

Elderly Volunteering in Europe. Revisting Haski (2009) *

Leszek Morawski[†]

Vistula University Adam Okulicz-Kozaryn[‡]

Rutgers - Camden and Vistula University

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Rates of volunteering among the group of 50+ are much dispersed among countries. According to Oecd (2016) the rates ranged from above 30% in the Netherlands, Ireland, Norway, Switzerland to less than 10% in Poland, Hungary, Greece, Portugal. Popularity of volunteering changes with age. In some countries - e.g. the Netherlands, France, Denmark and the UK - the volunteering rates for those in the group of 50+ are higher than for the groups of younger people. In other countries - Norway, Germany, Finland, Iceland, Switzerland - the rates among elderly are higher than among the mid-age group (30-50) but they are lower than the rates for the group of 15-29. But there is also a group of European countries in which people in age 50 and above are involved in the volunteering less often than other people. These are the Central and East European countries (CEE) - Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Czech Republic, Lithuania, Hungary - and Southern European countries (SEC) - Spain and Italy Oecd (2016). Age and volunteering may be related in different ways. It is possible that country specificity embodied in its history and culture is significant part of explanation of variability in the volunteering rates. Presumably, the motives for elderly to be involved in volunteering are different to those for younger people (Wilson (2012)).

Menchik and Weisbrod (1987) propose to treat a volunteering either as an ordinary consumption good or as an investment good increasing an individual's income over time. Haski-Leventhal (2009) noticed that elderly in comparison with young people are less motivated by career concerns and more by social motive since volunteering give them a chance to participate in the useful activities. In the "good conscience hypothesis" (**Freeman, 1997**) volunteering is something that people feel morally obligated to do when asked. This makes volunteering to be more like as an obligation than as a free personal choice that is rooted in an individual preferences. Volunteering having pure altruistic nature has more beneficial effect of volunteers than if it is the result of a social pressure. It is why we should expect weaker impact from it on subjective well-being if there are many volunteers around. Also, if there are many volunteering activities are conducted then some of them may have a limited value what adds to negative relation between the volunteering rates and change in wellbeing.

This leads us to distinguish between demand and supply factors for volunteering. The demand is mostly created by unmet demand for public goods and services. The supply depends on how people allocate their time to unpaid

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[†]EMAIL: ???@???

I thank XXX. All mistakes are mine.

[‡]EMAIL: adam.okulicz.kozaryn@gmail.com

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activities to improve her utility Ziemek (2006). This approach suggests the positive relation between the degree of unsatisfactory supply of public good and services and the rates of formal volunteering. Inefficient markets and weak government are important determinants of formal volunteering popularity. This makes us to predict more volunteering in less developed countries where markets are inefficient and quality of government is low. However, this prediction seems to be false. For example, **Hank and Stuck (2008)** and **Siegrist and Wahrendorf (2009)** give robust conclusion of the higher rates in Northern European countries and lower rates in Eastern and Southern Europe. The same pattern appears in previously cited OECD data (Oecd (2016)) as well as in Oecd (2015) that shows the rates of formal volunteering range from 57.3% in Norway to 17.7% in Czechia. Variation in the rates is larger if we concentrate on the volunteering among people aged 50 and over. They range from 37.9% in the Netherlands to as little as 3.2% in Poland. The lower rates in less developed countries suggest a considerable role of supply factors and transaction costs that may be responsible for unmet demand for volunteering services. These transaction costs may include transport difficulties, lack of information, perceptions of volunteering and lack of variety in the opportunities. The low rates mean also that those who overcome all costs must have strong altruistic attitude toward volunteering. This makes them significantly different from non-volunteers.

The low rates in less developed countries are worrying since the demographic changes and financial distress in retirement sector will touch elderly in an especially adverse way. Quality of life of elderly who are likely to experience negative events due to health deterioration, reduction of income and smaller social contact network has become a major social issue. Volunteering may improve their QoL through engagement in a socially meaningful role and gives meaning and purpose in life (**Greenfield and Marks, 2004; Prouteau and Wolff, 2008**). The positive effect of volunteering by elderly are well known and commonly accepted, see: Morrow-Howell (2010). Elderly seem to benefit more from volunteering than younger people (**Li and Ferraro, 2005; Van Willigen, 2000**). Jenkinson et al. (2013) surveyed forty experimental and cohort studies comparing the physical and mental health outcomes and mortality of a volunteering group to a non-volunteering group. They found that volunteering had favourable effects on depression, life satisfaction, wellbeing but not on physical health. Positive association between volunteering and subjective health was reported for example in Borgonovi (2008), Anderson et al. (2014), Li and Ferraro (2006), Van Willigen (2000), Detollenaere et al. (2017).

Helping others positive effects wellbeing of volunteering. Those engaged in such activity report higher scores for subjective well-being (Haski-Leventhal (2009), Morrow-Howell et al. (2003), (Thoits and Hewitt 2001), (Whillans et al. 2016)). (Meier and Stutzer 2008b) showed that volunteering led to increased life satisfaction in a longitudinal study in Germany. Wilson (2012) in his review essay on volunteerism research listed the benefits of volunteering for the volunteer. The list included: enhancement in mental health and protection against symptoms of mental illness, lower levels of morbidity and mortality, socioeconomic benefits such as increase in chances of obtaining a better education and a better job. Positive effect of volunteering was also found in a study based on 30 case studies from 11 European countries (Ehlers et al. (2011)). It was stressed that volunteering of elderly people helps them to build new relationships with other volunteers but also with those whom they helped. According to findings presented in the study volunteering helps regain a meaningful activities after some adverse events.

Volunteering is beneficial for society (Oecd (2015), Prouteau and Wolff (2006)). It is considered to be a productive activity (Hank and Erlinghagen (2009)). This is important because demographic changes together with progress in health care increase time while elderly are in relatively good health while being on retirement.

This creates a stock of unused labor among elderly that may be effectively used with benefit for volunteer and other members of a society. This makes volunteering among elderly an interesting policy tool that may help to keep people in better health when they get older. The positive effect of volunteering has been recognized by many international organizations, also. In its 2001 recommendations the United Nations General Assembly identified volunteering as “an important component of any strategy aimed at poverty reduction, sustainable development, health, disaster prevention and overcoming social exclusion and discrimination” (**United Nations, 2001**). In 2008, the European Parliament wrote about volunteering as “[the] most sustainable form of renewable energy” and encouraged Member States and regional and local authorities to “recognise [its] value in promoting social and economic cohesion” (**European Parliament, 2008**).

This paper is closely related to the leading-edge question 3 in Morrow-Howell (2010) that was: “Under What Conditions Does Volunteering Enhance the Well-being of Older Volunteers?” and to the discussion line in Haski-Leventhal (2009). That exceptional empirical study included an extensive discussion of variations in volunteering rates according to main socio-economic variables as age, gender and employment status among people aged 50 or more in 12 Western and Southern European countries. As in the other studies it found the highest rates of volunteering among elderly in Northern Europe and the lowest rates in Southern Europe. Apart from the confirmation of those previously discussed in the literature relations the paper includes the discussion of variation in impact of volunteering and wellbeing among the European countries. It was found that *“in countries which encourage volunteerism and where volunteering is a social norm, such as in the Northern European countries, the relation of volunteering and wellbeing was rather small. At the same time in countries where volunteering was not so popular a correlation between volunteering and three indicators of well-being (health, depression, and chances for longer life) were rather strong.”*. Our study is inspired by the above finding. Also, our results are related to a work by Plagnol and Huppert (2010) who claimed that “Individuals in countries with low rates of volunteering gain less from such activities – in terms of well-being – than those in countries with high rates of volunteering. Below, we discuss two hypotheses. **[to AOK: It is not good, it should be improved]**

1. H1: there are differences among countries how volunteering among elderly affects their Quality of Life
2. H2: The impact of volunteering on QoL depends on its popularity in a country. The relation between the impact and the popularity is either decreasing in the rate or the relation is convex (inverted U).

Our analysis extends Haski-Leventhal (2009) in a few directions. Firstly, she used data collected in 2005 and 2006 in the first wave of Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (SHARE). We use more current data collected in 2015 in the sixth wave of the SHARE survey. This allows us to include Central and Eastern European countries (CEE) into the analysis of volunteering among elderly that did not participate in the first wave of the SHARE survey. This extension is important since up to date the majority of the volunteering studies have been based on data from the United States or Western Europe ((Casiday et al. 2008)). This is unfortunate since remarkable different life courses of Western and Eastern Europeans should lead to new and interesting insights (**Sokolowski 2001**). Plagnol and Huppert (2010) and the rates from the OECD publications cited above show that the rates of formal volunteering in Eastern and Central Europe are significantly lower than in Western Europe. Inclusion of those countries gives us more variation while studying the relation between its popularity and QoL. Secondly, in the first wave of the SHARE survey volunteering had to be identified by a question on activities

conducted during last 4 weeks preceeding the interview. From the wave 4 the respondents are asked about such activities during last 12 months. This change has made the rates of volunteering in the SHARE much closer to the rates published by the OECD. Third, we measure an association between volunteering and QoL by the Kendall tau-b correlation coefficient while Haski-Leventhal (2009) used the Pearson correlations. We test the statistical significance of the differences between the correlation coefficients what was not done in the previous study. We think that this step is important since some differences are small and it is not obvious if they are statistically meaningful. Fourthly, We use the CASP-12 index as a measure of QoL among elderly. The CASP-12 is a shorter version of the CASP-19 that was created as a measure of quality of life (QoL) in older ages. The measure is based on the needs-satisfaction theory (Maslow, 1943; Doyal and Gough, 1991). QoL using the CASP is assessed depending on the level of implementation needs in four areas relevant to the positive experience of older age: the possibility of influencing one's own surroundings (Control), autonomous decision-making (Autonomy), self-realization and taking pleasure in surroundings (Control), autonomous decision-making (Autonomy), self-realization and taking pleasure in life (Pleasure) (Hyde (2003)). Finally, we extend the descriptive statistical analysis by a regression analysis to control for possible confounding factors. We are also interested in identifying a selection effect into volunteering that can explain, at least, partly the relation found in the descriptive analysis.

1 Data

We use data from the wave 6 of the Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (SHARE). The dataset provides wide range of information on the socio-economic status, health, and family relationships of people in age 50 or more in 18 European countries. The dataset includes information from 68 231 interviews (CAPI) conducted in 2015 in 18 countries - 11 countries were included in the wave 1 (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Israel, Italy, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland) and 9 countries entered the survey later on (Czech Republic, Poland, Luxemburg, Portugal, Slovenia, Estonia and Croatia). SHARE applies a concept of ex-ante harmonisation: there is one common generic questionnaire that is translated into the national languages using an internet based translation tool and processed automatically in a common CAPI instrument. In each participating country a probability sample was drawn. Due to different institutional conditions a uniform sampling design was impossible. For example, a simple random selection of households, from the central population register was used in Denmark, while complex multistage design was applied in Greece. The household level response rate ranged from 30.3% in Luxemburg to 69.3% in Greece. Bergmann et al. (2017)

In the paper we consider the formal volunteering that is conducted within a formal organisational structure, is self-governing, is not profit distributing and is independent of government. We do not consider the informal volunteering such as providing unpaid help to a friend or neighbour. The lengthy and detailed discussion of challenges to measuring volunteering can be found in Salamon et al. (2017). Volunteering is identified through respondent's answer to a question about activities done in 12 months preceeding the survey. We consider as a volunteer a person who gave a positive answer to a question: "Have you done any of these activities in the last month: Done voluntary or charity work." Our definition of the volunteering is consistent with the UN ¹ and the OECD approaches in Oecd (2015) and Oecd (2016). The same approach was previously used in Haski-Leventhal (2009). Comparison of different rates are presented below.

¹United Nations Volunteers Programme: Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly on the implementation of the outcome of the world summit for social development and further initiatives. Volunteering and social development. A/AC.253/16/Add.7. United Nations; 2000.

Table 1: Volunteering rates (%)

	Wave1	Oecd5	Wave6
AT	8.5	19.7	20.1
BE	15.6	22.5	26.6
DK	17.7	29.2	31.4
FR	14.2	26.8	22.9
DE	10.8	21.7	23.9
GR	3.1	.	7.0
IS	11.9	13.9	15.5
IT	6.7	11.9	11.8
NL	21.9	37.9	.
SE	2.4	.	6.3
S	18.0	13.3	14.7
CH	14.5	28.1	29.5
CZ	.	7.0	8.9
PL	.	2.3	3.4
LU	.	22.8	24.7
HU	.	6.9	.
PT	.	4.9	9.6
SL	.	15.1	12.2
EE	.	6.8	8.8

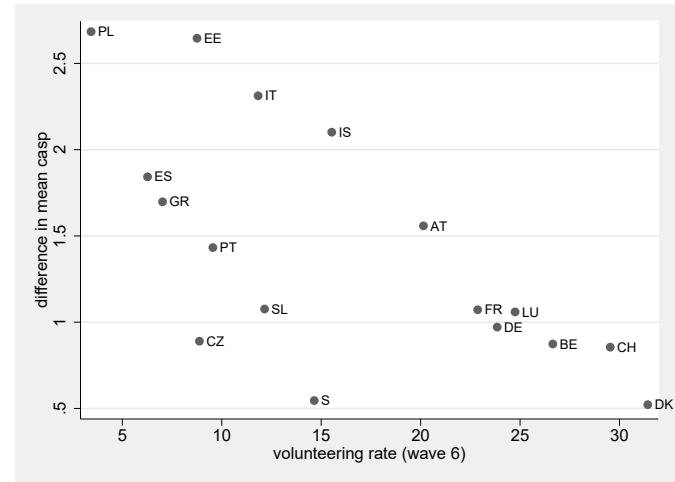
The rates for the wave 1 are lower than those for the wave 5 and the wave 6. There is not much difference between the last two columns. The rates for the Central and East European countries are among the lowest ones. For Poland we get the rate below 4%. The rates for Hungary, Estonia and Czech Republic are slightly bigger but they are below 9%. Slovenia is the only country with the rate above 10% among formerly centrally-planned economies. The rates in CEEs are on levels similar to observed in Southern Europe - Greece (7%), Spain (6%), Italy (below 12%), Portugal (below 10%). The country pattern observed in Table 1 fits well to the results known previously in the literature. First of all, there is a large variation in rates. Secondly, the highest rates are seen for Northern and Western European countries - the Netherlands (close to 50%), Denmark, Switzerland and Belgium (around 30%) and the lowest rates in Eastern and Southern Europe.

The low rates in Southern and Eastern Europe may be partly due to tight family bonds in these countries and low welfare services. Elderly in Southern and Eastern European countries more often take care of grandchildren what limits their possibility to be involved in formal volunteering (Dykstra and Fokkema, 2011; Hank, 2007; Myck on grandfathers). Experience of enforced volunteering in former socialistic countries where people were required to devote their time for social, cultural and political causes may be another cause of low rates in Eastern Europe (Kuti, 2004; Anheier and Salamon, 1999, p.44). The experience of forced volunteering may lower the desire to provide assistance to others by making the "volunteering became obsolete" for the current elderly. On the other hand, the rates in some formerly socialistic countries - Czech Rep., Estonia or Slovenia - are currently higher than in Southern Europe. This makes us to speculate that historical reasons are not the main obstacles to low rates in those countries. Even if some people have unpleasant memories of volunteering in the past there are more general causes such as economic development that explain diversity in the rates of volunteering. We believe that an economic progress in Central and Eastern Europe that have been observed since the collapse of the communism may increase propensity to volunteering among elderly.

The average levels of quality of life among volunteers are higher than among nonvolunteers in all countries. The highest values of casp are for volunteers in Denmark, Austria and Switzerland. The lowest values for non-volunteers in Greece, Portugal and Italy.

Table 2: Quality of Life and volunteering (Average Casp)

	Volunteers	Non-volunteers	diff	p
AT	42.3	40.7	1.6	0.00
BE	40.6	39.7	0.9	0.00
DK	42.6	42.0	0.5	0.05
FR	40.5	39.4	1.1	0.00
DE	41.0	40.0	1.0	0.00
GR	34.9	33.2	1.7	0.00
IS	37.9	35.8	2.1	0.00
IT	38.7	36.4	2.3	0.00
ES	39.7	37.9	1.8	0.00
S	40.8	40.2	0.5	1.45
CH	42.1	41.3	0.9	0.00
CZ	37.4	36.5	0.9	0.10
PL	40.9	38.2	2.7	0.15
LU	41.9	40.8	1.1	0.03
PT	36.8	35.4	1.4	0.40
SL	40.8	39.7	1.1	0.00
EE	39.7	37.1	2.6	0.00

Figure 1: Change in quality of life v volunteering rate

The means in Eastern European countries (Poland, Estonia, Czech Republic) are higher than in Southern European for both volunteers and non-volunteers. The distributions of casp for volunteers and nonvolunteers show higher concentration of large values among volunteers (Appendix). The differences in the means decrease in the volunteering rate. The differences in Denmark, Switzerland, Belgium and Germany are less than 1.0. In countries where the rates are low the differences are above 1.5 - in Poland it is 2.7, in Spain 1.8, in Greece 1.7 and in Estonia 2.6. The negative relation suggests that "more volunteers in a country makes smaller increase in a volunteer wellbeing".

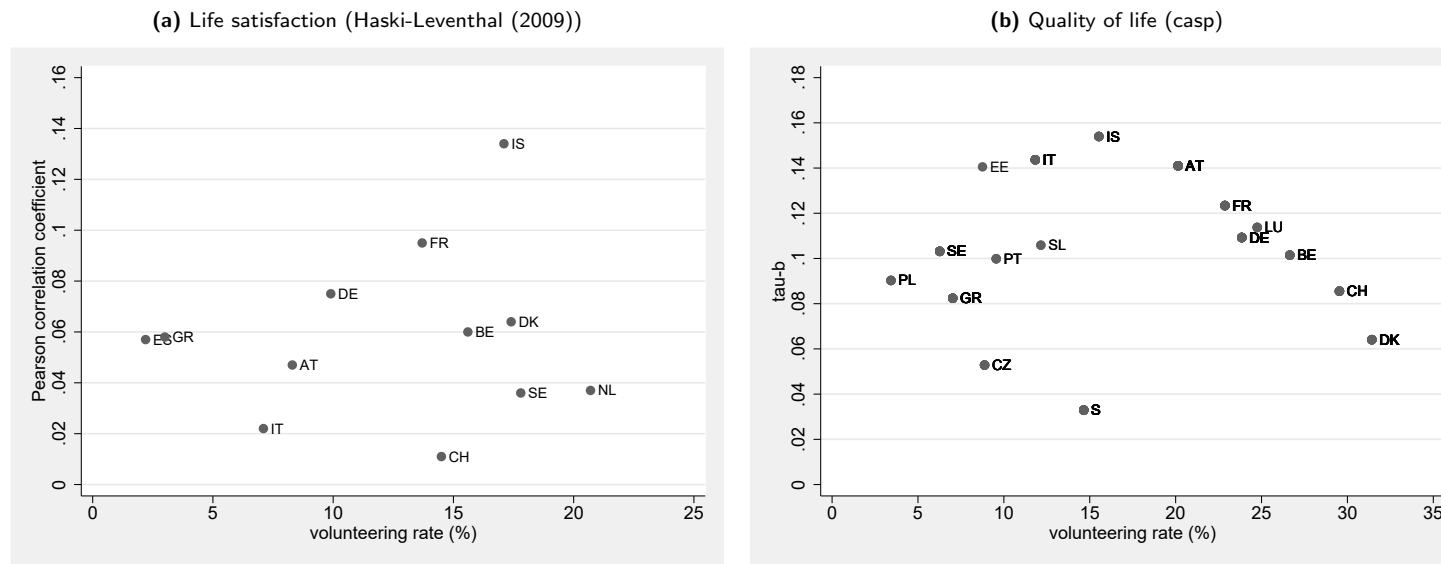
Figure 1 shows bigger heterogeneity of the rates among the low rate countries. In Czech Republic, Portugal and Estonia the rates are similar but the absolute differences in the means are significantly different. At the same time the rates in Czech Republic and Slovenia are lower than in France, Germany, Luxemburg but the differences in means are at similar levels in all these countries. This comparison suggests that the large rates are associated with smaller impact on wellbeing what is consistent with findings in Haski-Leventhal (2009) and Plagnol and Huppert (2010). It seems that country specific factors do not play a significant role among those countries. Whatever the rate is the impact of volunteering on average QoL is the same. Larger heterogeneity among the low rate countries suggests a bigger role of country specific factors. Low popularity of volunteering exists with a large range of differences in casp. The possible explanation is that in highly developed countries formal volunteering is well organized with the efficient help from government but many tasks done by volunteers are not of high importance. In less developed countries there are more barriers what lowers the supply of volunteers but the realized tasks are truly relevant. This makes volunteers to have strong feelings of being involved in necessary and highly valued activities. However it does not explain why there is so large heterogeneity among the low rate countries.

2 Results

In this part we use the Kendall's tau-b correlation coefficient to investigate the association between the quality of life index (casp) and involvement in volunteering. The Kendall's correlation coefficient may be used for either ordinal or interval data what makes it the better measure than the Pearson correlation coefficient that may be used only for interval data. Additionally, the Kendall's tau is less sensitive to outliers. The Kendall's correlation

coefficients range from 15.4% (Israel) to 3.3% (Sweden) suggesting a non-linear association between volunteering and QoL. The values of Kendall's tau-b correlation coefficients and the Pearson correlations coefficients from Haski-Leventhal (2009) are compared below:

Figure 2: Volunteering and wellbeing : popraw format



Notes: (a) wave 1 (2006-2007), (b) wave 6 (2015)

Source: Haski-Leventhal (2009) [Table 3] and own calculations based on SHARE Wave 6.

The significance tests confirm concave relation between the effect of volunteering on QoL and values of the volunteering rate. The p-values for the tests are given in the Appndix. The point estimate for tau-b for Germany (0.109) is not statistically different to the estimate for Slovenia (0.106), Spain, Belgium, Portugal, Poland, Switzerland, Croatia and Greece (0.082). This homogenous group in dimension of the impact is highly heterogeneous in dimension of the rate of volunteering. At the same time the tau-b for Estonia (0.141) is statistically different to the tau-b estimates in Slovenia (0.106), Poland(0.090) and Czech Republic (0.053) but it is the same as in France, Luxemburg and Austria. The tests confirm the finding in Haski-Leventhal (2009) about non-linear pattern of associations between the rate of volunteering and its impact on wellbeing. Figure 2 shows that our approach based on the tau-b measure and casp index makes that finding even more convincing. Haski-Leventhal (2009) discussed two explanations why concavity of the relation between the volunteering rate and its impact on wellbeing. The first one stress differences in motives for volunteering according to the economic development of a country. In highly developed countries with the strong welfare system volunteering is a part of a social norm and it is not always related to solving real problems. In less developed countries with weaker welfare state people are involved in volunteering only because their altruistic preferences without feeling any social pressure. That is why they more often feel the sense of fulfillment. The second explanation is based on the Social Origins Theory (Salamon and Anheier 1998) . This argument states that the state through its generous social welfare policy satisfies demand for most social needs efficiently constraining supply of volunteering by non-governmental organizations. This crowding out effect does not exist in countries with less generous social welfare policy. In those countries volunteers are usually involved in solving the important social problems what increases their subjective wellbeing. Both arguments help to understand why volunteering can have a limited impact on wellbeing in rich countries. However, they do not explain why that impact may also be low in less developed countries. [AOK:

something is missing here. It would be nice to have some discussion on reasons why the association may be low when the rate is low. Any idea ?]

However, it is possible that the low associations observed in these countries are due to selection into volunteering people who [i tak sa zadowolni, nawet bez wolonariatu]. Table 3 presents descriptive statistics for volunteers and non-volunteers together with the significance tests for the differences in means.

Table 3: Descriptive statistics

	edu0	edu1	p	age0	age1	p	sex0	sex1	p	h0	h1	p	inc0	inc1	p
AT	9.2	10.3	0.0	67.6	67.1	28.4	56.5	56.8	89.3	26.2	14.3	0.0	42.8	45.6	16.8
BE	12.5	13.4	0.0	65.2	64.6	5.6	51.1	49.1	23.9	18.1	12.8	0.0	48.6	50.3	26.0
DK	13.4	14.1	0.0	64.9	64.4	25.3	51.6	52.2	78.0	18.0	12.0	0.0	91.8	91.7	97.8
FR	11.7	13.3	0.0	66.4	65.6	4.1	53.2	49.2	7.2	28.4	19.1	0.0	40.7	43.6	10.5
DE	12.7	13.8	0.0	65.8	65.1	6.4	51.2	47.0	3.1	33.4	28.5	0.6	44.1	48.2	0.4
S	11.8	12.3	0.6	69.0	69.8	4.4	50.6	57.1	0.9	20.1	20.0	95.0	48.5	45.7	0.9
CH	8.7	9.3	0.7	67.7	67.0	7.8	54.0	51.4	25.2	16.1	7.2	0.0	107.2	115.4	4.9
LU	11.9	14.0	0.0	64.2	63.0	2.4	51.2	49.1	52.0	27.0	11.4	0.0	94.6	104.5	2.1
GR	10.0	10.6	2.9	65.5	64.7	16.7	50.2	68.3	0.0	21.5	22.8	62.8	24.8	22.0	16.3
IS	12.8	14.6	0.0	67.1	68.2	7.7	54.0	56.2	57.2	22.2	25.8	28.1	33.5	39.2	0.2
PT	6.7	9.2	0.0	65.8	65.6	80.0	44.9	53.5	10.1	56.4	49.5	19.0	18.6	21.0	26.6
IT	9.4	10.8	0.0	65.7	64.8	5.5	48.4	54.5	1.4	30.7	22.1	0.0	26.7	29.8	0.0
ES	9.3	12.2	0.0	67.4	65.8	0.8	50.0	56.8	3.5	26.3	17.3	0.1	22.5	27.4	0.0
CZ	12.4	13.7	0.0	67.0	67.7	10.8	56.9	60.5	19.9	38.8	29.9	0.1	6.9	7.3	11.6
PL	10.6	13.2	0.0	64.1	61.2	2.0	50.2	56.5	40.1	42.0	26.1	3.1	9.3	10.1	63.7
SL	10.8	11.8	0.0	66.0	63.9	0.0	54.2	52.4	47.5	32.0	27.7	7.4	18.3	19.0	43.3
EE	12.0	14.0	0.0	66.9	63.3	0.0	59.1	61.9	29.7	65.7	44.9	0.0	7.9	9.6	0.0

Both groups are different in their socio-economic characteristics. In all countries volunteers have better formal education (higher average number of years of education). Everywhere the shares of people with tertiary education are higher among volunteers, while the shares of people with primary education are lower. In countries with low volunteering the differences in a education structure are larger. In Poland the ratio of a share of people with a tertiary education among volunteers over a share of such people among non-volunteers is 3.49. The respective ratios for Spain, Czech Republic, Estonia are: 2.77, 2.29 and 1.99, while for for Denmark it is 1.23, for Belgium 1.45, and for Switzerland it is 1.54.

Differences in average age more diverse among countries. The means are not statistically different in Austria and in Denmark among Western European countries. In other countries from that group volunteers are younger on average than non-volunteers. The exception is Sweden where volunteers are older. The histograms reveal in Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Switzerland and Luxemburg there are noticeably larger shares of volunteers in the age group of 65-70. In Greece and Portugal average ages in both groups are not statistically different. In Israel volunteers are older while in Spain and Italy they are younger on average than non-volunteers. In Czech Republic the averages are not significantly different while in Poland, Estonia and Slovenia volunteers are younger. The differences in average age in these countries are above 2 years what seems to be larger differences than in countries from other groups. In Poland and Estonia there are larger shares of people in the age group 50-55 among volunteers. In Slovenia the difference is due to smaller share of volunteers older than 70 years. [Comment ?]

In many countries the shares of women and men among volunteers and non-volunteers are the same. In France and Germany there are more males involved in volunteering while in Switzerland the share of women among volunteers is larger. In Greece, Italy and Spain women are more often involved in volunteering than man. There

are no gender effect on volunteering in the CEE countries. Volunteers have better subjective health. In Table 2 we found that smaller fraction of volunteers declare at most fair subjective health. Only in Switzerland, Greece, Israel and in Portugal the fractions are the same. Our measure of income takes into account differences in purchasing power parities and economy of scale due to a number of people living in a household. We apply the modified OECD scale to control for decreasing living cost per person. We find no clear pattern between average income and volunteering. The differences in means are significant for Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, Luxemburg, Israel, Italy and Estonia. In all countries except Sweden average income among volunteers were higher than among non-volunteers. Conditional distributions of equivalized income (Appendix) present a much richer picture. In all Southern and Eastern European countries there are more people with high income among volunteers than among non-volunteers. In Western Europe it is observed only for Austria, Belgium, France, Germany. Sweden presents a unique case - there are more people with low income among volunteers. The distributions for Germany and Luxemburg reveal another interesting phenomenon. Namely, there is a small group of very rich people among non-volunteers that does not exist among volunteers.

Volunteers and non-volunteers differ according to socio-economic characteristics. Simple logit models confirm this. For each country education is significant variable explaining selection into volunteering. In majority of countries there is a selection according to age and subjective health, also.

Table 4: Logit: volunteering

	GR	IS	PT	IT	ES	CZ	PL	SL	EE
vol									
edu	1.046**	1.133***	1.128***	1.062***	1.110***	1.141***	1.284***	1.086***	1.151***
age: 60-70	1.038	1.607*	1.498	1.487**	1.319+	1.087	1.038	0.834	0.771+
age: 71+	0.984	1.879*	1.468	1.327*	1.310	1.629**	1.317	0.575***	0.821
female	1.008***	1.002	1.004+	1.003**	1.003**	1.003*	1.003	0.999	1.001
good health	1.002	1.001	1.002	0.999	0.999	1.004**	0.997	1.000	1.005**
poor health	1.002	1.004+	1.001	0.996**	0.996*	0.998	0.994+	1.000	0.996**
income	0.997	1.007*	0.996	1.012**	1.008**	1.006	1.000	1.001	1.033**
constant	0.031***	0.013***	0.030***	0.044***	0.016***	0.012***	0.002***	0.084***	0.017***
N	3372	1224	917	3567	3713	3674	1114	3077	3581
R2_p	0.025	0.048	0.050	0.027	0.051	0.039	0.085	0.020	0.070

Exponentiated coefficients

Table 5: Logit: volunteering

	AT	BE	DK	FR	DE	S	CH	LU
vol								
edu	1.042***	1.065***	1.052***	1.123***	1.073***	1.051***	1.020*	1.098***
age: 60-70	1.193	1.533***	1.255*	1.665***	1.200+	1.317	1.415**	1.632**
age: 71+	1.144	1.118	1.083	1.338*	1.147	1.402+	1.231	0.998
female	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.999	0.999	1.002*	0.999	1.001
good health	1.004***	1.003***	1.002*	1.001	1.003**	1.001	1.003**	1.003+
poor health	0.995***	0.998+	0.997+	0.997**	0.999	1.000	0.992***	0.993***
income	1.001	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.001	0.993**	1.001+	1.000
constant	0.148***	0.144***	0.197***	0.068***	0.112***	0.089***	0.268***	0.091***
N	2502	4071	3054	2684	3478	3183	2259	1168
R2_p	0.026	0.023	0.013	0.044	0.019	0.011	0.022	0.064

Exponentiated coefficients

The Pearson's as well as the Kendall's correlation coefficients do not control for confounding socio-economic variables. That is why the previously discussed relation between popularity of volunteering and its impact on QoL may give us the false picture.

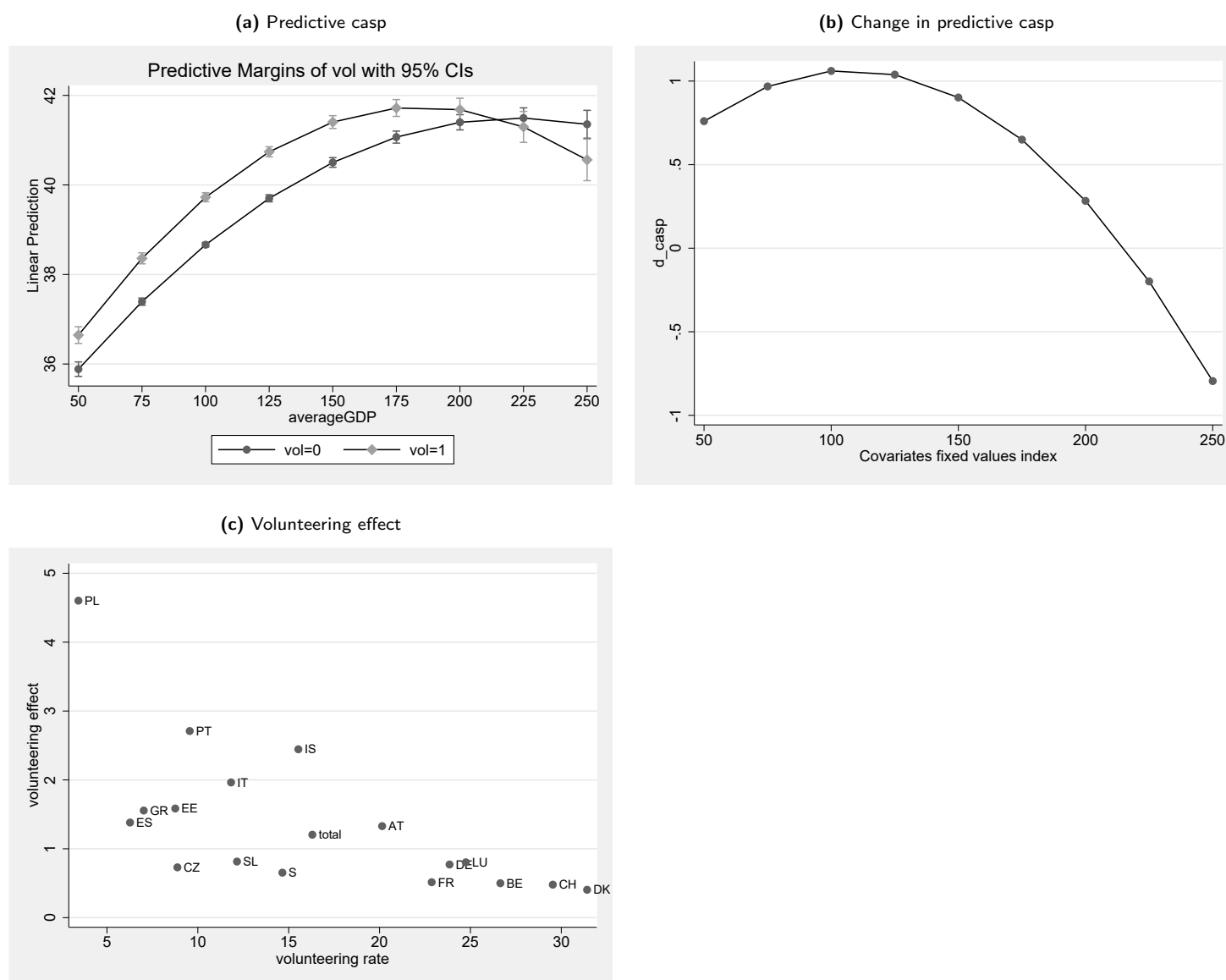
Volunteering and casp (regression analysis)

We have shown that volunteers and non-volunteers differ in their socio-economic characteristics in ways specific for each country. Now, we ask whether those differences in the characteristics influence the the impact of volunteering on QoL. We analyze that issue making two different assumptions. Firstly, we assume that the it is possible to identify the common relation for all countries between volunteering and QoL.

Table 6: CASP vs. volunteering (OLS)- pooling - dodac oszacowania dla krajow

	casp
vol0Xgdp	0.08***
vol1Xgdp	0.10***
vol0Xgdp2	-0.00***
vol1Xgdp2	-0.00***
age:60-70	0.45***
age:70+	0.11+
female	0.03
edu:lowsec.	1.16***
edu:upsec.	1.96***
edu:tert.	2.01***
hlt:excellent	-1.34***
hlt:very good	-2.36***
hlt:good	-4.07***
hlt:fair	-6.17***
income	0.00***
constant	32.81***
N	45764
R2	0.20

Figure 3: Pooling: popraw format



In this approach the country effect depends on explanatory variables and any deviation from its conditional expected value is treated as a random event. It means that the deviations from the grand mean are not related to country characteristics included in a model. This leads to the random effect specification. The second approach assumes lack of the universal relation for all countries due to the strong country effects that encompasses the differences in history, cultural factors and institutions that are seen as the unique characteristic of a country. Here for each country we need to estimate the separate model. This is consistent with findings that "contextual factors, such as a country's historical background or institutions, determine levels of volunteering to a large extent" (Plagnol and Huppert (2010)). This assumption leads to the fixed effect specification in which the estimates for one country give us no information on the effect for other ones. The fixed effect approach does not allow for predicting changes in relation between volunteering and QoL in a given country using the predictions for other countries.

The first approach can be represented by a multilevel linear regression model. Below we consider a model with a varying intercept for countries and varying coefficient for impact of volunteering on QoL. Random intercept for each country allows for different values of QoL within a country by gender, age and other control variables. In the model we make the volunteering parameter to depend on the rate of volunteering :

$$casp_{i,c} \sim N(\beta_0 + u_c + \beta_{1,c} * vol_{i,c} + \gamma * Z_{i,c}, \sigma_y^2) \quad (1)$$

$$\beta_{1,c} \sim N(\gamma_r * \ln(r_c), \sigma_r^2) \quad (2)$$

where r_c is a country volunteering rate calculated from the wave 6 of the SHARE survey.

The second approach is equivalent to the estimation of the separate models for each country :

$$casp_{i,c} = \beta_{0c} + \beta_{1c} * v_{i,c} + \gamma_c * Z_{i,c} + \epsilon_{i,c} \quad (3)$$

where $v_{i,c}$ is a binary variable equal to 1 if a person i from a country c is involved in volunteering and a matrix $Z_{i,c}$ includes the following controls : age, gender, education measured in years of formal education, a country average gdp per capita expressed in purchasing power parity in years X-Y and a equivalized household level income also in ppp units. In the model β_{0c} controls for country-specific factors and β_{1c} describes impact of volunteering on QoL. For each country we get the separate coefficient while controlling for the general country effect β_{0c} and a set of confounders. No restrictions are assumed on the variance of the error terms for each country.

Below we compare results from both models

Table 7: CASP vs. volunteering (OLS)- part 1

	AT	BE	DK	FR	DE	GR	IS	IT	ES
vol	1.02***	0.51**	0.28*	0.54**	0.59***	1.69***	1.55***	1.84***	1.18***
age	-0.02+	0.03***	0.01+	0.01	0.03***	-0.05***	0.05**	0.00	-0.05***
female	-0.26	-0.18	0.24+	-0.41*	-0.01	-0.61***	0.00	-0.47**	-0.20
edu	-0.05**	0.04+	-0.03+	0.12***	0.07**	0.12***	0.22***	0.03	0.06***
1b.sphus	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2.sphus	-0.90**	-0.83**	-1.38***	-0.67+	-0.81*	-1.27***	-1.18*	-2.15***	-0.45
3.sphus	-2.44***	-2.51***	-2.20***	-2.04***	-2.14***	-2.60***	-0.84	-2.73***	-2.19***
4.sphus	-4.98***	-5.10***	-3.99***	-4.39***	-4.37***	-4.70***	-1.88**	-4.58***	-4.43***
5.sphus	-6.12***	-8.30***	-6.25***	-6.22***	-6.68***	-6.26***	-4.75***	-5.90***	-7.34***
income	0.00	0.00	0.00+	0.00	0.01***	0.00	0.01	0.08***	0.02***
constant	45.02***	39.96***	43.05***	40.12***	39.66***	38.04***	30.38***	36.93***	42.85***
N	2487	3988	3011	2607	3410	3364	1163	3556	3643

Table 8: CASP vs. volunteering (OLS) - part 2

	S	CH	CZ	PL	LU	PT	SL	EE
vol	0.64**	0.46*	0.48+	1.62*	0.40	1.18*	0.70**	1.41***
age	-0.04***	0.00	-0.01	0.01	0.05***	-0.00	-0.03**	-0.03**
female	0.28+	-0.17	-0.07	-0.28	0.20	0.01	-0.00	0.76***
edu	-0.08***	-0.01	-0.02	0.23***	0.06*	0.04	0.11***	0.06*
1b.sphus	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2.sphus	-0.95***	-0.95**	-1.24**	-1.17	-1.35**	-1.82*	-0.93*	-1.39*
3.sphus	-2.51***	-2.92***	-2.87***	-3.19**	-2.74***	-2.56***	-2.82***	-2.50***
4.sphus	-3.96***	-4.52***	-4.19***	-5.03***	-4.63***	-4.12***	-4.23***	-4.57***
5.sphus	-6.06***	-5.33***	-6.73***	-7.16***	-7.51***	-6.87***	-6.44***	-7.40***
income	0.02***	0.00	0.05*	0.00	-0.00+	0.01*	0.01	0.15***
constant	44.90***	43.57***	40.12***	39.23***	39.94***	38.49***	43.35***	40.44***
N	3096	2220	3541	1103	1139	907	3031	3527

Table 9: Wellbeing v. volunteering (Multilevel Linear Model)

	casp
volunteering	0.90***
age: 60-70	0.42***
age: 71+	-0.08
female	-0.08+
edu	0.06***
health:excellent	6.82***
health:very good	5.74***
health:good	4.35***
health:fair	2.37***
income	0.00***
gdp	0.25***
gdp sq	-0.00**
BE	-1.74***
DK	-0.12
FR	-1.54***
DE	-0.81**
S	-1.24***
CH	1.70
LU	21.96*
GR	-6.87***
IS	-4.48***
PT	-3.02***
IT	-3.83***
ES	-2.47***
CZ	-3.10***
PL	1.38**
constant	22.27***
sd(vol)	0.23***
sd(Residual)	4.51***
N	45764

Volunteering has a positive impact on QoL regardless the approach has been chosen. The multilevel model estimated is 0.91 and is it statistically significant at the level less than 1%. The fixed effect approach estimates range from 0.28 for Denmark to 1.84 for Italy. All coefficients are significant except the one for Luxemburg. The high point estimates are for the low rate countries such as: Greece, Italy, Spain, Israel, Poland, Estonia. The low estimates are for: Denmark, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland and Czech Republic.

Estimates on the control socio-economics variables have expected signs. Better subjective health and higher income increase QoL. Age is positively related to QoL in rich countries - Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Israel, Luxemburg - and negatively in Austria, Greece, Spain, Sweden, Czech Rep., Slovenia, Estonia. In Poland, Switzerland, Portugal, France, Italy the age variable has appeared to be insignificant. In the random effect approach

the age effect showed up with the minus sign. The female effect turned out to have different directions among the analysed countries, also. It has shown higher impact for women in two Scandinavian countries - Denmark and Sweden - and in Estonia. Average effect from the random effect approach suggests lower impact for women. In majority of countries education showed positive effect on QoL. Only in Austria, Denmark, Sweden we get statistically significant negative values. Income has either positive effect or it has no effect on QoL.

The fixed effect approach allows us to decompose the within country difference in means of QoL into the volunteering effect and the effect due to differences in characteristics (the endowment effect): ²

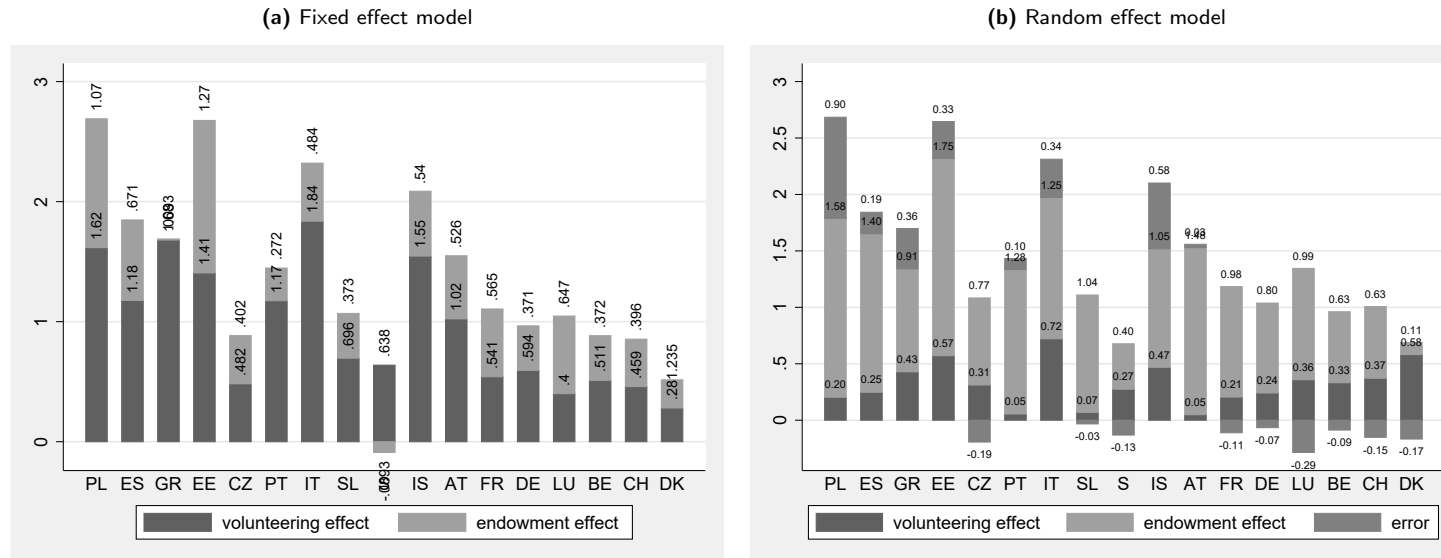
$$E[casp_c|v_{i,c} = 1] - E[casp_c|v_{i,c} = 0] = \beta_{1c} + \gamma_c * [\bar{Z}_c(1) - \bar{Z}_c(0)] \quad (4)$$

with $\widehat{casp}_c(1)$ being a predicted average QoL for a volunteer and $\widehat{casp}_c(0)$ being a predicted average QoL for a non-volunteer. The first term measures the volunteering effect for country c , the second term absorbs the effect of the difference in the values of covariates among volunteers and non volunteers (the endowment effect) with $\bar{Z}_c(1)$ being average endowment among volunteers and $\bar{Z}_c(0)$ among non-volunteers.

The mean difference in QoL in the random effect approach can be decomposed as:

$$E[casp_c|v_{i,c} = 1] - E[casp_c|v_{i,c} = 0] = [\beta_1 + u_r(c)] + \gamma * (\bar{Z}_c(1) - \bar{Z}_c(0)) + [\bar{\epsilon}_{i,c}(1) - \bar{\epsilon}_{i,c}(0)] \quad (5)$$

Figure 4: Volunteering and wellbeing (OLS)



Notes:

Source: Own calculations based on SHARE Wave 6.

The results from both models are consistent with the previous finding on a weak relation between volunteering and QoL in highly developed countries. This conclusion is robust to the used approach in modelling. However,

²It is possible since $\widehat{casp}_c = \widehat{casp}_c$

the models disagree in the predictions of importance of volunteering in the low rate countries. Controlling for confounders in the fixed effect approach shows rather decreasing relation between popularity of volunteering at a country level and its impact on QoL. It shows higher effect in Italy, Greece, Israel and Poland than in the countries with the higher rates such as Denmark, Switzerland, Luxemburg, Sweden. This negative relation is consistent with the two explanations given in the Haski-Leventhal (2009). On the other hand, the random effect approach gives us a solution resembling a non-linear relation with the highest impact in Italy and Israel. In countries with low rates and in these where they are high the impacts are weaker. This makes the results from the random effect model a bit like those obtained with the Kendall's correlations.

Controlling for age, gender, education, economic development of a country and household's income generally decreases an impact of volunteering in QoL. The fixed effect approach suggests especially significant effect of a selection into volunteering in Poland and Estonia. Selection is also important in highly developed countries like Luxemburg and France. The selection effect seems to have smaller role in Italy, Greece, Spain, Portugal and Israel. In Sweden the selection plays a minor role what has been expected after comparing the socio-economic characteristics of volunteers and non-volunteers. It is interesting that in two formerly socialistic countries - Poland and Estonia - selection into volunteering is more important than in Southern Europe. It suggests that nowadays volunteering of elderly in CEE countries adds relatively less to average QoL than in Southern Europe. It may be because volunteers in CEEs are more often selected from those who had high level of QoL even without the volunteering. This may be related to weak infrastructure for volunteering in these countries what, as was pointed in Plagnol and Huppert (2010), causes that only highly motivated individuals engage in voluntary activities.

3 Discussion

We applied three empirical methods to discuss an association of volunteering with QoL. Firstly, we calculated the Kendall tau-b correlation coefficients and compared our results with those discussed in Haski-Leventhal (2009). Then, we applied a multivariate linear approach to QoL with a set of controls for socio-economic characteristics as exogenous variables. We estimated the model with two different specifications - as the fixed effect model and as the random effect one.

We were interested in the two issues in this study: a) whether the relation between volunteering rates for elderly and QoL differ according to countries and b) how that relation changes in the volunteering rates. We found the support for our first hypothesis regardless of the method used. The results of the Kendall tau-b correlation analysis as well as the estimates of a multivariate linear regression models showed higher QoL among volunteers. They showed different association between volunteering and QoL according to countries, too. This variation between countries was observed even after controlling for socio-demographic characteristics such as age, education, gender and income. Our results are in line with the previous studies (Haski-Leventhal (2009), Plagnol and Huppert (2010)). The multivariate approach reveals that part of an unconditional correlation between volunteering and QoL may be explained by the selection of people into the volunteering sector. Not taking into account differences in characteristics between volunteers and non-volunteers leads to the overestimation of the impact of volunteering on QoL since volunteers are recruited from people whose characteristics are positively correlated with QoL. Our study showed that the significance of selection effect differs according to countries. Despite that, the volunteering effect

on QoL is still quite strongly diverse according to countries even after controlling for possible effect due to selection.

We did not find the clear answer for the second question. Both regression approaches suggested the weaker volunteering effect in countries with high rates. This conclusion seems to be robust in all applied methods. Conclusions differ in regard of countries with the low volunteering rates. The fixed effect approach, that assumes significant role for country specific cultural and historical factors, showed stronger effect in those countries than in the first group. This is consistent with the statement in Plagnol and Huppert (2010) that stress the role of selection into the volunteering sector - " ... volunteers in countries with a low frequency of volunteering displayed higher values on several of the wellbeing measures than those in other countries. (...) in countries where volunteering is generally less common, those who do participate in formal or informal volunteering have the highest levels of well-being. It may be that in these countries, only those who are most likely to benefit from volunteering actually volunteer". Unfortunately the fixed effect approach does not allow us to predict what would be the effect of increasing popularity of volunteering in these countries on the basis of the results for other countries. But some speculative conclusion may be raised from the random effect approach that assumes the common model for all countries. The result of that approach suggests the strongest association between volunteering and QoL among countries with the mid-range volunteering rates. Hence, we allow that increasing the popularity of volunteering in countries where the current rates are low may decrease in average impact of it on QoL but we do not expect this to be significant in size.

The development of volunteer programs that maximize outcomes requires better understanding of the mechanisms through which this particular activity produces positive effects on older adults(...) A clearer understanding about differential effects of volunteering could guide program development around targeted recruitment to increase health outcomes as well as provide insights into the causal relationship between volunteering and health. (...) In sum, there is a general understanding about positive effects of volunteering on older adults. We need more clarity about specific conditions of volunteering that produce these positive effects. At this point, it appears that less advantaged older adults, in terms of social, economic, and health resources, benefit more from volunteering, but we do not have enough evidence to advocate for targeting certain groups to maximize volunteer outcomes. There is little specific research on program features that maximize outcomes. Such research would clearly inform the development of interventions that are most beneficial to older adults. Ultimately, researchers need to vary conditions of the volunteer experience (the amount and type of work, etc.) but this experimental methodology will be very challenging. (...) Clearly, selection is an issue in this work, as older adults with higher levels of well-being volunteer. The work of Thoits and Hewitt (2001), Li and Ferraro (2005), and Hao (2008) documented that both forces operate—that is, older adults with higher levels of well-being volunteer and also experience positive effects because of volunteer participation. : Morrow-Howell 2010.

We believe that one issue in regard of the relation between volunteering and QoL raised in the study needs the special attention. This study is built up on the previous research discussed in Haski-Leventhal (2009). Our study extends it by considering Central and Eastern European countries. The volunteering rates are low in all these countries. This made the sample of countries more diverse. We showed that the shares of volunteers in the age group of 50-65 in Poland, Estonia and Slovenia are rather high. The shares of older elderly - in age 70+ - in those countries are low. All of the above findings - low volunteering rates and age structure - may be related to age cohort effects. Participants of the SHARE survey analysed in the study had their working career years during the socialistic regime. This might have two negative consequences on their willingness to participate in volunteering.

First, volunteering can badly associate them. Secondly, they are in bad health due to poor working conditions in the past (Wahrendorf, 2016). These factors make the population of elderly in CEE in the studied sample significantly different to their peers (równieśnicy) in other European countries. But we may assume that they are much different to future elderly in CEE whose will be much like their peers from Western Europe. All of these suggests that we may be in favor of the fixed effect approach for the current analysis that's goal is to describe differences among countries. At the same time we may prefer the random effect model when we are looking for predictioni how volunteering will influence QoL in countries where the current rates are low.

It is unfortunate that the volunteering is not very popular among elderly in less developed European countries. However if our understanding of the selection into volunteering is correct we should expect increase in the rates even without any special public policy.

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4 Appendix: additional descriptive statistics

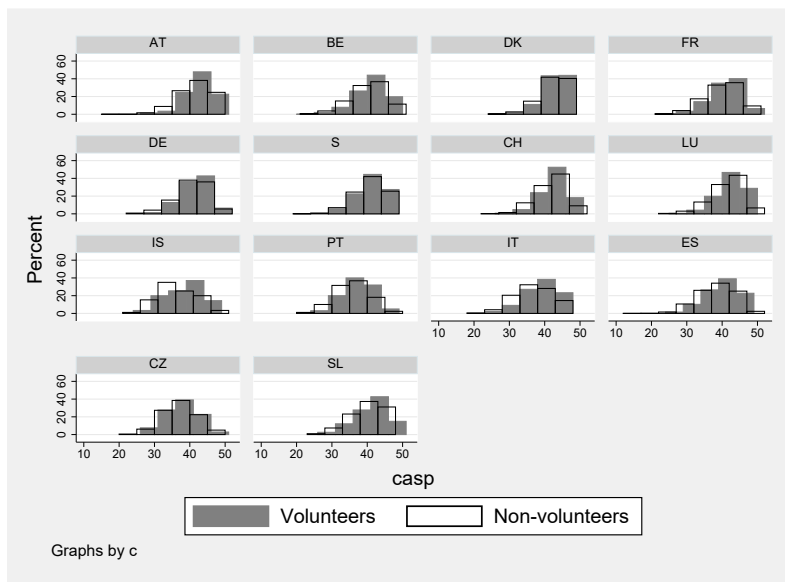


Figure 5: Distribution of CASP by countries

Table 10: Significance test - Kendall tau correlations

		IT	AT	EE	FR	LU	DE	SL	SE	BE	PT	PL	CH	CR	GR	DK	CZ	
IS	15.4	64.1	58.4	54.2	19.0	15.8	5.0	3.6	2.1	1.8	5.3	1.5	0.6	0.4	0.2	0.0	0.0	0
IT	14.4	X	87.9	83.8	23.7	20.7	3.6	2.2	0.9	0.6	5.7	1.0	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0
AT	14.1		X	98.0	36.2	28.2	8.9	6.1	3.4	2.6	9.5	2.5	0.9	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.0	0
EE	14.1			X	31.9	25.9	5.7	3.7	1.6	1.2	7.8	1.6	0.4	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0
FR	12.3				X	69.8	43.4	33.6	24.0	20.3	33.2	13.6	6.7	4.4	2.2	0.2	0.0	0
LU	11.4					X	85.5	74.9	65.6	60.6	63.6	39.6	28.6	22.9	19.7	4.9	1.3	0
DE	10.9						X	84.7	71.1	63.6	69.2	38.0	23.8	17.3	11.7	1.5	0.1	0
SL	10.6							X	87.0	79.1	80.1	47.3	31.5	23.6	17.5	2.5	0.3	0
SE	10.3								X	91.4	88.7	53.8	36.2	27.2	20.1	2.7	0.2	0
BE	10.1									X	94.5	59.3	41.0	31.2	24.1	3.5	0.3	0
PT	10.0										X	72.2	57.8	48.9	45.9	14.5	4.8	0
PL	9.0											X	84.3	73.2	71.4	24.6	8.5	1
CH	8.6												X	87.9	87.5	30.9	10.5	1
CR	8.2													X	98.9	38.7	14.3	1
GR	8.2														X	31.6	8.7	0
DK	6.4															X	54.6	1
CZ	5.3																X	2
S	3.3																	

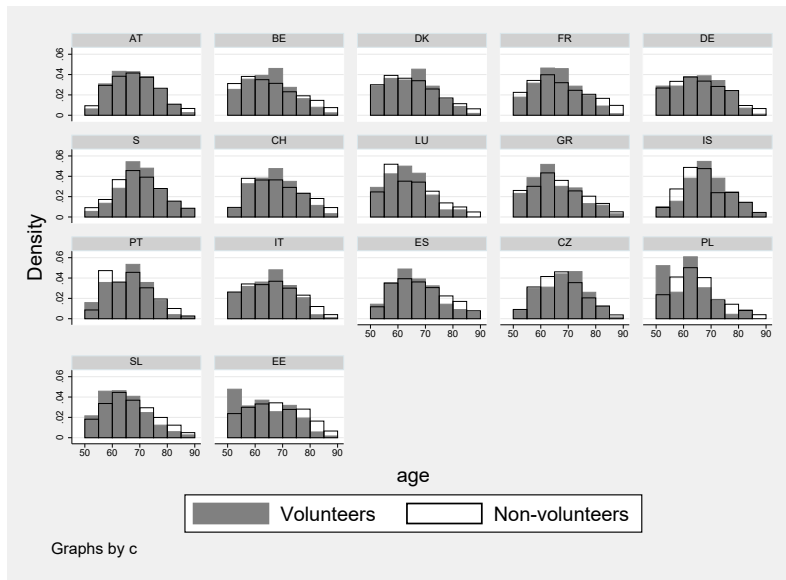


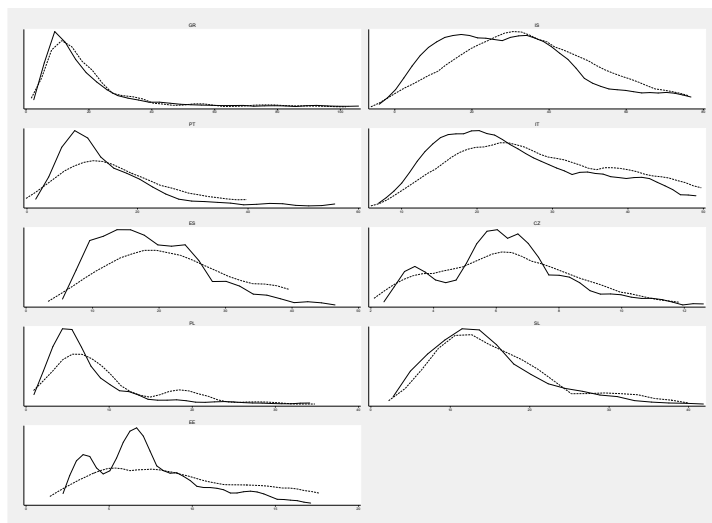
Figure 6: Age distribution

(1)					(1)				
	1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4
	rowpct	rowpct	rowpct	rowpct		rowpct	rowpct	rowpct	rowpct
AT	10.20	12.40	52.33	25.06	AT	4.54	9.98	49.18	36.30
BE	15.75	22.32	28.51	33.41	BE	7.45	17.99	25.94	48.62
DK	7.96	9.36	40.81	41.87	DK	5.94	6.34	34.74	52.97
FR	32.12	8.70	37.92	21.26	FR	15.77	5.69	39.85	38.69
DE	0.77	9.32	57.54	32.37	DE	0.00	6.61	53.36	40.02
S	20.16	14.36	33.97	31.50	S	18.53	11.16	33.47	36.84
CH	9.40	9.15	66.20	15.25	CH	5.84	8.32	62.34	23.50
LU	32.51	11.15	40.61	15.73	LU	16.14	9.49	46.84	27.53
GR	37.68	10.54	29.59	22.20	GR	32.05	11.58	27.03	29.34
IS	19.51	9.32	34.95	36.21	IS	9.79	6.70	35.05	48.45
PT	52.57	8.33	7.72	31.37	PT	23.76	14.85	8.91	52.48
IT	38.79	28.44	23.70	9.06	IT	23.61	27.68	35.84	12.88
ES	53.47	23.67	12.01	10.85	ES	28.20	19.17	22.56	30.08
CZ	10.39	26.60	49.37	13.64	CZ	4.80	14.41	49.44	31.36
PL	23.97	4.21	61.24	10.58	PL	4.35	0.00	58.70	36.96
SL	6.89	21.89	53.64	17.58	SL	2.29	15.33	54.69	27.69
EE	2.60	19.02	52.40	25.98	EE	0.28	9.09	38.92	51.70

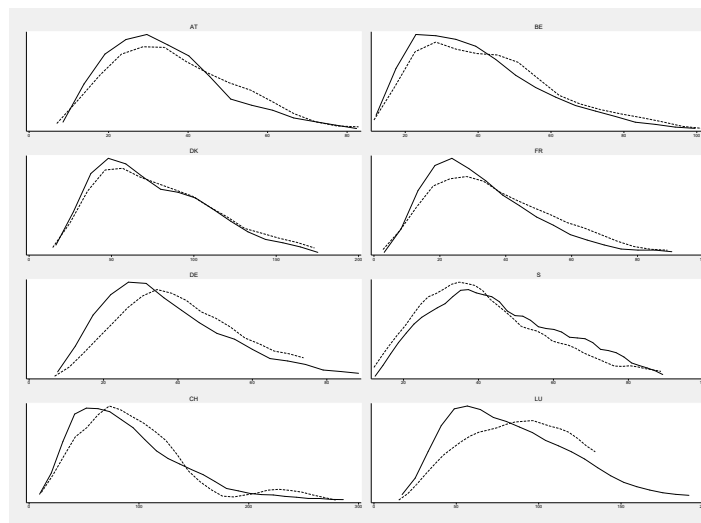
(1)					(1)				
	2	3	4	5		2	3	4	5
	rowpct	rowpct	rowpct	rowpct		rowpct	rowpct	rowpct	rowpct
AT	34.39	39.42	24.14	2.05	AT	48.64	37.02	13.25	1.09
BE	31.43	50.45	16.34	1.77	BE	40.59	46.61	12.13	0.67
DK	59.34	22.61	15.24	2.81	DK	67.77	20.24	10.17	1.81
FR	24.41	47.22	23.41	4.95	FR	31.09	49.78	16.50	2.63
DE	20.42	46.17	29.00	4.41	DE	28.14	43.39	26.46	2.02
S	44.24	35.64	17.95	2.18	S	45.68	34.32	17.68	2.32
CH	39.77	44.16	13.98	2.10	CH	50.51	42.34	6.57	0.58
LU	30.40	42.61	23.71	3.29	LU	44.94	43.67	10.13	1.27
GR	39.32	39.19	19.11	2.38	GR	43.24	33.98	18.53	4.25
IS	46.60	31.17	18.83	3.40	IS	47.94	26.29	24.74	1.03
PT	10.66	32.97	49.02	7.35	PT	15.84	34.65	42.57	6.93
IT	26.64	42.66	28.25	2.45	IT	29.18	48.71	19.96	2.15
ES	26.86	46.88	22.57	3.68	ES	30.45	52.26	15.04	2.26
CZ	18.77	42.41	32.08	6.75	CZ	30.23	39.83	26.84	3.11
PL	11.61	46.35	32.68	9.36	PL	15.22	58.70	23.91	2.17
SL	18.07	49.96	25.87	6.10	SL	22.43	49.89	23.34	4.35
EE	6.60	27.75	56.61	9.04	EE	17.05	38.07	40.91	3.98

Figure 7: Income and volunteering

(a) Southern and Central Europe



(b) Western Europe



Notes:

Source: Own calculations based on SHARE Wave 6.