IN SEARCH OF IDENTITY

A Comparative Study of Values:
Croatia and Europe

Edited by
Josip Baloban

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# Contents

_Josip Baloban_

INTRODUCTION .................................................. 9

_Gordan Ćrpíć – Siniša Zrinskić_

1 AN EMERGING CIVIL SOCIETY
Leisure Time and Voluntary Organisations in Croatia .......... 19
   Introduction .................................................. 21
   1.1 Theoretical context: the social origins of social capital ... 22
   1.2 Croatia’s historical heritage ................................ 25
   1.3 Civil society research: facts and hypotheses .............. 28
   1.4 Manners in which leisure time is spent .................. 28
   1.5 Voluntary work ........................................... 34
   1.6 Conclusion ................................................ 40
   References .................................................... 43

_Gordan Ćrpíć – Siniša Zrinskić_

2 BETWEEN IDENTITY AND EVERYDAY LIFE
Religiosity in Croatian Society from the European Comparative Perspective .............................................. 45
   Introduction: theoretical framework of the research ........ 47
   2.1 The role of religion in Croatian society: historical context 49
   2.2 Research: facts and hypotheses .......................... 55
   2.3 Basic religious profile of Croatia .......................... 56
   2.4 Religious belief ............................................ 60
   2.5 Alternative belief .......................................... 63
   2.6 Religiosity .................................................. 66
   2.7 Ritual dimension .......................................... 72

5
2.8 The public role of the Church .......................... 75
2.9 Conclusion ........................................... 78
References .................................................. 81

Ivan Rimac – Goran Milas
3 IN SEARCH OF DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT AGENTS
Comparative Analysis of Satisfaction with Democracy in
European Countries ........................................... 85
Introduction ................................................. 87
3.1 Problems and hypotheses ............................... 92
3.2 Sample and analyses of results ......................... 93
3.3 Satisfaction with democracy ........................... 94
3.4 Attitude toward democracy ............................ 100
3.5 Performance of the current government and satisfaction
with democracy .............................................. 103
3.6 Social capital, social and cultural development, and
satisfaction with democracy ............................. 104
3.7 Other measures ......................................... 107
3.8 Analysis ................................................. 108
3.9 Conclusion .............................................. 112
References .................................................. 113

Josip Balaban – Gordan Ćurić
4 MARRIAGE: THE INSTITUTION THAT IS EXPECTED FROM –
AND WHICH IS NOT INVESTED IN!
Marriage in the Tension between Ideals and Reality .......... 115
Introduction ................................................. 117
4.1 Values important for the success of marriage ........... 118
4.1.1 Values that are very important for the success
of marriage in Western European countries ............... 119
4.1.2 Values that are very important for the success
of marriage in Central European countries ............... 121
4.1.3 Values that are very important for the success of
marriage in other countries in transition ................. 123
4.1.4 Expressive and materialistic values ................ 125
4.2 Indices of values important for the success of marriage
in Europe .................................................... 125
4.3 The Croatian perspective ................................ 128
4.3.1 The latent structure of values important for the
success of marriage in Croatia ........................... 128
4.3.1.1 Orientation towards unity in Croatia ............... 130

4.3.1.2 Material conditions and socio-cultural
homogeneity .............................................. 134
4.3.1.3 Personal connection ............................. 136
4.3.1.4 Self-sufficiency ................................ 138
4.3.1.5 Personal connection and materialistic
self-sufficiency ........................................... 139
4.4 Conclusion .............................................. 140
References .................................................. 143

Krunoslav Nikodem – Pero Aračić
5 THE FAMILY IN TRANSFORMATION ......................... 145
Introduction ................................................. 147
5.1 The importance of marriage and family ................ 148
5.2 The importance of children and the relations between
parents and children ....................................... 156
5.3 Postmodern identities and alternative lifestyles ........ 168
5.4 Conclusion .............................................. 175
References .................................................. 176

Stjepan Balaban – Gordan Ćurić – Ivan Štengl
6 SOLIDARITY AND SOCIAL (IN)SENSITIVITY .......... 179
Introduction ................................................. 181
6.1 Spheres of solidarity ................................... 185
6.2 Feeling for justness ..................................... 187
6.3 Social (in)sensitivity .................................... 188
6.4 Croatia between solidarity and social (in)sensitivity .... 191
6.4.1 Trust in relation to solidarity and social (in)sensitivity . 192
6.4.2 Moral attitudes in relation to the concepts of
solidarity and social (in)sensitivity ....................... 194
6.4.3 Religiosity in relation to solidarity and social
(in)sensitivity ............................................. 197
6.4.4 Some socio-demographic variables and
solidarity and social (in)sensitivity ....................... 199
6.4.5 Connection of individual concepts of solidarity
and social (in)sensitivity ................................ 201
6.5 Instead of a conclusion ................................ 202
References .................................................. 205

Gordan Ćurić – Željka Bišćan – Pero Aračić
7 NEW (AND OLD) ROLES OF WOMEN AND MEN
IN CONTEMPORARY EUROPE ............................ 207
Introduction ................................................. 209
7.1 The idea of the equality of men and women ............ 209
7.2 The development of the idea of the equality of the sexes .. 210
  7.2.1 Christian roots of the idea of equality of the sexes .. 210
  7.2.2 The negative influence of some later great authors .. 212
  7.2.3 The idea of the equality of the sexes after the two
        World Wars ............................................. 212
7.3 Relations of men and women in Europe according
    to the EVS-1999 study analysed through the Croatian
    perspective ................................................. 213
  7.3.1 Woman in the family and/or at work outside
        the home? .............................................. 213
    7.3.1.1 Results of the research for Europe ............. 213
    7.3.1.2 Results of the research for Croatia .......... 215
  7.3.1.3 Comparative analyses of the results
        for Croatia and Europe .................................. 215
  7.3.1.4 Factor analysis for Europe ....................... 219
  7.3.1.5 Factor analysis for Croatia ...................... 219
  7.3.2 The relation towards the role of the woman
        in Croatia .............................................. 220
  7.3.3 Participation on the labour market in Croatia ...... 224
7.4 Conclusion ............................................... 227
References .................................................. 231

Stjepan Balaban – Gordan Čepić
8 MORALITY IN A TRANSITIONAL CROATIA .............. 233
  Introduction .............................................. 235
  8.1 Europe: differences on the individual and social levels .. 239
  8.2 Catholic countries: lower level of permissiveness ...... 240
  8.3 European regions and moral standards .................. 242
  8.4 Croatia: between ideals and reality .................... 244
    8.4.1 “Reasonableness” of bribery ..................... 244
    8.4.2 Individual and social morality in Croatia ........ 245
  8.5 Conclusion ............................................. 251
References .................................................. 254

9 OVERVIEW OF PERCENTAGES AND ARITHMETICAL
MEANS ......................................................... 257

Curricula vitae of the authors ................................ 341
References


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1 AN EMERGING CIVIL SOCIETY

Leisure Time and Voluntary Organisations in Croatia
Introduction

This paper deals with the significance and role of voluntary organisations in Croatian society, as well as the manners in which an average Croatian respondent spends his or her leisure time. However, based on the EVS questionnaire, this is done on the basis of answers to a very narrow circle of questions: the importance of leisure time, engagement in certain, leisure-time activities, membership in voluntary organisations, and doing unpaid work for voluntary organisations. Yet these questions give an insight into the sphere of life that is most frequently called civil society. Civil society is a sphere of institutions, organisations, networks, and individuals (and their values) placed between the family, state, and market, connected by a series of civil rules that they share, and in which people volunteer in order to promote general interests (Anheier, 2004:22). For Croatia, a country with a communist heritage, but which is in the process of overall social transformation, the indicators of the significance and structure of civil society are also an important indicator of social development.

In this paper, the significance and role of voluntary organisations, i.e. the manner in which an average Croatian respondent spends his or her leisure time, will be considered from the viewpoint of the social capital theory of Robert Putnam, and the theory of social origins of the development of non-profit organisations of Lester Salamon and Helmut Anheier. After an elaboration of the theoretical context and a brief overview of Croatia’s historical heritage, the aforementioned issues will be analysed, and Croatia will be compared with other countries.

1 In this paper we use the term “voluntary organisations”, because that is how it was formulated in the questionnaire. The Croatian term udruga – “association” – is synonymous with the term voluntary organisation, and has been precisely defined by the law. The term “non-profit sector”, i.e. “non-profit organisations”, is frequently used for voluntary organisations, as these are organisations that do not distribute profit, which essentially differentiates them from the profit sector. For various definitions of the voluntary or non-profit sector, see Bežovan (2000).
1.1 Theoretical context: the social origins of social capital

Although the social capital theory has been connected with a series of different names in its historical development, here we will primarily rely on its explication given by Putnam (1993, 2000, 2002). Social capital can most simply be described as a feature of social organisations, expressed through trust, norms, and networks, and which can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating co-ordinated actions (Putnam, 1993:167). Or, social capital consists of social networks and reciprocal norms that are connected to these networks (Putnam, Goss, 2002:4). Therefore, social capital speaks of the existence and role of social networks in a certain society. However, the emergence and existence of social networks largely depends on the trust with which individuals enter into social relations, that basic trust and action which does not immediately seek some direct benefit. Therefore, the issues are norms and values that we bring into a social action and that form social institutions and their actions and efficiency. The study that Putnam undertook in Italy undoubtedly showed that the social capital of a certain society largely depends on a series of historical circumstances, or on what is often called path dependency. On the other hand, social capital is an indicator of the possibility of economic development and development in general: “Norms and networks of civic engagement contribute to economic prosperity, and are in turn reinforced by that prosperity” (Putnam, 1993:189).

In spite of its apparent comprehensibility, the term social capital is not unequivocal, and the question of its measurement remains open. The basic question can be put thus: do all social networks result in assumed socially desirable consequences, for example economic prosperity? Hence there is a need to differentiate among various forms of social capital (Putnam, Goss, 2002:9-12):

a) formal and informal (the research so far has focused mainly on established or formal voluntary organisations as the indicator of social capital development, but that is only one form of social capital—societies can have very expressed informal types of social capital (Croatian?), contrary to formal types, so it is important to analyse their relationships and possible social consequences).

b) thick and thin (the question is what kinds of connections are at stake, thick or thin, and it has been shown that both kinds of social connections can have significant effects—thin connections can make larger contributions to norms of generalised trust, and thick ones to social mobilisation);

c) inward-looking and outward-looking (some organisations are more oriented towards the welfare or benefit of their users, while others are more altruistically directed towards the users they work with—both types of organisations are important);

d) bridging and bonding (the former connects people with different social characteristics—class, age, nationality, gender, etc. and are empirically analysed through membership and unpaid work for voluntary organisations—and the latter strengthens bonds between members with similar social characteristics and is empirically analysed through the importance of family and friends in the lives of individuals; in this context, the question of social connections in Croatia is a very intriguing one, especially regarding the experience and consequences of the Homeland War).

As membership in voluntary organisations and doing unpaid work for them is one of the crucial indicators (although not the only one) of social capital development, apart from the analysis of generalised trust, and (a similar approach is visible in the EVS questionnaire), we shall supplement the application of the social capital theory in Croatia with Salamon and Anheier’s analysis of non-profit sector development. They attempt to explain the abundant records collected through a series of studies on the development and role of the non-profit sector by means of the social origins theory. This has proved to be more successful in comparison to a series of other existing theories, which, according to Salamon and Anheier, are insufficient for explaining the complexity of the role of the non-profit sector in individual countries. In question are the following theories: the heterogeneity theory, the supply-side theory, the trust theories, the welfare state theory, and the interdependence theory (Salamon, Anheier, 1998). Contrary to these, the social origins theory is focused on numerous and mutually connected sources of the emergence of certain types of welfare regimes and, within that, on the different roles of the non-profit sector within individual welfare regimes. In short, we are numerous historical reasons that led to the development of specific types of (un)democratic systems and specific types of welfare regimes. Salamon and Anheier conclude with good reason that such a line of thinking can be found in the Esping-Andersen typology of welfare states, although he primarily bases it empirically on the level of de-

---

3 The recent research on informal social capital (measured by the intensity of contact with family and friends) has shown that the quantity of social capital can partly be explained by individual characteristics (education, social position, religiosity, etc.), and partly by national-ideological characteristics. The latter shows the influence of the welfare regime: in social-democratic regimes, which to the largest extent collectivise risk insurance, there are less social contacts with family and friends. The opposite is true of South European welfare regimes. See Schaeper et al. (2002).

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3 This question is particularly provoked by the authors’ illustration, within which they mention Bosnia as a telling example of connection without bridging, as social contacts there are limited by national-religious borders!
commodification of three welfare programmes (unemployment benefit, sick leave, and pension) in individual states. Although Esping-Anderson does not include the non-profit sector in his analysis, Salamon and Anheier develop four models of the role of the non-profit sector in individual welfare regimes:

a) the liberal model - low social expenditure by the state + developed non-profit sector (the USA, the UK);
b) the static model - low social expenditure by the state + undeveloped non-profit sector (Japan);
c) the social-democratic model - high social expenditure by the state + undeveloped non-profit sector (Sweden, Italy);
d) the corporate model - high social expenditure by the state + developed non-profit sector (Germany, France).

The usefulness of both theories (social origins and typology of welfare regimes) was shown in a more detailed analysis of the non-profit sector structure. Based on the share of employment in the non-profit sector (therefore, not on membership or unpaid work), the authors distinguish between five different types (Salamon et al., 1999:21):

a) dominantly educational (Argentina, Belgium, Ireland, Israel, Mexico, Peru, the UK),
b) dominantly health oriented (Japan, the Netherlands, the USA),
c) dominantly social-service oriented (Austria, France, Germany, Spain),
d) dominantly cultural-recreational (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia),
e) balanced (Australia, Columbia, Finland).

Therefore, the post-communist countries that participated in the sample (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia) are those in which the cultural-recreational non-profit sector dominates, which can be clearly connected to the basic characteristics of the communist period. In the attempt to completely control social life, a modicum-mini-

4 The level of decommodification measures the extent to which welfare programmes enable an individual to survive outside the labour market, i.e. in situations in which he cannot live based on his work (unemployment, sickness, age). Social democratic regimes record the highest level of decommodification, liberal regimes the lowest, and European continental regimes are in the middle. See Esping-Anderson (1990, 1999).

5 When speaking of an undeveloped non-profit sector, at issue is a non-profit sector as the provider of services (social, health related, educational, etc.), which does not mean that the Scandinavian countries do not have a high share of membership in voluntary organisations, such as professional membership organisations or those that represent certain interests, recreational organisation, etc. It should be noted that the EVS research in Italy showed a large increase in the membership in voluntary organisations (from 32.2 percent in 1990 to 42.1 percent in 1999), and a somewhat smaller, but still considerable increase in the number of those who perform unpaid work for voluntary organisations (from 21.1 percent in 1990 to 25.4 percent in 1999). See Scîdă (2000).

mum freedom of action was allowed only in the sector of sports and culture, and in some of the professional organisations. The picture is somewhat changed when voluntary engagement is introduced in the analysis, as then the share of organisations that provide social services is increased in those countries.5

1.2 Croatia’s historical heritage

Croatia’s historical heritage shaped the possibilities of voluntary association and the action of voluntary organisations in society in a specific way. In order to understand that heritage, one must be conscious of four circumstances of special importance.

First, for Croatia the twentieth century was the century of political-authoritarian systems. The experience of development and action of a series of social organisations during the period in which Croatia was a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, as well as weak attempts to develop the parliamentary system after World War I and the creation of Yugoslavia, were interrupted by the so-called Sixth of January dictatorship introduced by Yugoslav King Alexander in 1929. After World War II a one-party political system headed by one, communist party was established. This system was hostile not only towards other political parties (whose activities were prohibited), but also towards autonomous activity of (primarily) cultural, sports, and a completely negligible number of other organisations. Their activity was under the direct surveillance of the government, apart from the Church and a small number of religious organisations which, in fact, acted outside the system and were autonomous within strictly prescribed and controlled boundaries. The evolution of the communist system, which was somewhat more liberal political system in Yugoslavia than in other communist countries, by the 1980s led to greater freedom of operation of numerous voluntary organisations, although not to the extent of their being completely free and autonomous.

Second, the twentieth century was a period of relatively erratic, controlled, and partial development of modernisation. Modernisation, initiated after World War II and developed during the socialist period, re-

6 If only voluntary engagement is analysed, and all the countries of Western Europe are taken as a whole, then it is shown, based on the same research, that the structure of voluntary work does not considerably differ between the Western and Eastern Europe (four countries analysed): the share of culture, sport, and social services is almost the same. Such a picture is, for example, offered by Archambault (2002), who shows that the analysis needs to be more differential – considering the various groups of countries and considering the different aspects of the social role of the non-profit sector.
sulted in evident social consequences (urbanisation, mass education, the gradual establishment of the middle class, and so on), but it was clearly limited and subject to the interests of the ruling party. Such a manner of development was one of the basic reasons for the social and economic crisis that started as early as the mid-sixties, and was particularly deepened in the 1980s, when it adopted the characteristics of a structural developmental crisis. Such modernising and political development affected the maintenance of traditional social relations, i.e. the traditional social structure, which can influence the domination of family, parochial, friendly, and other informal yet strong social connections.

Third, after World War II a socialist type of welfare state was developed in Croatia (Yugoslavia). The state introduced, organised, and controlled risk insurance, almost exclusively for those working in the state (public) sector. Their number was gradually increased, and the state gradually became synonymous with the basic social security of citizens. Although that security was financed from the paid contributions based on work, the state’s jurisdiction and control of social protection stipulated a maximum reliance on state programmes. From 1970s onwards, the companies (within the so-called self-management vision of associated work), undertook a series of social functions. The fact that the social protection system was additionally decentralised should be noted, because, apart from the payment of contributions, some of the decisions on how the collected contributions would be distributed was transferred to lower government authorities, and partly to the users of the services themselves. In this aspect the Croatian/Yugoslav type of welfare state partly differed from other socialist states. Alongside reliance on the state, a part of the population, especially those who did not work in the public sector, had to rely on informal security insurance channels in sickness, disability, old age, or unemployment – but, once again, this meant exclusively family solidarity. The poor development of public services (nurseries, kindergartens, care for the elderly and infirm) also contributed to this situation. That means that the private alternative to public social security programmes was developed solely on the primary social level – and that is primarily perceived as a failure: either it was the failure of individuals (not employed in public-state sector), or the failure of the state (not able to guarantee the same level of protection to all). Such a development would in the long term result in great expectations from the state, and aggravate further development of the non-profit sector as the alternative service provider.

Fourth, after proclaiming its independence, Croatia found itself in specific social circumstances. The Homeland War caused much devastation, human suffering, and material damage, and it made economic development more difficult in general. Apart from and in connection with that, the development of democratic political relations was more painstaking than in the neighbouring Central European post-communist countries. The strongest evidence for this is that a series of social reforms connected to the memberships of the Council of Europe, the European Union or the World Trade Organisation were initiated later in Croatia than in other states. When the long lasting political instability of the neighbouring states (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Kosovo) is added to that, the framework of an important tendency is outlined: the continuation of the strong political domination over society and independent social initiatives, which can be seen in the aggravated development of the independent and autonomous civil society.

The importance of the perception of the Croatian historical heritage is shown in the understanding of social capital dynamics, especially the social role of voluntary organisations after 1990. New possibilities of free political activity, as well as the Homeland War, which created a series of new needs to which the state could not adequately respond and which had unimaginable proportions (above all the needs of the displaced persons and refugees, as well as the generally pauperised), resulted in an increase of social solidarity and led to the operation of a series of new and international humanitarian organisations. But the historical heritage was stronger, particularly after the end of the war. Even in the second half of the 1990s we can record a series (more numerous than in the neighbouring Central European post-communist countries) of political, legal, tax, and other obstructions to the development of civil society. This was undoubtedly confirmed by the studies (although they were scarce) that focused on the development and operation of voluntary organisations, i.e. civil society and social capital (Bežovan, 1995, 1996, 2003a, 2003b; Ledić, 1997; Puljiz, 2000; Štulhofer, 1993, 2002; Stubbs, 2001; Valković, 2003). A recent study of civil society organisations, within the international comparative CIVICUS programme (CIVICUS Index on Civil Society Project), has shown many problems, primarily related to the narrowness of the area in which many voluntary organisations operate, in the sense of the legal and social framework within which they operate (Bežovan 2003b). For example, the Law on Associations of 1997 very restrictively regulated freedom of association, so that in 2001 the Constitutional Court ruled to set aside 16 stipulations of that law. Also, until 2001 donations to voluntary organisations in the sphere of sport and culture were stimulated by tax benefits. The same research revealed a relatively weak influence of civil society on community development and the process of formulating and implementing policy in certain social spheres.
1.3 Civil society research: facts and hypotheses

As was already mentioned in the introduction, the EVS questionnaire provides relatively few facts that enable the measurement of civil society development in an individual country. There are four basic questions we can rely on: the importance of leisure time, spending leisure time, membership in voluntary organisations, and doing unpaid work for voluntary organisations. Apart from that, important dimensions of social capital (within which we are considering the operation of voluntary organisations) are trust (in people and institutions), perception of the distribution of certain forms of behaviour and concern for the living conditions of people in our neighbourhood, the elderly, and immigrants. Based on such facts, the outlined theoretical framework, and Croatia's historical heritage, we have formulated the following hypotheses. It will be possible to clearly confirm or reject some of them using the information from this research, while others function as auxiliary (heuristic) hypotheses – connected to other research or prior analysis, and which are important here for the purpose of giving an integral picture of the social role of voluntary organisations.

1. According to its civil society structure, Croatia is similar to other post-communist countries in which cultural-sport-recreational voluntary organisations dominate.

2. Considering the role of religious organisations, Croatia is similar to other dominantly Catholic countries.

3. Younger respondents with higher levels of education are more frequently members of voluntary organisations.

4. Statist and political paternalism negatively affect the social differentiation of voluntary organisations.

5. Dominant features of social capital in Croatia are informal, inward-looking and, thick-bonding.

The statistical analysis was performed with the SPSS statistics package, using the descriptive analysis method (averages and arithmetic means) and multi-variant analysis (regression analysis, variance analysis, T-test).

1.4 Manners in which leisure time is spent

Leisure time ranks highly on the list of important values in the lives of Croatian citizens, although it comes after family, job, and friends and acquaintances. The hierarchy of priorities is generally the same for all Europeans, with small variations. Family is generally the most important priority to Europeans. Friends and acquaintances take second place, work is third, and leisure time fourth. The exceptions are the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, and Northern Ireland, where leisure time is more important than work, as well as Poland, Romania, Greece, and Malta, where religion is more important than friends, acquaintances, and leisure time. Relatively higher importance of family and friends can be a sign of preference for maintaining social relations almost exclusively with known people (bonding social capital), unlike leisure time, which offers more opportunities and needs for social interaction with people of different social characteristics (bridging social capital). That is at least what some research studies suggest. However, the high value of the importance of family, friends, and acquaintances in nearly all European countries shows that such a preference does not have to be contrary to voluntary engagement in free time, and that such an engagement is in all its dimensions (probably) the most important differentia specifica of social relations. However, the importance of family in Croatia is unquestionable, which is visible from Table 1.

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(not at all important) to 4 (very important) in Croatia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>3.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>3.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends and acquaintances</td>
<td>3.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leisure time</td>
<td>3.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>2.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the differences are not entirely consistent, citizens of Western European countries attach a slightly higher importance to leisure time. In that respect, Croatia is more similar to Central European post-communist countries, while citizens of Eastern Europe attach less importance to leisure time.

8 "Bonding social capital arises from networking within our own communities of close friends and family... Higher levels of bonding social capital are therefore likely to go together with lower rates of economic growth, since spending more time with family and close friends comes at costs of working and learning time. Our empirical analysis of growth in 54 European regions confirms the importance of the distinction between these two kinds of social capital. Bridging social capital is empirically good for growth, while a large importance attached to family ties is negatively related to growth." See Beugelsdijk, Smulders (2003:177).
The importance of leisure time should be connected with the manners in which it is spent, which adds a completely concrete dimension to the idea of leisure time. In the analysis of the manners in which leisure time is spent, we shall first present the Croatian results, and then compare them with other countries.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
<th>A few times a year</th>
<th>Once or twice a month</th>
<th>Every week</th>
<th>No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spending time with friends</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>68.6</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spending time with colleagues from work</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>34.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spending time with people at Church</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spending time with people in clubs and volunteer organisations</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>40.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many respondents did not answer this question, because they felt that it does not relate to them. The analysis has shown that those who did not answer, especially the question about spending time with colleagues from work and with people in clubs and voluntary organisations, are mainly unemployed. This implies the social exclusion of the unemployed, and their lack of integration into basic social trends. A similar conclusion was reached in the research on doing voluntary work in Primorsko-goranska County, because the unemployed on a much larger scale feel that there is no place to do voluntary work. See Lesić (2005:44).

Croatian respondents in a large number of cases spend time with their friends, while all other possible activities are represented on a much smaller scale. It should be especially noted that there are only 12 percent of those who regularly (every week) spend their time in sport, cultural, and other voluntary organisations, which is according to expectations the principal manner of voluntary engagement in post-communist countries. The percentage of those who spend time with people in Church is slightly higher, but what that means remains a question. It is more probable that the issue here is (regular) attendance of religious services or some other informal Church activities than some other engagement, because all available data show an exceptionally small number of lay Church organisations, and of modest engagement of lay religious persons.

Gender, age, and education mostly contribute to the question of who is more likely to spend leisure time in such a manner. Men spend considerably more time with friends, colleagues from work, and others in clubs and voluntary organisations. Women, on the contrary, spend more time with people at Church. Respondents with completed elementary education are statistically more significantly those who do not spend time with friends, colleagues from work, and people in clubs and voluntary organisations. Elementary school is most represented in spending time with people at Church, but here those with higher education do not depart from the average considerably. It could probably be said that the type of engagement is different in the two groups, but the data available here do not reveal that. Younger respondents spend statistically significantly more time with friends, work colleagues outside work, and people in clubs and voluntary organisations, according to statistics. In terms of spending time with people at Church, regular attendance of religious service, regular prayer outside of religious service, and greater importance of God in personal life are relatively important.

Trust in institutions is not shown as a key predictive factor, except in spending time with people at Church. There is a very high correlation with trust in the Church and a considerably lower correlation with trust in the army, while there is a negative correlation with trust in the UN, the health system, and the press. Spending time with people in clubs and leisure time with friends, as with other activities, is clearly associated with trust in basic institutions.
and voluntary organisations is very mildly connected to positive trust in the police and negative trust in the UN. Contrary to trust in those institutions, general trust in people has proved to be a statistically important variable. Those who spend time with their friends, colleagues from work, people at Church, and especially those who spend time in clubs and voluntary organisations show greater general trust in people. This piece of information is all the more important because only 17.9 percent of the Croatian respondents show general trust in people, while the large majority (79.2 percent) prefers to opt for caution in relations with other people.

Possible comparisons with other European countries are very interesting. In regard to spending time with friends, Croatia records a high percentage, similar to most Western European countries. In Eastern European countries, apart from several exceptions (Bulgaria, Slovenia, Belarus) there is less need, or simply less time, for socialising with friends. In regard to spending time with colleagues from work, the differences between European countries are inconsistent, and it is difficult to reinterpret them. However, in only 7 countries there are more than 20 percent of those who spend time with colleagues from work every week, including Croatia. On the other hand, when spending time with people at Church is analysed, the Catholic group of countries is very clearly defined. In Portugal, Northern Ireland, Ireland, Malta, and Croatia more than 20 percent of the respondents spend time with people at Church every week. Although we have already expressed our doubt in the way in which this question was understood, it is worth noting that in some countries the percentages mentioned here are exceptionally high (Ireland – 30.7 percent, Malta – 49 percent time with people at Church every week). This undoubtedly speaks of a strong identification with the Church in those countries, regardless of the way in which the question was understood. Finally, when speaking of spending time in voluntary organisations and clubs, a certain consistency can be noted, despite many variances. In most post-communist countries the percentage of those who spend time there every week does not exceed 10 percent. With 12 percent, Croatia is similar to the Czech Republic (14 percent) and some other South European countries: Spain (14.3 percent), Portugal (14.6 percent), Italy (15.1 percent). The majority of other Western European countries show higher percentages of people regularly (weekly) spending time in voluntary organisations and clubs.

12 It is interesting that in case of spending time with colleagues from work the only correlation is shown with the negative trust in the UN. Such an attitude towards the UN can be conditioned by the specific social development of Croatia, i.e. the critical assessment of the inefficiency (and lack of objectivity) of the UN during the war in Croatia.

13 Due to its differently constructed scale, which disables comparison, the data for Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia are not mentioned in this and the following graph.
1.5 Voluntary work

The analysis of membership in voluntary organisations and doing unpaid work for voluntary organisations is a possible indicator of the value of taking a civic stand for some social or generally useful causes (in other words, according to Putnam, for bridging social capital), and a possible indicator of preferred areas of the non-profit sector development.

Table 3 Membership in voluntary organisations in Croatia, %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of voluntary organisation</th>
<th>Membership percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religious or Church</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports or recreation</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade unions</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational, arts, music or cultural activities</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political parties or groups</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional associations</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voluntary organisations concerned with health</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s groups</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social welfare services for elderly, handicapped, or deprived people</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservation, the environment, ecology, animal rights</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth work (such as scouts, youth clubs, guides, and so on)</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others¹⁴</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>60.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 Doing voluntary unpaid work in Croatia, %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of voluntary organisation</th>
<th>Membership percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sports or recreation</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious or Church organisations</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade unions</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational, arts, music, or cultural activities</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional associations</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s groups</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political parties or groups</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voluntary organisations concerned with health</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservation, the environment, ecology, animal rights</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth work (such as scouts, youth clubs, guides, and so on)</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others¹⁵</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>78.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹⁴ Organisations with membership percentages less than 2 percent are included under the heading “others” (local community action on issues like poverty, employment, housing, racial equality; Third world development or human rights, peace movement; other groups).

¹⁵ These are organisations for which less than 1.5 percent of the respondents do unpaid work (the same organisations as in the note above), and the category “other groups” that the respondents themselves decided on.

The list of membership in voluntary organisations shows a very clear structure within which religious or Church, sport-recreational, and trade union organisations are dominant. A certain (relatively important) percentage is recorded in educational, cultural, political, and professional organisations, as well as those related to health. That means that the voluntary scene in general is dominated by three groups of organisations: religious, trade union/political, and sport/recreational and cultural. The percentage of membership in organisations that belong to the last category amounts to 19.6 percent, which clearly shows that in Croatia, similar to other post-communist countries, the non-profit sector has a dominant sport-recreational-cultural feature. This can most clearly be explained by the communist heritage (tolerating the existence of sport, cultural, and some professional organisations only, all of which are under – lesser or greater – control of the government), as well as by the transitional political processes (obstructions to autonomous development and larger social influence of voluntary organisations in other areas). In Croatia this is shown on the level of membership in voluntary organisations, and not just on the level of their share in employment within the non-profit sector (the analysis by Salamon and others is basically founded on that, and this is probably a better indicator of the role and importance of the non-profit sector in society, especially in the sphere of providing services to the population). Membership in religious or Church organisations in Croatia is on the level of the countries such as Germany, Belgium, Denmark, Hungary, Greece, and so on. The percentage of those who do unpaid work for voluntary organisations mainly follows the aforementioned list, with minor exceptions.

Regression analysis has shown that membership in sport recreational voluntary organisations is positively connected to the male gender, younger age, higher education, and to a somewhat smaller extent, to right-wing political orientation. Membership in educational, artistic, music, or cultural organisations is also mildly connected with younger age and higher education. Members of religious organisations are more frequently those who regularly attend religious services, and to a considerably smaller degree, men and those who show positive trust in the Church, and negative trust in the UN. Membership in professional organisations is mildly connected with higher education and, to a smaller degree, to right-wing political orientation. Membership in political parties is connected with higher education, male gender, very mildly with regular religious services attendance, and with trust in the press. One bit of information that is certainly interesting is that general trust in people is connected only to membership in sport-recreational organisations, which suggests that at issue there is the connecting of people who have different social characteristics. Apart
from sport and religious organisations, the percentage that explains the variance is below 5 percent, and the connection is most frequently very mild, which can be seen from the following table.

**Table 5 Regression analysis**

| Set of predictors: Political orientation: left-right; gender: men-women; age: young-old; level of education: low-high; household income: low-high; religious services attendance: never-often; prayer outside religious services: never-daily; importance of God: not at all important-very important |
|------------------|------------------|
| Dependent variable: Membership in sport recreational voluntary organisations |
| R = .351 | R² = .123 |
| Variables | 6 | cor. |
| Political orientation | .089 | .090 |
| Gender | -2.57 | -2.55 |
| Age | -1.79 | -1.95 |
| Education | .103 | .147 |

| Dependent variable: Membership in educational, arts, music, or cultural organisations |
|------------------|------------------|
| R = .192 | R² = .037 |
| Variables | 6 | cor. |
| Education | .126 | .145 |
| Age | -1.03 | -1.28 |

| Dependent variable: Membership in religious or Church organisations |
|------------------|------------------|
| R = .279 | R² = .078 |
| Variables | 6 | cor. |
| Religious services attendance | .275 | .259 |
| Gender | -1.06 | -0.65 |

| Dependent variable: Membership in professional associations |
|------------------|------------------|
| R = .218 | R² = .048 |
| Variables | 6 | cor. |
| Political orientation | .115 | .095 |
| Education | .189 | .176 |

| Dependent variable: Membership in political parties |
|------------------|------------------|
| R = .210 | R² = .044 |
| Variables | 6 | cor. |
| Education | .155 | .143 |
| Gender | -1.29 | -1.12 |

In regard to unpaid work in voluntary organisations, a certain connection exists only in the case of religious, cultural, sport, and professional organisations. Unpaid work for religious organisations is connected to more regular religious services attendance, more regular prayer, and greater general trust in people. The last category suggests an intrinsic motivation to help others. Male gender and younger age are predictors of unpaid work for sport organisations, and higher education, younger age, and partly more regular religious services attendance are predictors of educational, artistic, music and cultural activities. Finally, people who are more educated and politically more oriented to the right do more unpaid work for professional organisations, as is similar to the question of membership. It should be noted again that these connections are most frequently very slight.

**Table 6 Regression analysis**

| Set of predictors: Political orientation: left-right; gender: men-women; age: young-old; level of education: low-high; household income: low-high; religious services attendance: never-often; prayer outside religious services: never-daily; importance of God: not at all important-very important |
|------------------|------------------|
| Dependent variable: Unpaid work for religious or Church organisations |
| R = .218 | R² = .048 |
| Variables | 6 | cor. |
| Religious services attendance | .128 | .193 |
| Prayer | .121 | .189 |

| Dependent variable: Unpaid work for sport/recreational organisations |
|------------------|------------------|
| R = .205 | R² = .042 |
| Variables | 6 | cor. |
| Gender | -1.73 | -1.67 |
| Age | -1.18 | -1.09 |

| Dependent variable: Unpaid work for educational, arts, music, or cultural activities |
|------------------|------------------|
| R = .198 | R² = .039 |
| Variables | 6 | cor. |
| Age | -1.32 | -1.49 |
| Education | .100 | .125 |

| Dependent variable: Unpaid work in professional associations |
|------------------|------------------|
| R = .171 | R² = .029 |
| Variables | 6 | cor. |
| Political orientation | .120 | .105 |
| Education | .135 | .122 |
When membership in voluntary organisations is analysed for all proffered organisations together, higher education and male gender appear as predictors, as well as higher household income, and more regular religious service attendance to a somewhat smaller extent. In unpaid work, only higher household income and more regular religious service attendance have a predictive value. Lesser trust in the judicial system and public services, and greater trust in the social security system are predictors of membership in voluntary organisations and doing unpaid work for them.

Apart from the basic socio-demographic variables that can influence the engagement of voluntary organisations, the crucial question is whether those who are more frequently members and who more frequently do unpaid work share some similar moral values of altruism, taking a stand for others, concern for the living conditions of others, and so on. However, due to the very low number of members of “welfare” organisations, where such a connection could possibly be more clearly proved, our analysis was focused on the general relations of membership and unpaid work with certain moral stands. The results are interesting, but not entirely consistent, which is probably the result of analysing voluntary work in very different organisations. Members of individual organisations are more frequently concerned about living conditions of the elderly and are more willing to help them because it is in the interest of the society. They do not consider that immigrants should be helped only in order to get something done in return, and are less concerned for the living conditions of their immediate family. Therefore, it could be said that greater engagement in voluntary organisations is partly connected with a feeling of concern for the elderly and a lack of concern for one’s immediate family. The reasons of the last predictor’s influence can be connected with the fact that there are more persons with higher education and with higher income among the members and those who do unpaid work. At the same time, that reveals some important social prerequisites to the stimulation of voluntary engagement.

Higher education and better financial status may be the major cause of a more individual attitude towards some moral values. Members of voluntary organisations tend to justify driving under the influence of alcohol, genetic manipulation of food stuffs, and suicide, but not abortion or driving over the speed limit in built-up areas. Those who do unpaid work more frequently justify joyriding, avoiding a fare on public transport, but also do not justify abortion.

The analysis of the relation between membership and a series of social values focused on the role of the individual and the state in the economy and in society in general has not shown any connections. However, the analysis shows that it is difficult to make sharp distinctions in the sphere of so-called right and left materialism in Croatian society (Rimac, 1998, Zrinščak, 2001). In this area, respondents form their views under quadruple contradictory influences: the rejection of socialism, but also the acceptance of its basic social security, the acceptance of new social relations, but also the rejection of injustice and inequalities that appear in the market economy system. In regard to unpaid work, a slight connection appears with the view that people should take on more responsibility for themselves, but also with the view that competition is harmful and brings out the worst in people.

Finally, the data obviously do not allow a clear outline of the profiles engaged in the voluntary sector. In spite of that, two variables are the most consistent ones: younger age and higher education. The incorporation of values of voluntary engagement into the school system in order to solve social problems is obviously crucial for the future profiling of the voluntary sector, i.e. for building a modern society that could function in the contemporary social processes, within which it is not possible (or good!) to expect full responsibility of the state. It has also been shown that a good education is crucial for any serious voluntary (or social) engagement. It is a prerequisite for understanding social processes, as well as for the possible manners in which they could be solved. In the profile of voluntary engagement in sport organisations the male gender is crucial. It should be noted that in political parties and professional organisations, right political self-positioning is also important, which perhaps speaks of a certain level of social politicisation.

The comparative position of Croatia according to the overall membership in voluntary organisations is shown on the following graph. It shows that, according to the number of members and the share of unpaid work, Croatia does not considerably depart from a series of other countries. Northern European countries are particularly set apart, as they record a large number of members of voluntary organisations. However, this is just a general picture that speaks neither of the non-profit sector structure, nor of its social influence and significance.

Although it is impossible to compare two different research studies, the comparison with the research of voluntary work in the Primorsko-gorska county is interesting. That research has shown that more educated people and older people have more positive attitudes towards voluntary work (Ledić, 2001). Younger people do less voluntary work, are less convinced in the quality and social significance of voluntary work, and so on. It is obvious that in our question structure younger age is connected exclusively with membership in sport recreational, educational, artistic, musical, and cultural activities, in other words, in organisations in which it is most appropriate to expect a larger share of young people. Also, it is obvious that there is a long road to be taken from membership, and even unpaid work for such organisations, to willingness to volunteer in a series of other voluntary organisations. That, however, once again stresses the importance of an educational system, and social environment in general, that would promote the values of voluntary and organised engagement in solving a series of social problems.
some of these associations conducts their activities in other areas as well.\(^7\) Our data on higher level of education and younger age as the most important predictors for membership in voluntary organisations is connected to that fact. If the indicator of younger age is clearly connected to the domination of sport and cultural organisations, then higher level of education remains the key factor. The finding that members and those who do unpaid work are less concerned about the living conditions of their own families should be linked with the urban profile of the civil sector. If we speak of the dimensions of social capital, then it could be an additional sign of developing so-called bridging social capital (which in Croatia is found only in traces), and which is expressed not only through membership in voluntary organisations, but also in intense contacts and concern for people outside the narrow circle of family and friends. Political connection with the engagement in political parties, but also in professional associations, partly points to the problems of the development of bridging and externally oriented social capital. That speaks of the difficulty in spending time (or performing some useful activities) with various people, as well as of the difficulty of profiling the social scene outside the power and influence of political parties. The research also shows that average Croatian respondents, in comparison with many other countries, show a relatively high tendency to spend time with friends, colleagues from work, and even with people at Church, but that type of tendency to spend time with people is not recognised that much on the civic scene. This can point to problems in the development of formal, outward-looking, and bridging social capital, especially if it is connected to other insights into the relatively traditional structure of Croatian society and the importance of family ties (developed primary solidarity). In light of the very low level of generalised trust, this is actually not strange at all, but it partly explains the paradoxical nature of our findings: a high level of sociability within certain primary social circles and a relatively high share of membership in voluntary organisations in a country in which all research and all empirical analyses reveal a politicised, socially inconspicuous civic scene with weak influence.

According to the role of religious organisations, Croatia is similar to other Catholic countries in which people spend a lot of time with other people from their Church. There are many of those who said they were members of religious organisations. But these two types of identification with religion and the Church are not identical. In the first type respondents who have completed only primary school and women are represented to a large degree, which obviously speaks of a strong identification with the circle of people who share very similar religious

\(^7\) The data on financing associations from the State Budget are available on the web site of the Office for Associations at the Government of the Republic of Croatia: www.uzuvrh.hr (From 2004 see also www.zaklada.civilnodrustvo.hr).
beliefs. However, in regard to membership in religious organisations, apart from the connections with religious indicators, male gender appears as a predictor (although with only a slight correlation). It is difficult to say whether at issue is a greater engagement of men in some concrete Church activities, or what type of membership the respondents had in mind, because almost any type of connection with the Church, as an undoubtedly voluntary organisation, can be interpreted in that manner. Does religion stimulate voluntary work and to what extent; and to what extent can the analyses by Putnam and Fukuyama – who speak about the negative influence of Catholicism on the development of civil rights and independent social networks using Italy as the example – be applied to Croatia? This cannot be answered based on our research (Putnam 1993, Fukuyama 2000). Our study only showed that greater identification with the Church and religious life has a positive influence on membership in religious organisations and unpaid work for them, but not on other forms of engagement in the civil sector. The fact that certain moral confusions that were noticed between members of different voluntary organisations and those who do unpaid work should be added to that. Once again, this shows that building some important common values that would efficiently bond people with different views of life, but with the same desire to take an active part in social life, is a task that civil society yet has to face.

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