

RESEARCH NOTE

National Service in Israel: Motivations, Volunteer Characteristics, and Levels of Content

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The importance in Israeli society of service in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) is well known. Less well known are the voluntary alternatives to serving in the IDF through National Service. This study deals with the characteristics of National Service volunteers, their views and motives for service, their levels of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their work, and proposals for changes in the National Service. The random sample included 40 volunteers. The instruments were developed specifically for this study. The findings suggest that parents and friends have the greatest influence on the decision to serve in the National Service. Altruistic motives are the main category of motivation for serving, followed by environmental pressure, and idealism. Overall, respondents were satisfied with their experiences, especially in regard to their coworkers' attitudes. Although some dissatisfaction was expressed, it was not with the work itself but rather with the lack of public appreciation.

Keywords: *National Service; voluntarism; volunteers; voluntary organization; motives; motivation*

The notion of youth providing some form of voluntary social service is well known and is accepted in many countries (Rapoport, Penso, & Garb, 1994). Such volunteering is part of a long-standing historical tradition, for which references can be found even in the Bible, in association with the right to work with the Tabernacle (Ezra 2:68; Numbers 3:6) and in volunteering for war (Judges 5:3). The boundaries between service and National Service are not clear, as in many ways all forms of service, even military, can have

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common elements with the National Service. Today, National Service is typically identified with programs in which people volunteer for some kind of "civil service" (Sherraden & Eberly, 1990). The specific shape of National Service, in whatever form it may take, is influenced by sociocultural variables of the particular society in which it is implemented (see <http://www.americorps.org>, 2003). This study focuses on the characteristics, motivations, and opinions of National Service volunteers (NSVs) in regard to their service.

Historically, the National Service program of Israel originated in 1971 and served the purpose of providing a substitute for military service for religious girls. It should be understood in the context of the political struggle between the secular and the religious groups in the country. Whereas the religious parties wanted to protect the females from the detrimental effects of military service on their morals, those who were Zionists still believed in some form of substitute service that would accommodate their moral and educational goals (Rappaport et al., 1994).

The program is presently run by various organizations that received their mandate from the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (see http://molssa.gov.il/fr_Mingal.htm, 2003). Some represent the most orthodox sector of the population, whereas others serve less religious or secular groups of individuals who are not accepted to the army because of religious, moral (e.g., conscientious objectors), or medical reasons. The inclusion of the possibility to enlist volunteers who refused to serve in the IDF reflects present-day realities. The volunteers, usually high school graduates (to avoid additional training during national service), serve for 1 or 2 years. Service takes place in various social welfare agencies approved by the relevant ministries and supervised by the voluntary organizations that recruit, train, and supervise the volunteers (see http://molssa.gov.il/fr_Mingal.htm, 2003; Sherraden & Gal, 1990). Volunteers live in rented homes and receive a low wage to cover their living expenses. They work during the week on the same schedule as other workers in the agencies employing them.

Following 1 year of service, the volunteers are eligible, as is any other soldier, to various benefits (such as bonuses, grants, and scholarships, calculated in accordance with length of service) (see http://molssa.gov.il/fr_Mingal.htm, 2003; State Comptroller and Ombudsman, 1996, 2003). During the last few years, about 7,000 volunteers have been serving annually in the Israeli National Service (S. Amzaleg, personal communication, October 2, 2002). As of September 2002, the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs is running an experimental program to enlist 250 males in the National Service program (see http://molssa.gov.il/fr_Mingal.htm, 2003).

The problems related to female service from the Jewish religious sector of Israeli society are related to the need to serve and to be integrated into general society while fulfilling the requirements of religious life. Volunteering for National Service is one avenue for solving this problem.

VOLUNTARISM

It is an accepted view that volunteering for National Service is an expression of prosocial behavior on the personal level and an expression of social solidarity and mutual commitment on the public level. Motivation for voluntary behavior can be viewed on a continuum, with altruistic motives at one end and a series of beneficiary behaviors at the other (Clohesy, 2000). Altruistic behavior, as it affects volunteer behavior, can be defined as moral, voluntary, tendentious, and giving behavior, with no expectations of reward (Chapman & Morley, 1999; Clary & Snyder, 1999).

Clary and Snyder (1999) suggest that the same act may be generated by different psychological motives for the same individual at a given time or may be undertaken with a different emphasis for given individuals at different times. However, they propose that many people have various reasons for volunteering and that the motivations cannot be classified as either altruistic or egotistic.

An extended literature review by Smith (1994) indicated that the main categories of reasons for participation in voluntary organizations and volunteer work are contextual variables in the environment of the individual, social-background variables, personality variables, attitudinal variables, situational variables, and social participation.

The initial motivation to volunteer is a result of the process of socialization (Raviv, Bar-Tal, Raviv, & Fleissig, 1987) and of social expectations at a given time. Volunteering is also found to be affected by ethnic and by religious factors (Gidron & Lazar, 1998). Priorities regarding volunteering generally express individual choice, which in turn is a result of self-perception and of social expectations (Schneider, 1996).

Volunteers assess their costs and benefits differently in various types of organizations. However, a general relationship exists between participation and normative and social benefits, namely, that greater participation is associated with greater benefits (Chinman & Wandersman, 1999).

VOLUNTEERS' WORK SATISFACTION

Satisfaction of volunteer workers depends on several aspects of their work, including the degree of overlap between expectations and the actual experiences on the job, relationships with coworkers, management, and clients (Stevens, 1991). Aside from demographic and personality traits and the experience of helping others (Clohesy, 2000), involvement in administration, supervision, and symbolic rewards were among the core predictors of volunteers' satisfaction (Cnaan & Cascio, 1999).

Moreover, the worker's position within the organization is very important because it affects one's self-image, work satisfaction, and productivity (Finlay, Martin, Roman, & Blum, 1995). To a large extent, attitudes toward the

organization are shaped by the behavior of management and of other workers (Parker, Dipboye, & Jackson, 1995). Thus, when evaluating volunteers in an organization, the whole system and its effects on the individual need to be examined.

In light of the present controversy surrounding National Service and the limited knowledge available about those who perform these services, about their characteristics, and about attitudes, we studied the impact of their surrounding social networks (family, friends, community, and society), their level of satisfaction with National Service conditions (living conditions and benefits), and their level of satisfaction with their work (workplace conditions, the work itself, staff attitudes, and public attitudes).

METHOD

An integrated (mixed) method of inquiry, which contains elements of both qualitative and quantitative approaches, was used in this study (Harrison, 1994; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). An integrative methodology allows the researcher to capture the subjective meaning that respondents attribute to their reality (qualitative) while providing an opportunity to quantify data for comparative purposes (quantitative).

INTERVIEWS

A mixed, closed- and open-ended questionnaire was used to interview respondents. The open-ended, qualitative questions examined the characteristics, motives, and attitudes of the volunteers, whereas the closed-ended questions provide sociodemographic data. The questionnaire was constructed based on previous studies, taking into account the particular problem involved in using accepted measures of work satisfaction (Clary & Snyder, 1991). The interview questions were organized into five main parts: demographic questions, attitudes of family and of friends toward service, motivation for National Service, knowledge of rights and of length of service, and placement and satisfaction and/or dissatisfaction with work, which included (a) overall satisfaction with service, (b) satisfaction with general service conditions, (c) satisfaction with actual workplace conditions, (d) satisfaction with managers and with supervisors at the workplace, (d) relationships with co-workers, (e) satisfaction with public recognition, and (f) satisfaction with the relationship with the placement organization.

The questionnaire was reviewed by experts in the field and then pretested. The final instrument included 116 questions. The interviews were administered at the convenience of the respondents in one-to-one sessions.

SAMPLE

The research was conducted in a secular organization that deals with recruiting, guidance placement for service, work monitoring, alternative placement (if necessary), administrative services connected to the work, and issuing of papers and of help in regard to various rights once service starts. In addition, this referral organization deals with promoting the topic of National Service in the public arena.

At the time of the study, there were 400 volunteers serving in the organization, divided among four districts in Israel. A random sample was chosen from the volunteers who served in the central region of Israel (which spans from Rehovot in the south to Netanya in the north). Because the volunteers were randomly assigned to each one of the four districts by the voluntary organization, it was assumed that any of the four districts validly represented the entire volunteer population. Two groups were chosen, one from those serving at the time of the study and the other from those who had finished serving in the year preceding the study. The second group was included to obtain the views of ex-volunteers regarding their service and its duration. During the time of the study, 94 females were serving in the region. Of these, 29 were randomly selected to be included in the sample. An additional 11 were randomly selected from 56 who had finished serving during the previous year.

DATA ANALYSIS

The open-ended questions were content analyzed. Qualitative methods require judgment and choice in the development of themes, categories, and classifications and go beyond describing and operationalizing variables to reveal more about the essential qualities being studied (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The narrative statements were fragmented into phrases, which were then placed into categories and examined in terms of content commonalities (Tesch, 1990). Various themes emerged from the commonalities among and within content categories. This form of data reduction is common in qualitative data analysis, as it allows the researcher to contrast and to compare categories to ensure their accurate reflection of the data (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Tesch, 1990). To enhance the reliability of our interpretation of themes in the data, we used three different judges to examine our choice of themes and of our interpretations. After we reached full agreement among the judges, we finalized the themes.

The ratios of identified categories (expressed in percentages) were calculated by dividing the number for a specific category by the total number of responses for the question. Thus, for example, in regard to service conditions, 79% of respondents ($N = 38$) indicated that they were very satisfied with service conditions. This percentage was calculated by dividing the responses in

Table 1. Sociodemographic Characteristics

Variable	%
Place of birth	
Israel	81.1
Eastern Europe	13.5
Africa	2.7
South America	2.7
Education	
High school diploma	8.3
Trade diploma	8.3
Partial matriculation	8.3
Matriculation	75.0
Religious affiliation	
Secular	45.0
Traditional	47.5
Religious	7.5
Membership in youth groups	
No	63.0
Scouts	13.2
Noar Mertz	2.6
Shomer Tzair	2.6
Bnei Akiva	10.5
Noar Oved	2.6
Macabi	2.6
Noam	2.6

Note: Mean age = 20.08 (standard deviation = 0.98). Mean education = 11.75 years (standard deviation = 0.32).

the very satisfied category ($n = 30$) by the total number of responses to this question ($N = 38$), multiplied by 100.

RESULTS

Sociodemographic characteristics of our subjects are presented in Table 1 (see Table 1).

FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS

Most grew up in families with relatively large numbers of children (52.5% in families with six or more; $M = 5.57$, $SD = 1.68$). The average gross monthly income for household was NIS 6,654 ($SD = 0.17$), somewhat higher than the average salary in Israel. Most of the fathers and 50% of the mothers had full matriculation from high school or above. Half of the fathers were white-collar workers and half blue collar; 25% of the mothers were homemakers; the rest (except for one pensioner and one deceased) worked outside the home.

ATTITUDES OF FAMILY AND FRIENDS TOWARDS SERVICE

Most of the fathers (55%) encouraged their daughters to serve, 16% did not object, and 20% objected. Among mothers, 60% supported service, 16% had no objections, and 24% objected. Among siblings, opinion in favor of service was even stronger. Of the eight siblings in the IDF at the time of the study, six supported serving and two had no opinion. Of those who had completed army service (both brothers and sisters), all supported their sisters serving.

Most (68%) had fathers who had served in the army and half had brothers or sisters who served (or were serving). The situation was different for mothers, with only 8% having served in the IDF. More than one third (36%) had friends (male and female) who were serving in the army or in National Service. Additionally, 30% had friends who were about to enlist for service in the IDF. Only 8% had friends in National Service. This means that most of their friends who were serving did so within the framework of regular army service. Most friends (65%) encouraged the girls to serve.

Among those who were not supportive, there were no real, strong, negative reactions, though there were some who were clearly not pleased about the decision to volunteer (7.5%).

MOTIVATIONS FOR NATIONAL SERVICE

Five categories of motives emerged from the data. (Given the complexity of motivations, more than one category or response was allowed.) The categories were as follows:

1. Altruistic motives, such as "the need to give to others, the need to feel that I've done something for the country, the homeland," which were reported by 60% of the participants. This was the main stated source of motivation for service.
2. Instrumental motives, such as learning a profession (15%); less discipline and better conditions than in the army (15%); desire to live in Tel Aviv (7.5%); service conditions promised as part of National Service (5%); "1 year instead of 2 in the army, serving without uniform, every day at home"; and acquisition of rights (5%). Additionally, one respondent indicated that she did not want to waste 2 years, and another said that she did not want to be a secretary and that she preferred instead a more challenging job (a common misconception among girls is that this is the kind of position most end up with in the IDF).
3. Integrative motives, such as, "I wanted to be like everybody else" (22.5%).
4. Motives related to peer pressure or to social desirability, such as, "Service is expected in my social circle" (10%).
5. Ideological or religious motives, such as, "I wanted civilian service and not army" (5%).

The distinction between integrative motives and motives stemming from social and peer pressure (or the need for social adaptation [see Clary & Snyder, 1991]) is based on the assumption that the former grow out of individual desires, whereas the latter reflect the influence of the wider sociocultural environment. However, it is clear that these two sets of influences are related and that it is difficult to separate them.

PLACE OF WORK AND SATISFACTION WITH WORK

The interviewees were placed (or had served) in the following services: Kupot Holim (i.e., the Israeli Sick Fund [similar to an American HMO system]) or hospitals (50%); Israeli Red Cross (20%); schools or boarding schools (12.5%); and the remainder in social welfare agencies, day care centers, remedial reading centers, parole services, and the blood bank. Seven reported a change in placement during service; the main reason given for leaving a placement was lack of interest. Most volunteers were placed in important jobs; on average, they worked 40 hours per week ($SD = 2.38$) over 5.44 days ($SD = 0.55$).

When asked about sources of satisfaction at the workplace, help from the staff (21.6%) was the most important factor. This was followed by relationships (16.2%) with the staff. Among other factors contributing to satisfaction were professional interest (13.5%), atmosphere (10.8%), comfortable working hours (5.4%), and acquisition of working experience (5.4%).

Asked if there are (or were) things that they were not satisfied with at the workplace, 26.6% ($n=30$) indicated "professional disagreements"; 20% "work pressure"; 10% "uncomfortable working hours" or "feelings of being taken advantage of"; and 6.6% "colleagues" or "difficulties with clients," "lack of work," "boredom," or "feelings of being looked down upon." Most of the responses involved relationships with colleagues, followed by work-related stress, characteristics of work, and attitudes toward them.

OVERALL SATISFACTION WITH SERVICE

Another area of major interest was that of satisfaction with service. To the question, "Overall, are you satisfied (or were you satisfied) with your service?", 38 answered that they were satisfied to very satisfied with their service ($M = 1.8$, $SD = 0.61$, on a scale of 1 = *very satisfied* to 4 = *very dissatisfied*).

When this group was asked directly about what, if anything, they were dissatisfied with in their service, 17 indicated that they were satisfied with everything. The remaining 21 indicated several areas of some dissatisfaction. Among the reasons given were hard work and exploitation (28.6%); boredom (4.8%), lack of information (19%), lack of support and backup (14.3%), lack of sufficient involvement with place of employment (14.3%), lack of social integration (9.5%), and unsuitable living quarters (9%). This seems to indicate that

the central factors resulting in some degree of dissatisfaction were related to characteristics of the job itself.

SATISFACTION WITH SERVICE CONDITIONS

There was overwhelming satisfaction with service conditions. Of the 38 respondents, 30 (79%) indicated that they were very satisfied ($M = 2.1$, $SD = 0.61$, on a scale of 1 = *very satisfied* to 4 = *very dissatisfied*). Four (10.5%) of the remaining 8 pointed to the bonus and the wage as motives for satisfaction with the conditions of service; others (2.6% each) pointed to "seminars and lectures," "dormitories," "the feeling of giving," or "obtaining rights."

As for dissatisfaction with conditions of service ($N = 37$), 21 indicated that they were not dissatisfied in any way. Of the remaining 16, 4 (10.8%) mentioned "uncomfortable conditions"; 3 (8.1%) referred to "not keeping promises as to working hours," "insufficient pay," and "lack of fun activities and integration." Two (5.4%) referred to "lack of help during a crisis," and one (2.7%) complained about not receiving a discount on bus tickets, as do soldiers.

SATISFACTION WITH CURRENT WORKPLACE CONDITIONS

Most (77.5%) ($N = 38$) were satisfied with conditions in the workplace ($M = 2.03$, $SD = 0.55$, on a scale of 1 = *very satisfied* to 4 = *very dissatisfied*). However, even among those who indicated that they were satisfied, there were areas of dissatisfaction. These included physical conditions, boring work, too much work, a stressed atmosphere, and inconvenient or divided hours.

SATISFACTION WITH MANAGERS AND SUPERVISORS IN THE WORKPLACE

Most indicated that they were satisfied to very satisfied ($N = 37$, $M = 1.78$, $SD = 0.66$, on a scale of 1 = *very satisfied* to 4 = *very dissatisfied*) with the appreciation of those in charge at the workplace. Two pointed out that there were people in charge who were "satisfied with them but not with others." The rest pointed to motherly and concerned attitudes, to expressions of appreciation, and to interest and willingness to teach and to listen to their problems. Such positive feedback indicated that those in charge actually appreciated them.

RELATIONSHIPS WITH COWORKERS

The majority ($N = 37$) felt that the professionals with whom they were involved valued their work. Most (83.8%) were satisfied to very satisfied with

coworkers ($M = 1.64$, $SD = 0.55$, on a scale of 1 = *very satisfied* to 4 = *very dissatisfied*). Four (10.8%) indicated that relations were only "so-so," though the others (2.7% each) claimed to "feel appreciated," "think that I invest in my work," "get feedback," and "have a good atmosphere." As to lack of satisfaction, 3 indicated that there was too much friction in the workplace, 3 claimed that they were not appreciated, 2 indicated that there were some racial tensions and/or demanding attitudes, and 1 indicated a generally uncomfortable atmosphere.

PUBLIC APPRECIATION

Whether the public values NSVs is a complex issue. The majority ($n = 35$) felt satisfied with the level of public appreciation of their service ($M = 1.83$, $SD = 0.51$, on a scale of 1 = *very satisfied* to 4 = *very dissatisfied*). An additional 4 claimed that they were "sometimes appreciated and sometimes not." Some of the responses of the volunteers reflect the complexity of the issue. For example, 7 (20%) of those who indicated that they were satisfied with the public's appreciation also indicated that people do not think of them as being part of Israeli society because they have not served in the IDF.

No significant differences were found in levels of satisfaction, on all parameters examined, between females who served 2 years or were planning to serve 2 years and those who served 1 year or were planning to serve more.

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATION

The issue of whether volunteers are valued by the heads of voluntary organizations in which they serve is a complex one. Most ($n = 32$) indicated that they felt somewhat appreciated by those in charge; that is, either satisfied or not satisfied ($M = 2.35$, $SD = 1.41$, on a scale of 1 = *very satisfied* to 4 = *very dissatisfied*). Five (15.6%) stated that they did not know if they were appreciated, 6 (18.7%) claimed that "those in charge do not pay any attention" to them, and 2 (6.25%) indicated that they were not satisfied with the amount of appreciation shown toward them by those in charge. All of this hints at certain difficulties in the relationship between supervisors and a number of volunteers.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MOTIVES AND SATISFACTION

No connection was found between service motives and other sources of satisfaction in the workplace. Although other studies have found that personal values and social motives predicted satisfaction with service (e.g., Chapman & Morley, 1999), it would appear that in our study, the experience in the workplace itself is responsible for the level of satisfaction. Perhaps this is a result of the type of organizations involved.

DISCUSSION

Although this study was conducted on a small sample and in the context of a very specific type of voluntary service, the findings have implications for other national service programs and for a broad range of volunteer programs, especially those involving young adults. The Israeli National Service program is unique in its primary motive to volunteer; that is, substituting a social duty of enlistment to the IDF with National Service. Other parts of the program, such as administrative arrangements, work setting, or benefits are similar to a wide array of National Service programs throughout the world, though with a different emphasis from those of different sociocultural settings (see <http://www.americorps.org.whowear.html>, 2001; Sherraden & Eberly, 1990).

Our study revealed new information and supported other findings in several areas: the critical importance of social support systems, the importance of motives in terms of participation levels and in terms of satisfaction with and duration of service, the impact of working conditions on satisfaction levels from service, the importance of satisfaction with the work performed, the importance of organizational recognition and of subsequent provision of public and of symbolic rewards, and the need to place a high priority on socialization in regard to the values of volunteering within voluntary organizations.

Before we turn to the discussion, we would like to indicate some possible limitations to this study. The sample is not completely representative of the total population of NSVs because it was composed of secular and of less religious participants. Another limitation is that of making generalizations from research in the area of employment to that of volunteering. This may not be a significant limitation, given that the nature of the work and the commitment of the volunteers result in their being viewed, to some degree, as regular workers.

THE IMPORTANCE OF SOCIAL SUPPORT SYSTEMS

Social-background variables are among the well-known contributors to volunteering (Litz & Stewart, 2000; Smith, 1994). The present study showed that the social network of the respondents, including the nuclear family, friends, and environment, was usually supportive of National Service. It is interesting to note that most mothers supported their daughters, even though few had served in the army or in National Service themselves.

Motives for National Service. Altruistic motives are the main category given by the respondents. These can and perhaps should be treated as stated motives that reflect the volunteers' perceptions as to what is expected from them (the social motive—see Clary & Snyder, 1999). The respondents also indicated instrumental motives—not necessarily those that are socially expected. Instrumental motives may reflect the use of National Service as a

stepping-stone to obtain additional social instrumental benefits. Because most come from large families, with all that this implies regarding their lower economic status, these motives may be quite sincere and important.

Integrative motives indicate the degree of social pressure and of expectations for service either in the army or National Service. It is clear that respondents consider this to be significant, reflecting Israeli social norms associated with service. Peer pressure is an important aspect of integrative motives, and the act of volunteering for National Service could be a result of this kind of pressure.

Religious or ideological motives, which are typical of orthodox volunteers, were also mentioned but not to the degree that was expected. However, the small number of orthodox respondents in the sample can probably explain this.

Implications for voluntary organizations are scarce. Motives are a result of a socialization process, which reflects social values and norms (Raviv et al., 1987). Thus, efforts should be given to the assimilation of the value of voluntarism in society. Voluntary organizations should emphasize these points in publications and during their recruiting efforts.

Satisfaction with service and working conditions. Generally, the respondents indicated that they were satisfied with their service. However, it was clear, as expected, that high levels of satisfaction were related to the workplace itself (Stevens, 1991). The most important factor was the attitude of their colleagues, underscoring the importance of such relations for satisfaction and for productivity.

Sources of dissatisfaction were also, by and large, work related. These included feelings of exploitation or of lack of support from colleagues and society in general. All of this points to the importance of understanding expectations versus the reality of the work situation.

The majority of respondents treated the place of service as a workplace. This was an added complication because most had positive attitudes toward their work but nevertheless complained about service conditions such as low salaries.

The effect of professional status on level of satisfaction is important. That respondents claim low status in the eyes of the public may have resulted in lower levels of satisfaction, reduced levels of productivity at work, and lowered intentions to serve 2 years. A corollary to this is the suggestion that level of satisfaction grows as one moves up the organizational ladder (Carlopio & Gardner, 1995). In many ways, NSVs are located at the bottom of the organizational ladder.

Appreciation by the referral organization and the public. Respondents stressed the bitterness that they felt about inadequate recognition from the public or the referral organization (Eisenberg, 2000), a feeling shared by volunteers studied elsewhere (e.g., Stevens, 1991). That the public is unaware of the fact

that NSVs do important work and that they are treated like any other worker is a key problem in this study, a finding supported by others as well (e.g., Handy et al., 2000). One possible way of dealing with this would be to arrange appropriate symbolic rewards as previously suggested by Cnaan & Cascio (1999) and to provide identification for volunteers in National Service, such as special uniforms or a unique badge.

THE TASK OF THE VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

Voluntary organizations should not count on altruistic motives. For them to exist, they must provide for a wide range of needs and motives of potential volunteers (Clohesy, 2000) and must pay attention to their management (Cnaan & Cascio, 1999). It can be concluded that voluntary organizations using or wanting to use NSVs should stress the possibilities of personal gain, such as obtaining knowledge, experience, and professional skills, as well as developing social contacts and having the opportunity to contribute to the country.

CONCLUSIONS

Our study emphasizes the fact that the social surrounding determines motives and the decision to volunteer. Thus, to raise voluntarism among young people, families and peers should become the target system of intervention. Aside from altruistic motives, instrumental ones should be emphasized while also reaching out to these subsystems.

Our respondents' satisfaction from National Service and their duration of service was largely determined by the workplace arena. Working conditions were important in determining satisfaction levels with service; however, the attitude of coworkers was the most influential. This, along with proper organizational recognition and the importance of the public reaction to the volunteers, illuminates the need to pay attention to the assignments of the volunteers and to the reaction of the people surrounding the volunteers. Thus, if volunteers get tasks considered by the organization and by the public to be meaningful, then they themselves will get more appreciation as well. Voluntary organizations should place high priority on socializing toward values of volunteering. This should take place on the public level as much as within the organization. Provision of public and of symbolic rewards may enlarge voluntarism and duration of voluntary service.

Future research should examine what happens to volunteers during the course of their service, both in the workplace and at home, in an effort to assess the main causes of satisfaction and dissatisfaction. This would suggest the need for further research to compare regular workers with NSVs. More

research is needed on the relationship between volunteers and what happens during their service, in an effort to extend the length of service. It would be beneficial to address these issues in the context of cross-national studies (Smith, 1994).

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