantitative Methods: the Volunteer Function Inventory

Survey research is a flexible methodological approach that is used to investigate a wide range of topics and often employs questionnaires as a tool for data collection. According to Robson (2002), it is difficult to give a comprehensive definition of survey samples due to the wide range of research that has been identified as survey samples. However, the typical main characteristics of a survey sample are: a) the use of a predetermined quantitative plan, b) the collection of a small amount of data in standardized format from a relatively large number of individuals, and c) the selection of representative samples of individuals from known populations (Robson, 2002). Therefore, survey research implies the use of some form of questionnaire to be administered to a sample of respondents, which can be either developed by the researcher or can be based upon an existing index (Punch, 2013). The questionnaire that will be used is based on an existing index: the Volunteer Function Inventory (VFI), which is considered the most extensive and sound tool for understanding and measuring volunteer motives and it has become the most frequently used self-reporting instrument (Burns, et al., 2005).

Based upon the conceptual foundation provided by the functional approach for volunteerism (see section 2.1.2), it is an instrument that assesses each of the six functions potentially served by volunteering (Clary & Snyder, 2002). The six functions are: values, understanding, enhancement, career, social, and protective. The conceptual definitions of the six functions along with their assessment on the VFI are provided in Table 1.

Table 1: Functions served by volunteering and their assessment on the Volunteer Functions Inventory (VFI) (Source: Clary and Snyder, 2002, p.157)

Function	Conceptual definition	Sample VFI item
Values	<i>The individual volunteers in order to express or act on important values like humanitarianism</i>	<i>I feel it is important to help others.</i>
Understanding	<i>The volunteer is seeking to learn more about the world or exercise skills that are often unused.</i>	<i>Volunteering lets me learn through direct, hands-on experience.</i>
Enhancement	<i>One can grow and develop psychologically through volunteer activities.</i>	<i>Volunteering makes me feel better about myself.</i>
Career	<i>The volunteer has the goal of gaining career-related experience through volunteering.</i>	<i>Volunteering can help me to get my foot in the door at a place where I would like to work.</i>
Social	<i>Volunteering allows an individual to strengthen his or her social relationships.</i>	<i>People I know share an interest in community service.</i>
Protective	<i>The individual uses volunteering to reduce negative feelings, such as guilt, or to address personal problems.</i>	<i>Volunteering is a good escape from my own troubles.</i>

The inventory consists of two sets of questions, one designed to measure the reasons for volunteering, by assessing the six functions, and the other to measure volunteering outcomes. Regarding the first set of questions, each of the six functions within the VFI has five relative statements, creating 30 total items for motive assessment. For each item, respondents have to indicate how important or accurate each of the 30 possible reasons for volunteering is for them in doing volunteer work. For each item, respondents are to indicate “How important or accurate each of the 30 possible reasons for volunteering was for you in doing volunteer work.” Each of the statements is scored on a seven-point scale ranging

from *not at all accurate/important* (1) to *extremely accurate/important* (7) (Clary, et al., 1998). The score for each group of statements is added together to create a motive score (5-35). The higher the total motive score, the more important the statements and perceived attitudes for that function are (Clary & Snyder, 2002).

The second set of questions consists of 17 statements related to volunteering outcomes and satisfaction. Each function has two related statements regarding the outcomes of the function, and five general statements regarding overall satisfaction of the volunteer experience. Each of the statements is again scored on the same seven-point scale (1-7). The score of each statement is added together to create an outcome score (2-14) to each function, while the five statements regarding overall satisfaction are added together to create an outcome score (5-35). The purpose of the second set of questions is to determine whether the six functions of volunteering have been served during the volunteering experience (Clary, et al., 1998; Clary & Snyder, 2002). For example, participants who received benefits in their most important motive areas during the volunteering experience will be more satisfied with their overall volunteering experience.

The VFI will be utilized in order to explore and identify the motives of the people who founded the ICSOs and those that participate in them with more weight given to the former.

3.2.1 Organization

The aim of this study is to understand the creation of ICSOs in Greece. However, to investigate ICSOs from all over Greece requires time and resources that were not available. In addition, as mentioned in the introduction, the exact number of ICSOs is not yet determined in the relevant literature. For this reasons this study will only focus on ICSOs that are located in the broader area of Athens.

Prior to the writing of this thesis, I conducted preliminary research using the internet in order to identify the ICSOs that are located in Athens. I used the website of Solidarity for All¹ to identify ICSOs in Athens, as it includes a list and a map of all the active ICSOs in Athens. As a result I identified 3 social groceries, 6 exchange networks, 9 time banks, 20 social clinics and pharmacies, and 10 other ICSOs that perform multiple activities, totalling 48 different ICSOs. Thus the target population of the study is N=48.

¹ Solidarity for All is a collectivity that promotes the actions of ICSOs and other voluntary organizations. Website: <http://www.solidarity4all.gr/> (accessed on March, 2015).

The intention is to collect data from the people who founded the ICSOs and also participate in them, through the use of the VFI. In order to calculate the sample size I used the following formula²:

$$Sample\ Size = \frac{\frac{z^2 \times p(1-p)}{e^2}}{1 + \left(\frac{z^2 \times p(1-p)}{e^2 N}\right)}$$

As expected with such a small target population, the required sample size is 10. However, the questionnaire will be distributed in the total of the population, since the response rate is uncertain.

3.2.2 Administration

Since the research is conducted in Greece and therefore to people that speak Greek, first I had to translate the VFI questionnaire into Greek. Then, I created an electronic version of the VFI using the SurveyMonkey® online survey development cloud. In addition to the VFI questions, I added optional blank fields for the respondents to fill in their name, email address and phone number, as well as mandatory fields for the name of the organization in which they participate and their position within the organization. On the first page of the online questionnaire, I added an introduction in which I explain the purpose of the research and define the concepts of volunteerism and ICSOs.

Before the distribution of the questionnaire, I gathered the email addresses of the ICSOs by visiting their websites, blogs and Facebook pages. After collecting the email addresses, on the 12th of March 2015 I sent an email to each ICSO to inform them about the research and its purpose and to ensure that the addresses were correct and active. The content of the emails can be viewed in the Appendix 1. Also, the online questionnaire was pilot tested to volunteers in my hometown of Petra, also in Greece, in order to validate it and to test its reliability.

After validating the email addresses and establishing that the participants were informed, on the 23rd of March 2015 I sent emails which contained the URL of the questionnaire³. The questionnaire that was utilised can be viewed in

² N= population size (48), e= margin of error (28%), z= desired level of confidence (95%= z= 1.96), p= normal distribution (50%).

³ The questionnaire was available at <https://www.surveymonkey.com/r/DLXF7G6>

Appendix 2. The web page of the survey was active from the 23rd of March until the 10th of April 2015.

3.2.3 Validity

In a series of six studies Clary et al. (1998) refined, verified and tested the validity of the VFI. They used exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis on diverse samples to test for its validity across populations and over time and also tested it for evidence of predictive validity. They found that each of the six functions possessed a high degree of internal consistency and were sufficiently distinct from each other.

3.3 Qualitative Methods: Semi-structured Interviews

Qualitative research methods aim to identify the description and the meaning of phenomena, as given by the respondents, in order to provide insights into individual perspectives, subjective truth and the emotional aspects of the studied subject. Such methods aim to retrieve descriptions of the overall picture of an interviewee's life world in order to identify and interpret certain phenomena or social processes (Kvale, 2006).

Interviews are regarded to be an appropriate qualitative method for capturing people's perceptions, opinions, meanings, definitions and constructions of reality through verbal data collection (Punch, 2013). Interviews as a research method are widely used in social science research. Asking people in a direct manner is a beneficial tool for obtaining responses useful to the research questions (Robson, 2002). Furthermore, face to face interviews offer the possibility to modify the exploratory direction and to determine underlying motives in a way that is impossible with the use of questionnaires. Interviews can be used as the main approach in a study; however it is also appropriate to combine interviews with other methods (Robson, 2002).

There are various types of interviews, which are characterized by different structures and varying level of depth, standardization and flexibility (Punch, 2013). The most common typology distinguishes between structured, semi-structured, and unstructured interviews. These different types of interviews can be connected, to some extent, to the depth of the responses that the researcher seeks (Robson, 2002).

Structured interviews have predetermined questions with fixed formulation. The use of open questions is the only difference between structured interviews and a sample survey questionnaire. On the other hand, in unstructured

interviews, the interviewer defines an area of interest and allows the conversation to develop within the framework of that area. Semi-structured interviews have predetermined questions but their arrangement may be modified depending on the interviewer's perception of what seems most appropriate. The wording of the question can be changed and certain questions can be further explained. Also, questions that may seem inappropriate for an interviewee can be omitted, while additional questions can be included (Robson, 2002).

King and Horrocks (2010) view semi-structured and unstructured interviews as qualitative research interviews and suggest guidelines for situations in which they could be employed. According to them, qualitative research interviews are suitable: a) in cases where research focuses on the meaning that specific phenomena have for the participants, b) in cases where personal views on processes of a social group will be studied over time, c) in cases where personal narratives regarding the development of a specific phenomenon are needed, d) in cases where exploratory research work is required prior to a quantitative study, and e) in cases where a quantitative study has been conducted and qualitative data is required for the verification of specific measurements or in order to clarify and explain the meaning of the findings (King & Horrocks, 2010). Therefore, in regard to these features, I decided to conduct semi-structured interviews, in order to collect data regarding the experiences, attitudes, opinions, and representations of participants in the ICSOs.

For this study, the semi-structured interviews will be used in parallel to the findings of the VFI questionnaire. Based on the framework of social movements, the interviews are intended to illuminate aspects that cannot be detected with the quantitative methods, in order to answer the research questions. The purpose of the interviews is to investigate the reasons that led to the establishment of the ICSOs through the perspective of social movements in accordance with the second research sub-question.

3.3.1 Interview guide

The interview guide was built upon the framework of social movements. It consists of 18 guidelines/questions, of which 10 relate to the inferences of the framework. A sample of the connection between the inferences and guidelines is presented in Table 2. The other eight guidelines/questions concern the personal perspective of the interviewee towards the ICSO and other technical and operational questions about the organization. The complete interview guide is provided in Appendix 3. The intention of the guidelines/questions is to extract relevant data from the interviewees, in order to answer the second research sub-question.

Table 2: Assumptions connected to sample relevant questions/guidelines.

Framework Inferences	Sample of Relevant Question/Guideline
ICSOs are organized in groups based on shared beliefs and solidarity.	Can anyone become a member in your organization?
ICSOs mobilize people and resources to pursue their goals.	How many people started and how many are involved in the organization now?
ICSOs have collective behaviour.	How are decisions taken in the organization?
ICSOs pursuit collective and individual interests.	Are the values of the organization in line with your own?
ICSOs include goal-oriented strategic action aiming at social change.	What led you to the decision to set up the organization?
ICSOs are solidarity networks.	Do you engage in other social actions?

3.3.2 Organization

In the first contact email (23rd of March) I informed the participants of the survey that they may be further contacted in order to be interviewed. Because of the time constraint I had to determine the sample size for the interviews while the online survey was still active. Thus, on the 2nd of April 2015, from a list of 19 respondents of the online questionnaire, a sample size of 4 was selected. The sample was randomly selected by using an online random generator⁴. Afterwards I contacted the interview candidates via email in order to set dates for the interviews. The interviews took place between the April 15th and the April 22nd 2015.

3.3.3 Fieldwork

⁴ <https://www.random.org/integers/>

The location where the interviews were conducted was agreed mutually with the interviewees by phone. All the interviews took place in Athens; three of them took place at the facilities of the respective ICSO and one at a café.

The interviews had the form of a discussion under the framework of the interview guide. The interviews lasted 43 minutes on average. All of the interviews were recorded digitally.

3.3.4 Validity

To ensure the internal validity of the interviewees' replies, it was important to establish a common understanding for the concepts of volunteerism, civil society, and the ICSOs at the beginning of the interviews. Fortunately all the participants had an in-depth understanding of the concepts. External validity in qualitative studies is replaced by the concept of transferability, which is the degree to which the results can be generalised or transferred to other contexts, thus it cannot be tested now.

3.3.5 Ethical consideration

Since the research is not discussing sensitive topics, there was no need for extra measures regarding anonymity and confidentiality. However, upon the meeting I asked permission to record the interview and declared that the data will be used only for the purposes for this thesis and only by me.

3.4 Data Analysis

Raw quantitative data was electronically accumulated first in the survey service of SurveyMonkey® and then was extracted by hand to Microsoft Excel® for descriptive and statistical analysis. The data will be analysed in relation to the VFI functions. Also, individual statements of the VFI will be analysed separately.

Qualitative data analysis will include six steps; a) transcription of the digital data on paper by hand and translation in English, b) preliminary exploration by reading the written transcripts and writing notes, c) coding the data by highlighting sentences and labelling the text, d) developing themes by accumulating similar codes, overarching and recurring themes together, e) connecting and interrelating themes, and f) constructing a narrative.

As the methodological design chosen dictates (see Figure 1, section 3.1), the qualitative and quantitative data is collected before any analysis takes place. In order to answer the first research sub-question, *what motivates people to voluntarily engage in ICSOs*, the analysis will begin with a presentation and analysis of the quantitative findings.

Then, the discussion of the qualitative data will take place in order to answer the second sub-question, *why did people establish ICSOs*. Finally, in the conclusions, I will attempt to answer the main research question.

3.5 Limitations

Despite the comprehensive design of this study, several limitations remain. First, the total participation in ICSOs cannot be determined, due to the lack of sufficient data and the absence of a central registration system. Second, the study focuses only on ICSOs in the area of Athens, and does not investigate the ICSOs present in other areas of Greece. It is possible that ICSOs in other areas of Greece could have different motivations for their existence. Finally, I was forced to translate the data from Greek into English for the purposes of this thesis. It is possible that in translation some meaning was lost, as the connotations inherent in the usage of certain Greek words may not exist in English. Furthermore, I was required to translate the survey from English to Greek, which may have the same problems as the other translation done in this thesis.

4 Quantitative Data Analysis

In this chapter, according to the research design, I present and discuss the findings of the online questionnaire, in order to answer the research sub-question: “What motivates people to voluntarily engage in informal civil society organizations?” First I present the response rates of the survey followed by the motivational functions, the outcomes functions and the satisfaction results. Then, I discuss the findings and present the limitations.

4.1 Response Rate

The electronic survey was sent to all 48 ICSOs that were identified. After 23 days of data collection, 22 total responses were received from 15 different ICSOs, achieving a response rate of 31.25% which is about average for online and email surveys. However, according to Nulty (2008) the response rate adequacy depends on the utilisation of the data that was collected.

The 15 ICSOs consist of 6 social clinics (all of them include pharmacies), 1 social pharmacy, 1 exchange network, 2 time banks, and 5 ICSOs that perform multiple activities. The 22 individuals that participated consisted of 10 founders and 12 members of ICSOs.

4.2 Findings of the VFI

In this section the findings of the VFI survey are presented in the order they had in the questionnaire; motivational functions, outcome functions and satisfaction.

4.2.1 Motivational Functions

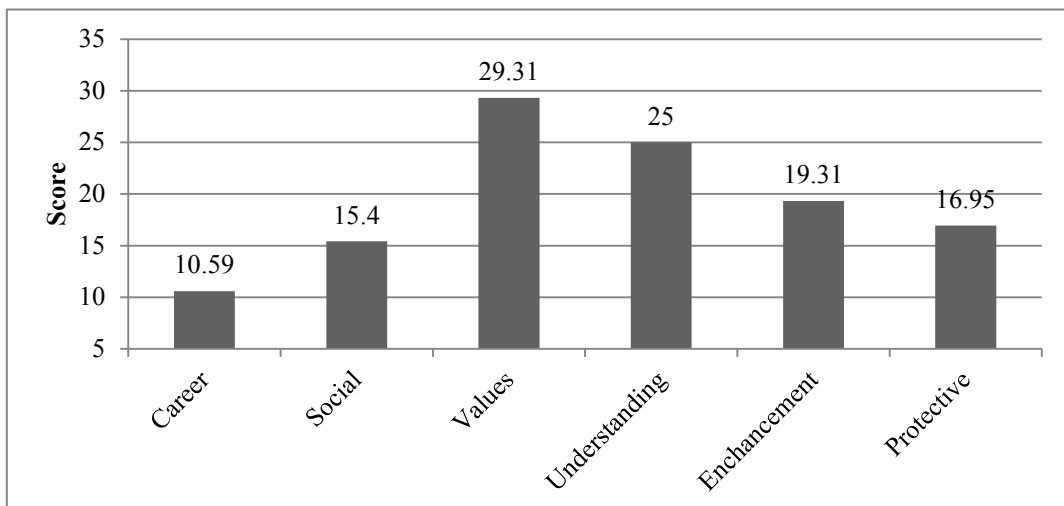
As stated previously, the six motive functions (values, career, understanding, social, protective, and enhancement) were used to define the initial motivational function that volunteerism served per individual. Each participant

was scored on a total of 47 statements on a scale from 1 (not at all important/accurate) to 7 (extremely important/accurate). Of these 47 statements, 30 concern the six functions of volunteerism and 17 concern the outcomes and the satisfaction served by the six functions. The score for each statement was added together to create a motive score. The results for each individual derive from the score of each group of statements and were added together to create a motive score ranging from 5 (lower score) to 35 (higher score). The complete questionnaire and the detailed process of the scoring are provided in the Appendix 5.

The individual scores of each of the six functions were added together in order to provide an average score of each function, with 5 being the lowest possible score and 35 the highest. For the entire sample (n=22), the Values function had the highest score with an average score of 29.31. The Understanding function follows with an average score of 25. The Enhancement function follows with 19.31, Protective function with 16.95, Social function with 15.4, and last is the Career function with an average score of 10.59. The results are presented in Figure 2.

The sample (n=22) consists of both founders and members of ICSOs. In order to ensure that the results do not differ between members and founders, I compared both average scores. The results showed a difference ranging from 0.74 (Understanding) to 2.36 (Career) in the average scores, which did not affect the order in the ranking of the functions.

Figure 2: Average score of each function (n=22).



The results show that those involved in the ICSOs engage in voluntary activity primarily due to their desire to help others that are less fortunate than

themselves and secondly, due to their desire to explore their own strengths and to expand their understanding of their environment. From the 30 different statements in the questionnaire, only 9 scored a weighted average above 5 on the scale from 1 to 7. Thus, these statements ranged from reasonably important/accurate to extremely important/accurate. These were statements that serve Values and Understanding functions.

More analytically, the statement under the Values function “*I feel it is important to help others*” on the scale from 1 to 7 scored a weighted average of 6.41, while the statements “*I can do something for a cause that is important to me*” and “*I am genuinely concerned about the particular group I am serving*” scored 6.19 and 6.1 respectively. The statement “*I am concerned about those less fortunate than myself*” scored 5.82 and the statement “*I feel compassion toward people in need*” scored a weighted average of 5.

Furthermore, the statements of the Understanding function “*Volunteering lets me learn through direct “hands on” experience*” and the statement “*Volunteering allows me to gain a new perspective on things*” scored a weighted average of 5.57 and 5.5 respectively. The statement “*I can explore my own strengths*” scored 5.18 while “*I can learn how to deal with a variety of people*” scored 5.

The Enhancement function which shows that individuals engage in volunteerism in order to feel important and needed, or to enhance their self-confidence is close to the average (19.31). The examination of the related statements shows that the participants were neutral towards “*Volunteering makes me feel better about myself*” (4.71) and “*Volunteering increases my self-esteem*” (4.18), which were found to be slightly more important than the rest of the Enhancement statements: “*Volunteering makes me feel important*” 3.81, “*Volunteering makes me feel needed*” 3.48, and “*Volunteering is a way to make new friends*” 3.45. Therefore, we can argue that the participants of the survey are somewhat apathetic towards the Enhancement function.

Since the Protective and Social functions are below average, we can argue that the respondents are not motivated by processes associated with the functioning of the ego, nor do they seek to develop and strengthen their social relations. Lastly, the Career function average score shows that volunteers are not at all motivated by career-related benefits.

To summarise, the results show that the volunteers participating in ICSOs are mainly motivated by altruistic motives and their desire for new experiences, in addition to the opportunity to utilise and practice existing skills.

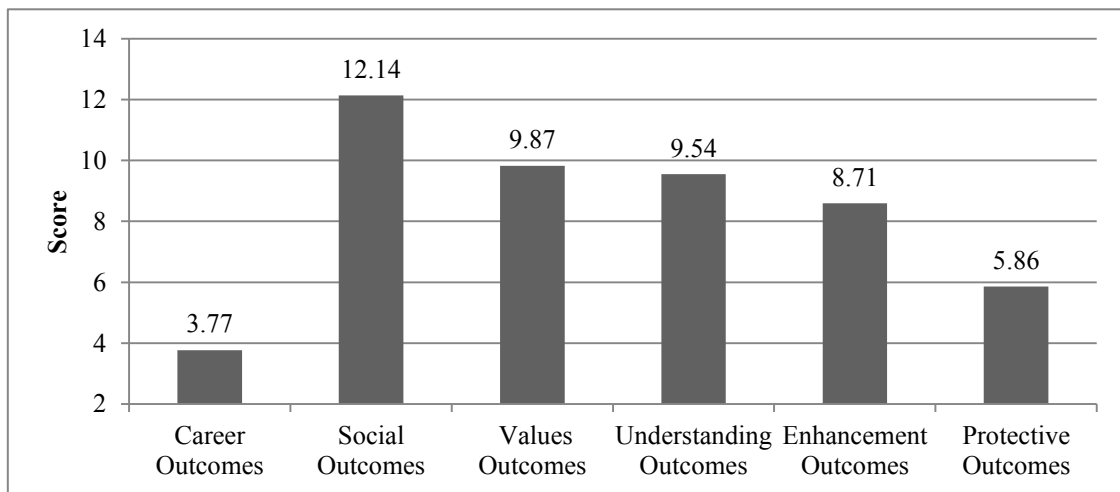
4.2.2 Outcomes

As mentioned previously, the purpose of the second set of statements is to determine whether the six motive functions of volunteering have been served during the volunteering experience. That is, successful volunteer recruitment,

satisfaction, and retention are tied to the ability of the volunteer experience to fulfil the volunteer’s important motives (Clary & Snyder, 2002). From the total of 17 statements regarding outcomes and satisfaction, 12 concern the outcomes (2 for each function) and 5 the satisfaction served by the six functions. The results for each individual derive from the score of each group of statements and are added together to create an outcome score ranging from 2 (lowest score) to 14 (highest score), whilst the satisfaction score range runs from 5 to 35. Satisfaction results will be presented in the next sub-section.

The score of each the six outcomes consists of the sum of average score of the 2 statements of each outcome. The results are presented in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Outcomes Score (n=22).



The results show that the outcomes of the Social function were served the most during the volunteering experience with a score of 12. The outcomes of the Values and Understanding that were the primary motivational functions were served slightly above the average with 9.81 and 9.54 respectively. This means that the functions that motivated people to volunteer were not met completely. The reason for this can be explained with the examination of the respective statements of the outcomes.

The Social outcomes statement *“My friends found out that I am volunteering at this organization”* scored a weighted average of 6.14 and the statement *“People I know best know that I am volunteering at this organization”* scored 6. These statements are easily met by those involved in the volunteering experience, given the collective characteristics of the ICSOs. This explains the fact that the Social outcome scored the highest.

The statement of the Values outcomes *“Through volunteering here, I am doing something for a cause that I believe in”* acquired the highest score of all the outcomes statements with 6.19. This shows that the altruistic motives were met through the experience. However the other statement of the Values outcome

“People I am genuinely concerned about are being helped through my volunteer work at this organization” scored only 3.68, which explains the low average score. An explanation for this can be that people engage to ICSOs to help people in general and not specifically for the ones that they are *genuinely concerned* with.

Regarding the Understanding outcomes, the scores on the statements “I have been able to learn more about the cause for which I am working by volunteering with this organization” (4.91) and “I have learned how to deal with a greater variety of people through volunteering at this organization” (4.64) show that through participation in the ICSOs people gained a reasonable understanding of their environment.

The Enhancement outcomes scored slightly above average (8.71) and the respective statements “From volunteering at this organization, I feel better about myself” and “My self-esteem is enhanced by performing volunteer work in this organization” scored 4.76 and 3.95 respectively. This shows that those involved in the ICSOs feel somewhat better about themselves.

The low scores on the rest of the statements (1.73 to 3.14) shows that the people involved in ICSOs did not receive any career-related benefits nor engaged in volunteering activity in order to solve their own problems.

4.2.3 Satisfaction

Satisfaction consists of 5 different statements on which the respondents indicated their importance/accuracy on a scale from 1 to 7. The total average Satisfaction score for the whole sample is 26.63 in a scale from 5 to 35. However, the utility of a total average score for the purposes of this paper is minor. Thus I will examine each statement separately. The results are presented in Table 4.

Table 2: Results of Satisfaction Scores (n=22)

	1 Not at all accurate	2	3	4	5	6	7 Extremely accurate	Weighted Average Score (1-7)
I am enjoying my volunteer experience.	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	4.55% 1	22.73% 5	22.73% 5	22.73% 5	27.27% 6	5.45
My volunteer experience has been personally fulfilling.	13.64% 3	9.09% 2	13.64% 3	4.55% 1	27.27% 6	9.09% 2	22.73% 5	4.41

	1 Not at all accurate	2	3	4	5	6	7 Extremely accurate	Weighted Average Score (1-7)
This experience of volunteering with this organization has been a worthwhile one.	0.00% 0	4.55% 1	0.00% 0	9.09% 2	4.55% 1	31.82% 7	50.00% 11	6.09
I have been able to make an important contribution by volunteering at this organization	4.55% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	13.64% 3	22.73% 5	40.91% 9	18.18% 4	5.45
I have accomplished a great deal of "good" through my volunteer work at this organization.	0.00% 0	4.55% 1	9.09% 2	9.09% 2	18.18% 4	27.27% 6	31.82% 7	5.5

The results show that the average score for all the statements indicated that they were at least somewhat accurate. The majority of the participants consider their involvement in the ICSOs meaningful whereas a significant proportion of them believe that they have made a substantial contribution and accomplished something good. Also, most people enjoy their voluntary experience. The results regarding the personal fulfilment statement are slightly less accurate than the others, which is in line with the findings for Enhancement outcomes. However, further analysis of the results is difficult due to the small size of the sample.

4.3 Discussion

Clary and Snyder (2002) in their study found that most typical respondents report that Values and Understanding are the most important functions and that different volunteers pursue different goals whilst the same volunteer may be pursuing more than one goal. The findings presented above show the same results regarding the motivational functions and indeed, more than two thirds of the respondents indicated two or more important functions. Therefore, the research sub-question concerning what motivates people to voluntarily engage in ICSOs is

principally answered; participants in the ICSOs are primarily motivated to volunteer by altruistic motives, and secondarily, in order to gain a new perspective on things through first-hand experiences.

The motives represented by the statements in the Values and Understanding functions can all be satisfied by volunteering for ICSOs whose main purpose is to help people in need. As the findings show, three of the Values statements are considered the most important with the “*I feel it is important to help others*” statement achieving the highest score. The Understanding statement “*Volunteering lets me learn through direct “hands on” experience*” was the fifth most important.

Furthermore, the outcomes and satisfaction parts of the questionnaire were originally created by Clary et al. (1998) in order to predict recruitment and the intentions of people to continue serving as volunteers. However, since that is not the purpose of this thesis, these parts were used in order to provide a better understanding and a more comprehensive view of the motives that drive people to volunteer in the ICSOs. As the findings suggest, people involved in ICSOs serve a cause in which they strongly believe, they have accomplished great deal of service for other people, and they find their involvement in the ICSO meaningful.

Lastly, the main hypotheses of the functional approach to volunteerism suggested by Clary, et al. (1998) were met: a) volunteers engage in volunteer work in order to satisfy their personal goals, b) members of the ICSOs have different reasons for volunteering, and c) involvement in ICSOs satisfies two or more motives through the activity at the organization.

4.4 Implications

The findings cannot be generalised to the general population of the ICSO participants in Greece due to the small size of the sample. However, the findings do provide a distinct perspective on the motivations. In addition, the VFI has never been applied previously in Greece, thus it is an important contribution that sheds light on an unexplored field. Furthermore, the survey does not provide any demographic data and thus any age, gender, or occupational analysis is unavailable.

Furthermore, according to Burns et al. (2005) the extent of one’s current behaviours is often influenced by the amount of time he or she has for volunteering, and thus they argue that one’s motivation to volunteer is a better predictor of future behaviours than current volunteer activities.

Nevertheless, the findings provided an answer to the research sub-question and thus contributed to the answer of the main research question.

5 Qualitative Data Analysis

In this chapter, in line with the research design, I present and discuss the findings of the semi-structured interviews. I report and discuss the key findings using appropriate verbatim quotes to illustrate those findings. The data derived from four face-to-face semi-structured interviews. The interviewees were two males and two females and were founders of four different ICSOs; the Metropolitan Community Clinic at Helliniko (MCCH), the Athens Community Polyclinic and Pharmacy (ACP&P), the Pharmacy of Solidarity at Patissia (PSP), and the Self-Managed Community Clinic-Pharmacy of Nea Filadelfia and Surrounding Areas (SCCP). The table with the names and the related ICSO is provided in the Appendix 4. In the text interviewees are referred to by their initials.

The identification of the main themes in the data was primarily based on the inferences of the theory framework and on recurring themes that were identified as important in relation to the second research sub-question regarding the reasons for the establishment of ICSOs.

The chapter is divided in two parts. First the findings of the interviews followed by the discussion of the findings.

5.1 Findings of the Semi-structured Interviews

ICSOs, apart from the provision of services, also act as social movements and mobilize people to protest in order to claim their demands. In fact, the Metropolitan Community Clinic at Helliniko was created by people that participated in the anti-austerity movement in the summer of 2010 in Athens. They were doctors who took care of the injured from the demonstrations. They consider their ICSO as an extension and continuation of the anti-austerity movement in terms of providing services in addition to protests.

Furthermore, as the previous literature suggested (Bourikos, 2013; Huliaras, 2014; Sotiropoulos & Bourikos, 2014a; Sotiropoulos & Bourikos, 2014; Sotiropoulos & Bourikos, 2014b), the initial reason for the creation of the ICSOs was the onset of the crisis in 2009 and its consequences.

“The reason that led us to create the organization is that there are millions of people without jobs and health care provision. The financial crisis was turning into a humanitarian crisis.” (A.P., ACP&P)

This is in line with the suggestions of the theories that the rise of social movements can be caused by cultural drifts, social disorganization, social injustices, social unrest, and as a reaction to the retrenchment of the welfare state.

The interviews demonstrated that the ICSOs addressed this situation by helping people to get back on their feet. However, alongside this altruistic reason, an underlying purpose exists; the motivation of the service recipients.

“The main idea for creating an ICSO was to help people get back on their feet through provision of food or health care, in order for them to be able to fight and claim their rights. A person, who is completely on the margin of the society without being able to provide for himself, will not be able to fight and overturn his situation. Otherwise the person stays in the margin of society for ever and falls in depression.” (A.P., ACP&P)

The first part of this statement reveals that apart from their philanthropic nature, the purpose of the ICSOs is also to mobilize people. As the theory suggests, organizations play a major role in recruiting and motivating actors to join and participate within social movements (McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly, 2003). This assumption is verified by the interviews:

“The first people that received help from us became volunteers straight away. Since then, many more joined and some may not be directly involved in the PSP, but they will collect medicine from their neighbourhood and they will join our protests and demonstrations.” (A.S., PSP)

The degree of people mobilization for these four particular ICSOs is demonstrated by the number of their active members. ACP&P started in January 2013 with 6 people from which 4 were doctors and today they have 45 doctors and 45 volunteers. PSP was created in January 2013 by only 3 people and now they have around 60 members. SCCP was established in September 2014 and started with 20 doctors and 30 volunteers and now has 30 doctors and 50 volunteers. The relatively high number of SCCP's starting members is explained by the fact that they were deliberating and mobilizing people six months before the establishment of the clinic. Moreover, MCCH, the first ever social clinic in Athens, has the most impressive number of active members. It was founded by 6 doctors in the fall of 2011 and today they number 115 doctors and 135 volunteers.

These numbers concern active members, concerning only those who actively engage in activities within the ICSOs. However the number of the people that have received services from these ICSOs amounts to thousands of people. The MCCH alone serves more than 100 people per day. This raises an interesting question regarding to what degree all the individuals who receive services from these ICSOs are mobilized.

“Many of the people that come here became volunteers within our organization or help us as external “associates” by offering other services like painting, electricity maintenance etc. In the way they receive something, the same way they give back.” (M.P., MCCH)

This shows that they are not necessarily mobilized in terms of joining protests for example. However, the last sentence of this statement indicates that the recipients are initiated in a solidarity context. The interviewee from MCCH describes this initiation process:

“People that come here are treated with solidarity. A friendly relation is evolving. In solidarity people are treated with equality. This creates the idea that the person who is receiving is equally worthy with the one who offers.” (M.P., MCCH)

This is in line with the theory assumption which suggests that ICSOs are based on shared beliefs and solidarity and shows that ICSOs promote solidarity. All the interviewees made a distinction between solidarity and charity and made it clear that they are not charitable organizations. For them solidarity means to be actively involved and for this reason they promote this context to everyone that receives services.

So far we have seen that these ICSOs offer services to people in need, promote solidarity, motivate and mobilize people. As the theory suggests, ICSOs mobilize people in order to pursue their goals (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). The interpretation of the data suggests that all the abovementioned functions of the ICSOs can be considered as goals. However, according to the definition, a social movement is an effort by a group which aims to resist or bring a change in the society. The data demonstrates that the ultimate goal of ICSOs consists of three main ideas: solidarity, resistance, and overthrow⁵. That is, through the values of solidarity they resist social changes and act in order to change that situation.

“We mobilize people to join protests and demonstrations against the wretched social conditions. Our purpose is to demand our rights and to criticise the wrongs of the government. We have fought many battles against the unbearable government measures.” (A.P., ACP&P)

The means by which ICSOs attempt to meet their goals are in general, the participation in demonstrations and protests, and the issuing of public complaints and reports to the media.

Theory suggests that ICSOs are characterised by collective behaviour. Apart from the notion of collectivity that they promote, their organizational structure is also characterised by such behaviour; all four ICSOs have a general

⁵ The Greek word “*anatropi*” was used during the interviews, which can be interpreted as “overthrowing an authority” or “reversing a situation”.

assembly as a governing body and coordinating groups to implement the decisions of the general assembly.

“There is no hierarchy, only coordinating groups for operational reasons. Through collectivity and the immediacy of decision making, people become more creative.” (M.I., SCCP)

Furthermore, ICSOs are communicating and cooperating with each other through centralised forums and local or national associations. For example, all the social clinics communicate and cooperate through the Federation of Community Clinics.

To conclude, this section presented the findings of the interviews. Five main themes were identified relating to the altruistic nature of the ICSOs, mobilization, collective behaviour, solidarity and protest. In the next section I discuss these findings in order to answer the research sub-question.

5.2 Discussion

The interpretation of ICSOs as social movements was fruitful and provided lots of information regarding the nature of the ICSOs. To begin with, the findings validated that ICSOs hold a social movement dynamic. The evidence shows that the activities of ICSOs are similar to those of social movements apart from the provision of services. They motivate citizens, raise awareness, and protest against the government policies.

The inferences that were used for the interpretation of the ICSOs were justified according to the findings. Therefore, an ICSO from the viewpoint of a social movement approach: a) is an organized group based on shared beliefs and solidarity, b) mobilizes people to pursue its goals, c) acts through collective behaviour, d) pursues collective interests, e) includes goal-oriented strategic action aiming at social change, and f) is a solidarity network.

Furthermore, the research sub-question regarding why people established ICSOs can be answered with the use of these findings. ICSOs were created due to the belief that the change in the political status that leads to the suffering and the impoverishment of the population, will change through collective action, helping those in need, solidarity, and protests. People who founded the ICSOs stress that their purpose is not charity but solidarity. The creation of a solidarity framework in which people receive and offer services voluntarily, integrates people into a collective group whose ultimate purpose is to demand better living conditions for everyone.

6 Conclusions

In the following section I will summarise and discuss the findings of the quantitative and qualitative analyses in order to answer the research question of this study. The following section also contains suggestions for further studies.

6.1 Summarising Discussion

The main purpose of this thesis was to explain and understand the rise of the ICSOs in Greece after the crisis arose in 2009. Two research sub-questions were posed in order to guide the inquiry. The first one, “What motivates people to voluntarily engage in informal civil society organizations?” had the intention to illuminate the personal motives of the members and founders of the ICSOs. The second one, “Why did people establish informal civil society organizations?” had the intention to investigate the underlying aspects of ICSOs that were related to social movements.

The first sub-question had the individuals as unit of analysis and was investigated with the functional approach to volunteerism which identifies six categories of motivational functions that may be served in volunteerism. This approach allowed for the identification of the motives that led people to participate in ICSOs. The data was collected by using the Volunteer Function Inventory through an online questionnaire. The findings revealed that the founders and the members of the ICSOs are primarily motivated to volunteer by altruistic motives, and secondarily, in order to gain a new perspective on things through first-hand experiences. The first motive is self-explanatory; people created or joined the ICSOs out of genuine concern about those in need. The second motive means that people who were in a better condition than those who received help from the ICSOs, engaged in volunteerism in order to better understand the social conditions. Furthermore, the findings revealed that the people involved in ICSOs consider their cause meaningful

The second sub-question had ICSOs as unit of analysis and was investigated through the interpretation of ICSOs as social movements. A framework of assumptions that was based on social movement theories was created and utilised. These assumptions were used to build an interview guide that was employed for the semi-structured interviews with the founders of four ICSOs. Through the interviews valuable data was acquired for explaining the reasons that led to the establishment of the ICSOs. The findings revealed that people

established ICSOs for two interrelated reasons. First, they wished to provide services to those in need, and second, in order to protest against the wretched social conditions with the further aim of overthrowing the political establishment.

The findings from both sub-questions provided enough evidence to answer the main research question: How can we understand the rise of informal civil society organizations in Greece after the onset of the crisis in 2009?

After the financial crisis erupted in 2009, the Greek government was forced to implement austerity measures in order to avoid default. These measures together with the effects of the economic crisis deeply affected the living conditions of the Greek people and the Greek society; millions of people found themselves without jobs and social insurance, and thousands of people fell under the poverty line. This situation could not be addressed by the bankrupt state nor could the family institutions that traditionally compensated the gaps of the welfare state in Greece. Mass protests and demonstrations took place all over Greece; however in the summer of 2011 a massive demonstration took place in front of the Greek parliament at Syntagma square. There, the anti-austerity movement⁶ was born counting hundreds of thousands of participants who were demanding better living conditions for more than three months. After the end of the demonstrations, small groups of people driven by altruistic motives, began to create ICSOs in order to offer food, healthcare, and other services to people in need with a further purpose of continuing the protest against the government. This was an extension of the anti-austerity movement; ICSOs shared the same values and ideals. People all over Greece started to follow this example and ICSOs have continued to be established until the present day. However, the exact number cannot yet be determined due to the lack of a central registration system and the informal character of the ICSOs.

In conclusion, this study identified the personal motives of those involved in the ICSOs, elucidated the reasons that led to the establishment of ICSOs, and explained the rise of ICSOs in Greece.

6.2 Contribution and Further research

The secondary purpose of this thesis was to fill a gap in the literature regarding the interpretation of ICSOs as social movements. This purpose was fulfilled since the study demonstrated that ICSOs share common characteristics and functions with social movements. This study can be the starting point for further investigation of ICSOs, utilizing this perspective to comprehensively

⁶ The original name of the movement is Movement of Indignant Citizens.

identify a new type of social movement that combines provision of services, social mobilization, and protest.

This study also contributes to the literature through the utilisation of the VFI for the identification of peoples' motives; such research has never been conducted in Greece. Furthermore, the VFI can be used as an instrument to predict recruitment and the intentions of people to continue serving as volunteers. Therefore, future studies can utilise the VFI in order to predict the recruitment and retention of volunteers in ICSOs.

It would also be interesting to investigate how Greek political actors view the rise of ICSOs, how ICSOs relate to the ability of the Greek state to provide welfare services, and the influence of political parties on ICSOs.

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APPENDIX 1

Letters of contact

First contact:

Αξιότιμε Κύριε ή Κυρία

Ονομάζομαι Χρυσοστόμου Απόστολος και είμαι φοιτητής του μεταπτυχιακού προγράμματος «Msc Welfare Policies and Management» στο Lund University της Σουηδίας. Είμαι στη διαδικασία συγγραφής της διπλωματικής μου εργασίας με θέμα τις εθελοντικές οργανώσεις στην Ελλάδα. Σαν μέρος της έρευνας μου θα πρέπει να συλλέξω στοιχεία για τα χαρακτηριστικά τέτοιων οργανώσεων μέσω ερωτηματολογίων ή/και συνεντεύξεων.

Θα ήθελα λοιπόν να σας ρωτήσω εάν κάποιος/α εκπρόσωπος του οργανισμού σας θα ήταν πρόθυμος/η να συμμετέχει στην έρευνα.

Η διαδικασία είναι απλή και θα περιλαμβάνει ηλεκτρονικό ερωτηματολόγιο (αποστέλεται μέσω email) και ίσως συνέντευξη μέσω τηλεφώνου/Skype ή από κοντά. Η διαδικασία θα λάβει χώρα Μάρτιο και Απρίλιο. Περισσότερες πληροφορίες θα είναι στη διάθεσή σας σε περίπτωση που ενδιαφέρεστε.

Σε περίπτωση που ενδιαφέρεστε παρακαλώ απαντήστε στο παρών email.

Ευχαριστώ για τον χρόνο σας εκ των προτέρων.

Με τιμή,

Χρυσοστόμου Απόστολος

Department of Political Science, Lund University

Phone: +46762107950

Email: wpm13ach@student.lu.se

Second Contact:

Καλησπέρα σας,

Σας αποστέλλω το link με το ερωτηματολόγιο της έρευνας. Ο σκοπός είναι να απαντήσετε στο ερωτηματολόγιο και σε άλλο χρόνο ίσως χρειαστεί να σας πάρω μία μίνι συνέντευξη για τις απαντήσεις σας.

<https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/DLXF7G6>

Ευχαριστώ πολύ εκ των προτέρων για το χρόνο σας.

Με τιμή,

Απόστολος Χρυσοστόμου

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Phone: +46762107950

Email: wpm13ach@student.lu.se

APPENDIX 2

VFI Questionnaire

Ο οργανισμός που συμμετέχετε δραστηριοποιείται και σχετίζεται με τον τομέα του εθελοντισμού. Το παρόν ερωτηματολόγιο ασχολείται με τα αίτια και τα κίνητρα που οδηγούν στον εθελοντισμό και τις εμπειρίες που προκύπτουν από την εθελοντική εργασία. Παρακάτω βρίσκονται δύο ομάδες ερωτήσεων που αφορούν τις εμπειρίες σας ως εθελοντής με την οργάνωση που συμμετέχετε. Η πρώτη ομάδα αποτελείται από 30 διαφορετικούς **λόγους που οι άνθρωποι προσφέρουν εθελοντικά** και σας ζητά να επιλέξετε πόσο σημαντικός είναι ο κάθε λόγος για την προσφορά σας σε αυτή την οργάνωση. Η δεύτερη ομάδα ερωτήσεων αφορά τα **«αποτελέσματα» του εθελοντισμού**. Αποτελείται από 18 πιθανές εκβάσεις που σχετίζονται με την εθελοντική προσφορά και καλείστε να επιλέξετε κατά πόσο έχετε βιώσει κάθε αποτέλεσμα. Το ερωτηματολόγιο είναι ανώνυμο.

Λόγοι/Κίνητρα Εθελοντισμού

Χρησιμοποιώντας την κλίμακα 7 σημείων παρακάτω, επιλέξτε πόσο σημαντική ή ακριβής κάθε μία από τις παρακάτω προτάσεις είναι για εσάς. Παρακαλώ να είστε ακριβής και ειλικρινής.

Καθόλου σημαντικό για μένα/Ανακριβές - 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 - Εξαιρετικά σημαντικό για μένα/Απόλυτα ακριβές

1. Ο εθελοντισμός μπορεί να με βοηθήσει να βρώ δουλειά.
2. Οι φίλοι μου είναι εθελοντές.
3. Ενδιαφέρομαι για αυτούς που είναι λιγότερο ευνοημένοι από εμένα.
4. Άνθρωποι από το κοντινό μου περιβάλλον θέλουν να εργαστώ εθελοντικά.
5. Το να προσφέρω εθελοντικά με κάνει να νιώθω σημαντικός.
6. Οι άνθρωποι που γνωρίζω ενδιαφέρονται να προσφέρουν κοινωφελή εργασία.
7. Όσο άσχημα και να νιώθω, το να προσφέρω εθελοντικά με κάνει να το ξεχνάω.
8. Ενδιαφέρομαι πραγματικά για την ομάδα στην οποία συμμετέχω εθελοντικά.
9. Το να προσφέρω εθελοντικά με κάνει να νιώθω λιγότερο μόνος/η.
10. Μέσω του εθελοντισμού μπορώ να κάνω νέες γνωριμίες που μπορεί να βοηθήσουν την επαγγελματική μου καριέρα.
11. Το να προσφέρω εθελοντικά με κάνει να νιώθω λιγότερες τύψεις για το ότι είμαι πιο ευνοημένος/η σε σχέση με άλλους.
12. Μπορώ να μάθω περισσότερα σχετικά με το θεσμό για τον οποίο εργάζομαι.
13. Το να προσφέρω εθελοντικά αυξάνει την αυτοεκτίμησή μου.
14. Το να προσφέρω εθελοντικά μου επιτρέπει να δώ τα πράγματα με άλλη οπτική.
15. Το να προσφέρω εθελοντικά μου επιτρέπει να εξερευνήσω άλλες προοπτικές για καριέρα/δουλειά.
16. Νιώθω συμπόνια προς τα άτομα που βρίσκονται σε ανάγκη.
17. Άνθρωποι από το κοντινό μου περιβάλλον έχουν σε μεγάλη εκτίμηση την κοινωφελή εργασία.
18. Το να προσφέρω εθελοντικά μου επιτρέπει να μάθω πράγματα μέσα από άμεση εμπειρία.
19. Θεωρώ σημαντικό να βοηθάω τους άλλους.
20. Το να προσφέρω εθελοντικά με βοηθάει να αντιμετωπίσω τα προσωπικά μου προβλήματα.
21. Το να προσφέρω εθελοντικά θα με βοηθήσει να επιτύχω στο επάγγελμά μου.

22. Μπορώ να προσφέρω κάτι για ένα σκοπό που είναι σημαντικός για μένα.
23. Η εθελοντική προσφορά αποτελεί σημαντική δραστηριότητα για τους ανθρώπους που γνωρίζω καλά.
24. Η εθελοντική προσφορά με κάνει να ξεφεύγω από τα προσωπικά μου προβλήματα.
25. Μπορώ να μάθω να αντιμετωπίζω διαφορετικούς ανθρώπους.
26. Το να προσφέρω εθελοντικά κάνει να αισθάνομαι ότι οι άνθρωποι με χρειάζονται.
27. Το να προσφέρω εθελοντικά κάνει να αισθάνομαι καλύτερα για τον εαυτό μου.
28. Η εμπειρία του εθελοντισμού θα είναι καλή προσθήκη στο βιογραφικό μου.
29. Ο εθελοντισμός είναι ένας τρόπος να κάνω νέες φιλίες.
30. Μέσω της εθελοντικής προσφοράς μπορώ να εξερευνήσω της δικές μου δυνάμεις.

Αποτελέσματα Εθελοντισμού

Χρησιμοποιώντας την κλίμακα 7 σημείων παρακάτω, επιλέξτε το κατά πόσο συμφωνείτε ή διαφωνείτε με την κάθε δήλωση, σύμφωνα με τα προσωπικά σας πιστεύω. Παρακαλώ να είστε ακριβής και ειλικρινής.

Διαφωνώ απόλυτα - 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 - Συμφωνώ απόλυτα

31. Μέσω της ενασχόλησής μου στον οργανισμό, έκανα νέες επαφές που μπορεί να βοηθήσουν την καριέρα ή την επιχείρησή μου.
32. Οι άνθρωποι στο κοντινό μου περιβάλλον γνωρίζουν ότι προσφέρω εθελοντικά σε αυτόν τον οργανισμό.
33. Οι άνθρωποι για τους οποίους ενδιαφέρομαι πραγματικά έλαβαν/λαμβάνουν βοήθεια μέσω του οργανισμού που συμμετέχω.
34. Μέσω της εθελοντικής προσφοράς μου στον οργανισμό, νιώθω καλύτερα για τον εαυτό μου.
35. Μέσω της εθελοντικής προσφοράς μου στον οργανισμό μπορώ να ξεφεύγω από κάποια από τα προσωπικά μου προβλήματα.
36. Έμαθα να πω να αντιμετωπίζω διάφορους ανθρώπους μέσω της ενασχόλησής μου στον οργανισμό.
37. Σαν εθελοντής σε αυτόν τον οργανισμό, μπόρεσα να εξερευνήσω πιθανές επιλογές καριέρας.
38. Οι φίλοι μου γνωρίζουν ότι είμαι εθελοντής σε αυτόν τον οργανισμό.
39. Μέσω της ενασχόλησής μου στον οργανισμό, προσφέρω σε ένα σκοπό στον οποίο πιστεύω.
40. Η αυτοεκτίμησή μου έχει βελτιωθεί λόγω της ενασχόλησής μου με τον οργανισμό.
41. Μέσω της ενασχόλησής μου στον οργανισμό είχα τη δυνατότητα να επιλύσω κάποια από τα προσωπικά μου προβλήματα.
42. Είχα την ευκαιρία να μάθω περισσότερα για τον σκοπό που με ενδιαφέρει μέσω της ενασχόλησής μου στον οργανισμό.
43. Απολαμβάνω την εμπειρία του εθελοντισμού.
44. Η εμπειρία του εθελοντισμού με έχει εκπληρώσει προσωπικά σαν άτομο.
45. Η εμπειρία μέσα στον οργανισμό ήταν επωφελής και αξιόλογη.
46. Είχα την δυνατότητα να συμβάλω σημαντικά μέσα από την προσφορά μου στον οργανισμό.
47. Έχω επιτύχει πολλά "καλά" με την εθελοντική εργασία μου σε αυτήν την οργάνωση.

APPENDIX 3

Interview Guide

First introduction.

Familiarize with the interviewee.

Establish common understanding of concepts.

1. When do you get involved with the organization?
2. When was the organization founded?
3. What led you to that decision?
4. How many people started the initiative?
5. Do you participate in other activities?
6. What is the purpose of the organization?
 - a) From what you know, is there a similar formal organization?
 - b) Why you decided to do your own?
7. Who receives services from the organization?
8. Would you accept anyone to be a member? Are there any restrictions?
9. How do you take decisions within your organization?
10. What are the obstacles/barriers you find?
11. Is the organization now as you imagined it when you began?
12. What is your relationship with other organizations?
13. How do you see the future of your organization?
14. Do your values line with the values of the organization?
15. How do you evaluate the organization so far?
16. Is there something you want to add? Was something left out?

APPENDIX 4

Interviewees

NAME	SURNAME	ICSO
Petros	Mpoteas	Metropolitan Community Clinic at Helliniko
Stauroula	Arnaoutaki	Pharmacy of Solidarity at Patissia
Manos	Ioannidis	Self-Managed Community Clinic-Pharmacy of Nea Filadelfia and Surrounding Areas
Aleksandra	Pavlou	Athens Community Polyclinic and Pharmacy

APPENDIX 5

SCORING SHEET

VFI Career Item 1 10 15 21 28

Response ___ + ___ + ___ + ___ + ___ = _____
(SUM)

VFI Social Item 2 4 6 17 23

Response ___ + ___ + ___ + ___ + ___ = _____
(SUM)

VFI Values Item 3 8 16 19 22

Response ___ + ___ + ___ + ___ + ___ = _____
(SUM)

VFI Understd Item 12 14 18 25 30

Response ___ + ___ + ___ + ___ + ___ = _____
(SUM)

VFI Enhance Item 5 13 26 27 29

Response ___ + ___ + ___ + ___ + ___ = _____
(SUM)

VFI Protect Item 7 9 11 20 24

Response ___ + ___ + ___ + ___ + ___ = _____
(SUM)

Outcomes Career (Add items 31 and 37) ___ + ___ =

Outcomes Social (Add items 32 and 38) ___ + ___ =

Outcomes Values (Add items 33 and 39) ___ + ___ =

Outcomes Enhance (Add items 34 and 40) ___ + ___ =

Outcomes Protect (Add items 35 and 41) ___ + ___ =

Outcomes Understd (Add items 36 and 42) ___ + ___ =

Satisfaction Items 43 44 45 46 47

Response ___ + ___ + ___ + ___ + ___ = _____