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International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy

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Home and away: volunteering among ultra-Orthodox men in Israel

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Abstract

Purpose – Religious minority groups often enjoy strong support systems and high levels of trust, providing for volunteering within the community, but under what conditions are members of these groups likely to volunteer outside their community? Or, would they prefer the security, intimacy and commitment to their own communities. The paper aims to discuss these issues.

Design/methodology/approach – To answer this question, the authors examine the motivations of ultra-Orthodox young men who volunteered for National Civil Service in Israel, and compare the choices of volunteer frameworks: separatist-religious volunteering within the community compared to volunteering in secular institutions outside the community.

Findings – The authors associate the interest and motivations with different types of social capital, "bonding" and "bridging."

Research limitations/implications – Research based on one case study.

Practical implications – Guidelines for encouraging volunteering among closed groups.

Social implications – Understanding of motivations and concerns among religious groups.

Originality/value – An original study of a relatively new phenomenon.

Keywords Israel, Religion, Volunteering, Social capital

Paper type Research paper

Religion seems an ideal candidate to explain volunteering as most religions encourage altruism and care for others (Wang and Handy, 2014; Bekkers and Bowman, 2009; Brown and Ferris, 2007; Wilson and Janoski, 1995). Religious minority groups often enjoy strong support systems and high levels of trust, providing for volunteering within the community, but under what conditions are members of these groups likely to volunteer outside their community? Or, would they prefer the security, intimacy and commitment to their own communities? To answer this question, we examine the motivations of ultra-Orthodox young men who volunteered for National Civil Service (NCS) in Israel, and compare the choices of volunteer frameworks: separatist-religious volunteering within the community compared to volunteering in secular institutions outside the community. We associate the interest and motivations with different types of social capital, "bonding" and "bridging."

The Jewish ultra-Orthodox, a minority of 11 percent of the entire population in Israel, intentionally isolates itself from the secular-Jewish majority, economically, socially and culturally, in order to maintain and defend their social-cultural uniqueness. Yet, for different reasons elaborated below, members of this group are cautiously and gradually attempting to integrate in the Israeli society, including through military or NCS (Levy and Sasson-Levy, 2008; Stadler and Ben-Ari, 2003; Hakak, 2003; Drori, 2005; Malchi, 2011). These changes may answer the growing concern over unemployment of religious men whose avoidance of military service affects their ability to find work (Berman, 1999). The participation of young

religious men in the NCS, therefore, may be significant for future integration and a tool to alleviate poverty among this population. Drawing on 30 in-depth personal interviews, we explore how the different types of social capital influence the choice between "inward" volunteering and "outward" volunteering. While in the former, young men volunteer within their communities and avoid contacts with secular society, in the latter they volunteer outside the community and interact with non-Orthodox men and women, a decision of significance for members of this community. We explain these decisions by different types of social capital that shape interests and choices.

Social capital, types of trust and social networks

Volunteerism can be defined as a "freely chosen and deliberate helping activities that extend over time" (Snyder and Omoto, 2008) is unpaid and given to another person who is not member of one's family (Wilson, 2012). Volunteering is often associated with and explained by community and its characteristics. Communities in which the population's volunteering rate is high are characterized as having significant social capital compared to communities or areas in which individuals' volunteering rate is low (Brown and Ferris, 2007; Putnam, 1995, 2000). Social capital has different definitions and uses, among them the assessment of ties or networks within communities that provide for trust, norms of reciprocity, cooperation and "civic-ness" (Putnam, 1993). Consequently, social capital is associated with democracy, economic development and strong communities that support them. Critics of social capital advocates claim that networks might be the result rather than the cause for trust, that questions of power and inequality are ignored, and generally doubt social capital's implications for democracy, institutional performance and development (DeFilippis, 2001; Foley and Edwards, 1999; Levi, 1999; Newton, 1999).

Notwithstanding these criticisms, in this work we are interested in the ways social capital influences volunteering choices. The connections between volunteering and social capital (Putnam, 1993), networks and ties (Jones, 2006) is well established, but the motivations and directions of volunteering could be influenced by different types of social capital and trust. While "bonding social capital," strengthens the internal bonds of separate communities (Portes, 1998; Portes and Vickstrom, 2015), "bridging social capital" operates between different communities and sectors (Putnam, 2000) and contributes to a wider social consensus and social solidarity between different social groups in a way that would create "civil involvement with the broad community" (Putnam, 1995, p. 67). While bonding capital and personal networks can foster commitment to volunteering, bridging social capital provides sources of information and recruiting options (Paik and Navarre-Jackson, 2011). Consequently, different types of social capital can create different motivations and paths of volunteering in the general population and in religious communities in particular.

Social networks and trust, foundations of social capital, influence the tendency to volunteer (Bekkers and Bowman, 2009; Brown and Ferris, 2007). Trust is a central component of social capital, established through experiences and interpretations of others behavior it includes the expectations that others will act with fairness beyond their immediate interests (Lelieveldt, 2000). High levels of trust enable social and economic cooperation based on norms rather than enforcement and higher commitment to civic involvement. Similarly, as Putnam (2000) argues, civic involvement, trust and volunteering are interconnected as involvement and volunteering both depend upon and contribute to trust. People who trust were found more likely to volunteer and belong to volunteer organizations (Brehm and Rahn, 1997; Dekker and Uslaner, 2003; Delhey and Newton, 2003; Putnam, 2000; Scheufele and Shah, 2000; Uslaner, 2002).

A number of studies illustrate that tighter familial and social ties provide more opportunities to volunteer (Wilson and Musick, 1997; Becker and Dhingra, 2011; Uslaner, 2002, 2003. Immigrant and minority groups might have particular trust, reserved for their members that

encourages volunteering only within the community (Uslaner, 2002). But education (Lee and Moon, 2011), opportunities for networking and acquiring new skills (Wang and Handy, 2014), and trust in government (Brehm and Rahn, 1997) increase the tendency for volunteering outside the community to broaden social networks (Alesina and Giuliano, 2009; Wang and Handy, 2014). Religious communities (Lim and MacGregor, 2012) have both the social ties that enable volunteering and an ethos of generosity that could have spillover effects on volunteering outside the community. But, different from immigrants volunteering outside the community has both potential gains but also significant risks for the community's values and integrity.

Motives for volunteering
Volunteering combines altruistic and instrumental or egoistic motives. Instrumental motives relate to potential benefits of volunteering such as acquiring occupational experience, knowledge, social ties and experimenting with different skills that will help the volunteer integrate in his or her work or studies (Clary and Snyder, 1991, 1996). Altruistic motives are an authentic desire to help others and to "create reform" in society in general and particularly in their community (Zanber, 2010; Peres and Liss, 1975; Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen, 1991; Clary and Snyder, 1991). Other studies differentiate "classic" or "old" from new volunteer patterns. In the former, volunteers usually belong to a religious or political group, have high and long-term motivation and loyalty to for explicit organization they belong to, and mainly display altruistic values and motives in their volunteering. Conversely, "new" volunteering describes short-term activities, devoid of a deep connection or commitment to particular organization, investment is limited by time and motives largely egoistic (Rehberg, 2005). Volunteer activity, however, may combine different motives, instrumental and altruistic (Hustinx and Lammertyn, 2003) and form an "ego-truistic" combination (Brooks, 2002; Yeung, 2004).

Religious societies – and the ultra-Orthodox community in particular – have additional motives for volunteering, derived from faith and world values attributing importance to grace and benevolence, as well as communal values and solidarity, important components of social capital and contribution, that can extend to wider society (Smith and Sharvit, 2003). Religiosity is often a marker of social networks and has a strong influence on the tendency to volunteer (Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen, 1991; Forbes and Zampelli, 2012; Wilson and Musick, 1997). Frequent churchgoers, for example, volunteer more and religious societies have more volunteering (Ruiter and De Graaf, 2006). Several studies found that religious people prefer to volunteer in their own communities and not in secular establishments (Wilson and Janoski, 1995; Carabain and Bekkers, 2011), but others did not find substantial differences in volunteering choices between volunteers of secular or religious belonging (Becker and Dhingra, 2001). Religious people, therefore, may acquire values and norms that elevate the mutual responsibility of helping others, but their volunteering can be restricted within religious social networks

The ultra-Orthodox and the NCS
The ultra-Orthodox in Israel rank high in volunteering, 38 percent in comparison to the average volunteering rate of 14 percent (Abu-Ahmed, 2010). This high rate is explained by social motives (the norm of donating to others) and religious values (benevolence) that exist in ultra-Orthodox society. The ultra-Orthodox community in Israel developed a complex relationship with state, society and government institutions. Historically alienated from the Zionist idea, the ultra-Orthodox community maintained distance from state and its institutions, not serving in the army for example, and developed their own institutions. As a "Scholars Society" (HEVRAT HA'LOMDIM) the community places high value on religious studies and young men enroll in religious institutions, avoiding both

military service and the labor market (Friedman, 1991). This arrangement made in early years of statehood was a political compromise that allowed the ultra-Orthodox community, in return for tacit support of state policies, to maintain its distinct way of life. Over the years, this society developed characteristics of a separatist and fundamentalist "Enclave Society" that minimized interfaces with modern society and state institutions (Sivan, 1991). Like religious and closed communities elsewhere, the ultra-Orthodox society is a communitarian society with tight and closed social networks and institutions for mutual assistance, based on solidarity that provides many of the spiritual and material needs to the individual (Berman, 1998).

Unlike other Jewish young men, the vast majority of ultra-Orthodox defer their military service and are in practice exempt from the army, a central component of Israel's republican citizenship (Peled and Shafir, 2005; Cohen, 1993). The exemption from military service is justified by the need to devote life and time to religious studies and community values. The difference between the ultra-orthodox lifestyle and the secular culture of the army raises concerns that military service might seriously undermine their religious way of life (Hakak, 2003). Among the Jewish population, the de facto exemption of ultra-Orthodox men is viewed negatively and political demands to enlist them gained popularity. The growing criticism, on the one hand, and changes within the ultra-Orthodox community, on the other hand, have led to attempts to find a new compromise that would allow religious young men to contribute to society, while maintaining their way of life, and provide them with different benefits, among them ability to integrate in the labor market. It is of a special significance, therefore, to examine the changes of perceptions and motivations among young ultra-Orthodox men, both in relation to army service and the labor market.

The Civic National Service (CNS), established in the early 1970s enabled religious women, exempted from mandatory military service, to volunteer in welfare, education and health services. A new policy in 2008 allowed ultra-Orthodox men to join the CNS. Service was, on the one hand, to provide young yeshiva men with work skill that would allow them in due course to find a job and, on the other hand, to ameliorate the tensions and resentments between secular and ultra-Orthodox. Like soldiers, volunteers are not paid a salary but receive an allowance during their service. Ultra-Orthodox volunteers continue with their religious studies alongside their volunteer work and receive a relatively large allowance in comparison to regular soldiers because most are already married and fathers to children and are compensated with a larger allowance. The majority of volunteers (75 percent) served in special education facilities within their communities, but others served in security and emergency services (17 percent) and in different health and welfare services (8 percent) outside the community (Malchi, 2011).

The ultra-Orthodox leadership's attitude toward the CNS ranges between disregard and firm opposition. The opposition is, first, to the perceived attempt of the state to change the status of ultra-Orthodox men and undermine the primacy of religious studies, and, second, out of concern that the young men will be exposed to the secular way of life. However, and despite the diffident attitude and concern of the spiritual-rabbinical leadership about 1,570 ultra-Orthodox men volunteered in different associations and organizations and were approximately 10 percent of all volunteers of the NCS in 2013 (Malchi and Fefferman, 2015). Religious young people can choose to volunteer in different institutions that expose them to the secular world but most (73 percent) prefer to volunteer within the community.

Motives for volunteering in the CNS are both instrumental, prospects for future employment (49 percent), and utilitarian, a desire "to help others in my community" (37 percent) (Malchi, 2011). Volunteering within the community prevents or limits interaction with the secular world and does not provide the volunteers with the necessary tools or networks for future employment. We assume therefore that differences exist in

motivations to volunteer and that those who remain within the community seek rewards that are less materialist (Stadler *et al.*, 2009). Conversely, volunteering outside the community provides more interaction with the secular world so we assume that these volunteers are instrumentally motivated, hoping to gain experience and networks that promise future employment. The choice where to volunteer is dependent upon religious and social background. Specifically, we argue that bridging social capital (often at the expense of bonding capital), relatively high trust in non-orthodox people and "open" social networks, explain volunteering outside the community. Conversely, volunteers who chose to serve within the community have strong bonding social capital, less trust and social ties with non-orthodox and, consequently, are concerned to serve outside the community.

Research methods
To assess the different motivations for volunteering and their relation to social capital, 30 interviews were conducted in the Summer of 2012 with ultra-Orthodox men volunteers between the ages of 23 and 28. The semi-structured interviews with volunteers in different organizations and institutions in the Jerusalem area, in different stages of their service, were designed to characterize the interviewees' social capital and examine the influence this capital has on the choice of service framework. The interviews included 15 volunteers in community-religious frameworks in which most workers and volunteers are ultra-Orthodox, most of them served as mentors or instructors for ultra-Orthodox youth at risk; and 15 volunteers in secular frameworks in which most of the workers, customers and managers are not ultra-Orthodox. The first approach to the interviewees was through workers of the association that manages the CNS in the area. Afterwards, volunteers who agreed to participate in the research were briefed in a phone conversation about the research and, later, were interviewed face to face. The hour-long semi-structured interviews were recorded, transcribed and analyzed in order to code central themes and evaluate the social capital of the volunteers. The interviews allowed us to assess the influence of social capital on the choice of volunteering and to examine our hypothesis that differences will be found between those who serve inside and outside the community.

The interviews examined several questions and concepts in order to explain the motivations behind volunteering inside and outside the community. First, the social networks and community belonging of the volunteers, namely, the circles of friendship and interactions revealed by the survey and the interviews. Second, levels and types of different trusts, generalized trust in strangers and trust reserved to the community. Third, the volunteers' assessment of the solidarity in the communities they come from and their community ties. And, fourth, the extent of interest in volunteering outside the ultra-Orthodox community and the reasons provided for the choice.

Data analysis used grounded theory approach (Strauss and Corbin, 1990) and thematic analysis, organizing the interview texts in categories identified as central. The identified categories reflect the relation between the theoretical concepts we chose and the information gathered in the interviews (Araujo, 1995). The categories allow us to describe and explain motivations and choices of volunteers and the different paths of volunteering.

Volunteering inside the community
The ultra-Orthodox society is an amalgam of different groups who share a strict perception of religious life. The three large groups that constitute the society are the Lithuanians, devoted to religious studies; the Hassidic, less devoted to study but very conservative and strict in everyday life behavior; and the ultra-Orthodox Sephardic, Jews of Middle-Eastern descent, influenced by the Lithuanian movement devotion to Judaic studies. The family and community background of the interviewees has a decisive influence on the volunteers' social capital characteristics, type of trust and, accordingly, on the choice to volunteer within or outside the

community. The volunteers who served as tutors and counselors in closed community frameworks grew and were educated in large ultra-Orthodox families (six to ten siblings) and they all belong to the Lithuanian and Sephardic movements. These volunteers constitute the religious core of "the studying society," a relatively closed off groups in the ultra-Orthodox society. Members of this group, concerned with maintaining religious values, usually continue with the Judaic studies parallel to their volunteer work in the service, and feel estranged from the outside, secular world. This is how "Jacob"[1] who volunteered in the framework of an ultra-Orthodox yeshiva described his childhood period:

> I grew up in Sanhedria neighborhood [an Ultra-Orthodox neighborhood in north-Jerusalem] in an Ultra-Orthodox close-knit community. That is the reason why I will always feel like a stranger with a secular person, or in a secular environment.

The ultra-Orthodox volunteers that chose to remain within the community mostly have ultra-Orthodox friends who studied in similar yeshivas. The extent of knowing people who are not ultra-Orthodox is very low and mainly amounts to chance and superficial acquaintances. Acquaintance with "the others" – non-ultra-Orthodox – is based on work relations or instrumental relations. The most important social networks are the immediate family and friends from the religious school (ages 17-20) with which they share a strong comradery they compare to military service:

> Friends in the yeshiva are like the comradeship between friends in the army, in relatively difficult conditions. We lived together like comrades-in-arms. You wake up every morning in a room with the same person and his sweat day after day. It is a very strong friendship because we grew up together (Abraham, 23 year old, Lithuanian Haredi from Bnei-Brak).

Thick ties extend to neighbors and communities that share their values and way of life, and reliance on others, financial or social, is very common (Berman, 1998; Bick, 2013). Mutual help and reciprocity defines and strengthens the borders of the community:

> Of course we receive help from the neighbors! It's not even a question! A lot of times they help us by watching the kids while my wife studies in the afternoon. Help whenever we need. It depends on the circle, the friends and the relationships you have. Some people are more open and others less so. But if you do not lend- you are not a neighbor (Moshe, 27 Lithuanian Haredi from Jerusalem).

Charity and mutual help are described as part of social and community activities that take place in synagogues, yeshivas and communities. Belonging to a community enables receiving extensive and significant assistance. Social networks, generalized reciprocity and the community-family background, influence the types and levels of trust the ultra-Orthodox volunteers have in strangers and in people from their own community. The level of inside trust within the group is high and results in a safe environment, especially compared to wider circles of trust. A 24-years-old volunteer with a Hassidic background who lives in Upper-Modi'in and volunteers in an ultra-Orthodox charity organization, expresses these feelings well:

> In other places in the state, if you leave your bike or baby carriage outside, it will just disappear. Where we are that would almost never happen, maybe only if there are "foreign workers" around. It's amazing. A man can hang a suit in a yeshiva or a synagogue with valuable things in it and nothing will disappear. If there is a theft it is very unusual. If my wallet somehow disappears, it will almost certainly be returned to me […] I don't trust the "general" people. I trust my close environment very much. I live in a safe environment […] I can trust many people in the community with certain things, but not things which are tempting or which can be stolen (Bezalel, 23 Hassid who volunteer in conversion organization).

The high level of trust and the extensive connections with neighbors and members of the community are reflected also in the willingness to lend goods, exchange houses and provide

loans when needed. A large family implies many weddings and celebrations that often require help of neighbors in hosting guests and money loans from the community, all measures of trust and reciprocity:

> I trust most of my neighbors, even if we have conflicts. If a friend will ask me for a loan, I will not hesitate, even if there is a risk. We often lend our apartments if there is a family celebration, even to people we don't know (Yechzkel, volunteer in a medical institution).

While ultra-Orthodox communities enjoy trust and reciprocity strangers are treated with suspicion. Asked to what extent they can trust non-ultra-Orthodox people (in different situations) most volunteers used the expression: "proceed cautiously when dealing with an unfamiliar person." The volunteers interviewed attribute higher moral standards and integrity to religious people and, conversely, lower standards to others that cannot be fully trusted. Ishay, a volunteer is a Sepharadic educational institution thinks that "every person who believes, even a Muslim believer, is likely to be more honest than a non-believer." Aharon, a Lithuanian volunteer, explains he will trust believers:

> Someone that I know is religious "inside", regardless if he is ultra-orthodox or secular, I can trust, it is about his upbringing and belief. When I look at the majority of secular people is seems that they are committed only to their personal conscious and that may not be enough, that is why you should trust only people that believe in god. Where I grew up there is more trust between people, among secular people it is not inevitable that every person you meet will be honest because of the education he received.

Generalized trust of volunteers within the community, therefore, toward outsiders and non-religious is limited. Strong trust within the community, or particularized trust, has often also an effect on trust of the state and its institutions. As expected, ultra-Orthodox volunteers demonstrate low trust of the state and its institutions (Malchi, 2011). However, marginal differences were found between those who volunteer inside and outside the community. Thus, for example, 56 percent of the volunteers in religious frameworks state they do not trust the legal system, but also 49 percent of those who serve outside the community. Ultra-Orthodox volunteers, and the community at large, have very little trust in the legal system, the Israel Police, the local and state authorities (Malchi, 2011). The feeling of discrimination and inequality projected by the ultra-Orthodox volunteers during the interviews repeated itself. Whether an authentic feeling or rhetoric attributed to the ultra-Orthodox minority's constant sense of threat, it is an unequivocal and embracing phenomenon derived from a very low level of identification with the state and the secular establishment:

> There is obviously discrimination between Ultra-Orthodox and seculars in the law and in the courts. I think the police also treat the Ultra-Orthodox less well that they do other Jews. Overall I think the police is one big mafia […] I don't identify with the state because I don't believe in this concept of a secular state. I am not ashamed of being an Israeli but I'm also not really proud of it (Kobi, Sephardi Haredi, volunteer in elementary school for UO boys).

Separatist education and the lack of civic education (Stadler *et al.*, 2009) explain ultra-Orthodox low trust in government and state institutions. This is true also for volunteers that choose to work outside the community, a hint that the choice may be more related to instrumental motivations than to identification with the state and desire to contribute to society at large.

Volunteering outside the community

Compared to the ultra-Orthodox volunteers in the community-religious organizations (mostly ultra-Orthodox institutions for special education), the volunteers in secular organizations belong to different ultra-Orthodox communities, including those defined as "modern Ultra-Orthodox" (Zicherman and Cahaner, 2012), characterized by greater

engagement with the non-Orthodox world and experiences outside the community, as one of the interviewees describes:

I grew up in a Religious Zionist settlement and neighborhoods when I was young. Later on, I lived a few years abroad when my father was as an emissary. I studied in non-Ultra-Orthodox religious high school yeshivas. I define myself as a general Ultra-Orthodox (Amiram, 24 Modern-Orthodox volunteer).

Consequently, these volunteers have more heterogenic social networks; they interact with people outside their community and, in general, are more open to experiences and less concerned of stepping outside the community:

I have all types of friends because of the yeshivas I studied in. I have Ultra-Orthodox, Hassidic, Lithuanian and secular friends. I also have Punk friends and I really have friends of all types. In the places in which I studied and worked I managed to meet a lot of different types of friends (Benjamin, 23 Modern-Orthodox volunteer in the Police).

Avshalom, a Sepharadic Jew, volunteering in the Jerusalem municipality, described his social networks from his neighborhood that includes also non-religious friends. These networks are not as tight as those described in the ultra-Orthodox communities, but have their own benefits:

Since childhood I have friends, secular and traditional, from the old neighborhood I kept in touch with. We were good friends until I left for the Yeshivah (religious educational institute). Although it is not an intensive relationship it is still meaningful. In every family event, they are the first I invite.

Unlike the volunteers who choose to stay within the community, those who serve outside the community interacted more with non-religious people before they volunteered, are less suspicious toward non-religious people or base the decision to trust or not on personal rather than group affiliation:

Proceed cautiously when dealing with an unfamiliar person not "blindly" but according to the matter at hand. Some places in which you trust more and less in others, according to the type of relations you have with the person. I respect, but I don't fully trust anyone (Elyashiv, 22.5 National Ultra-Orthodox volunteer in the Jerusalem Municipality).

Regarding most people [non-religious] it is usually yes, sometimes yes and sometimes now. It is really about the person. On some things I will trust secular people more than religious, and on other things less. Among some of the ultra-orthodox there is disregard for personal property that hardly exists among secular people (Ariel, Sephardi Haredi from Jerusalem, volunteer in MDA).

The more generalized trust makes them also more open to different opinions and ideas and more willing to learn from others, including secular people. Describing their value system as "strong" they are unafraid of being exposed to other ways of life and, therefore, volunteering outside the community is easier:

I can learn from everyone, even from this conversation. Every day I learn something new and hear new ideas and opinions. Professionally, it is inevitable that I should learn from everyone but of course I am ready to listen to other worldviews but my belief system cannot be shattered (Yedidiah, a volunteer firefighter).

Some of the volunteers outside the community, especially those who grew up in the margins of the ultra-Orthodox society, displayed more openness and, conversely, lesser commitment to and trust in their own communities. A volunteer in the Jerusalem municipality, for example, describes his ultra-Orthodox neighbors, very different from the descriptions of volunteers inside the community:

I'm not sure if I would have lent my apartment to a neighbor or to someone from the synagogue even if I knew them well. I don't really trust people in that kind of thing. Some things are my limit

[…] I am pretty suspicious in general and don't trust people when I first meet them […] but I don't divide people into categories like religious or secular, it mostly depends on their personality. In general, I know, and also grew up with seculars in mixed frameworks and so I don't think there are differences between Ultra-Orthodox and seculars […] there is no good sector or bad sector, there are only good people and bad people (Dotan, 23 National-Orthodox).

The generalized trust of ultra-Orthodox volunteers seems higher than that of their friends who volunteered within the community, often relying on their experience and interactions. Yet, it is more shallow trust than that within the close-knitted communities described above. This trust is a starting point for exploring their motivations for volunteering that can be either altruistic or instrumental. The former refers to the desire to contribute to state and society, the latter to potential gains of volunteering. In practice, personal egotistical motives and altruistic motives often integrate, in accordance with social and religious norms of different populations (Baron and Byrane, 2003; Rehberg, 2005).

Why volunteer?

Volunteers within the religious community and those who serve outside the community often have different backgrounds, social capital and trust. Our interviews demonstrate that those who serve outside the community have wider networks of association, more inclusive social capital and to some extent greater trust in strangers. Yet, their trust in the state and its institutions is low and almost similar to that of their brethren who choose to serve within the community. What then motivates ultra-Orthodox to volunteer, in general, and to step outside the safety of the community in particular? In general, the two main motives according to a survey of the Ministry of Economy are contradictory and complementary at the same time and they can perhaps fit the motive expression –"ego-truistic." The main motive (49 percent) is the convenient alternative that NCS offers for military service that provides job skills and provides them, while in service, an opportunity to work unavailable to those who study in a yeshiva. At the same time, however, 37 percent of all volunteers declare that they are motivated by a desire to "contribute to society and other people," though not necessarily to the state. The motives alignment, therefore, is a combination of collective-altruist motives and individual-egotistical motives, influenced to some extent by the character of the NCS that rewards the volunteers continuously through stipends, grants and status, similar to young volunteers in different places and circumstances (Rehberg, 2005; Kna'an and Goldberg-Glenn, 1991).

Volunteering within the community

Volunteers who chose to stay in their communities attribute their motivations to a world view that ascribes importance to help the weak and the needy, common to the ultra-Orthodox world and the close-knit communities described above. These altruistic and religious motives combine with high level of particularized trust, bonded social capital of closed networks, and a fear of the secular world – a fear that preserves the separation and seclusion of this group. Overall, and in line with the findings described above, the volunteers do not perceive their service as a contribution to the state, but rather as a contribution to society, not as a vague, abstract term but a clear and distinct society – the ultra-Orthodox society. Volunteers described their service in educational institutions as a mission of high importance that enabled them to preserve their lifestyle and values:

The service in the yeshiva is combined with a sense of mission and personal satisfaction in a religious framework […] I was looking for a framework for night studies [a religious framework] a bit differently and with added value which is expressed in work with people and helping somewhat weak youth, but of course I would prefer working and helping my own public. I think everyone should be helped, but *personally, I have the ability and the emotional strength to help my*

own public in particular. Anyone able to help everyone, all the better. My purpose in life is religious study, in both emotional and social aspects, and I intend to help others with it: (Nachume, Lithuanian volunteer in Yeshiva for children with learning difficulties).

Others have stressed the importance of an environment that would not expose them to secular lifestyles and allow them to protect their values:

If it were up to me I wouldn't go to a secular volunteer place. I will serve some place I know I won't get hurt in. I don't want to be exposed to unwanted things. It is important to contribute within boundaries you know you won't get hurt in (Moerdechi, Sfaradi volunteer in Yeshiva).

Overall, volunteers within the community describe their choice to join the CNS in altruistic terms, a desire to contribute to the community, they relate to social and religious motives derived from the importance the community attributes to charity and mutual help. The majority of the volunteers do not foresee their volunteer work in the complementary education frameworks as a route that would lead to an occupational career, but as a mission and social calling for the benefit of the community[2].

Eli described why he chose to volunteer in a religious education institution and argues this is the normative course for an ultra-Orthodox man:

I prefer to serve in an educational institute where I can study Torah and help others. This is the best contribution I can give. I will not volunteer in a medical institute, for example, here I can study and help the ultraorthodox community.

Statements of this sort were very common among volunteers in the community. These volunteers choose not to take the opportunity to gain work skills and experience, in medical facilities, for example, and prefer to stay in the community where they can maintain their ways of life and help people in the community.

Conversely, volunteers in secular frameworks, who serve outside the community, display a somewhat different set of motivations, combining altruistic and instrumental explanations to explain their choice of volunteering. Serving outside the ultra-Orthodox society is sometimes explained by a desire to contribute to the general public good, but it is also about a desire to acquire certain occupational experience that might help them at the end of their service. This is how Chanoch, a young volunteer that served in the Ministry of Public Security as PR man, against his parents' wish, described his choice:

Is it a moral principle or business? There is certainly principle, but also a lot of business, to be able to go out to work in the future. Still, the highest calling is that of the yeshiva-student, but those who do not study the Torah have to contribute, because it is part of the citizen's obligations to the country. Nonetheless it is clear that part of the consideration is to go out to work.

Similarly, to previous findings described in the literature (Brooks, 2002; Yeung, 2004; Rehberg, 2005), the personal-utilitarian consideration related to acquiring specific occupational experience during the service is very prominent among many of the volunteers outside the community. According to them, integrating in voluntary partly professional positions such as Magen David Adom (Israeli Red Cross), Yad-Sarah[3], government offices and the police might enhance their chances to integrate in different work positions in these organizations or other like them in the future.

The professional advantage is significant, but because these organizations often perform an important and notable role, the potential advantages of the service can be accompanied by a strong sensation of a social mission, as David, volunteer in Yad-Sarah, explain:

I took the service seriously. I really like to help and love to be charitable towards all people. There are many people who join the service and try to finish it as quickly as possible […] I want to stay here in Yad-Sarah. I actually want to work here. Now that I am assigned important roles here, it is something that is important to me.

Commitment and desire to contribute to the state can at times be insignificant in the beginning of the service, as a volunteer in the police indicates. The police is an interesting example, as it often clashes with the ultra-Orthodox who usually describe it negative terms. Benjamin, who served in the police as a volunteer, describes how he gradually integrated and found his place in the organization, his commitment intensified, and, in retrospect, an ideological element became part of the service:

> In the beginning I didn't feel a commitment at all, but now [during the service] it is beginning to intensify a bit and I have more ideology. We used to call the cops "Nazis" but now, when you begin to know them, you understand them (Benjamin, Modern-Orthodox, volunteer in the Police).

The career and aspiration consideration of these ultra-Orthodox volunteers, seeking to acquire significant occupational experience, very much influences their choice of service place, usually in professional settings, outside the community that provide them. The ultra-Orthodox volunteers in the secular institutions are less committed to the ultra-Orthodox community in comparison to those serving within the community, due to their family and community backgrounds. Their personal-utilitarian considerations seem much more significant than the social-religious consideration or the altruistic ones. These volunteers have more bridging than bonding social capital, reflected in relatively wider networks, a smaller commitment to the community and larger trust in people outside the community that enables them to take advantage of the potential gains of volunteering.

Discussion and conclusions

Studies and the theories identify a sequence of motives for volunteering, ranging from utilitarian-egotistical (Clary *et al.*, 1996) to social-altruistic pole (Perres and Liss, 1975; Baron and Byrane, 2003; Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen, 1991). The choice where to volunteer, within immediate, intimate communities or in wider associations, we argue here, is underscored by social capital that shapes perceptions and motivations. For members of religious groups, volunteering outside the community has benefits but also specific risks of exposure to different and objectionable lifestyles. Civil National Service offered to ultra-Orthodox men in Israel presented them with the dilemma not only whether to volunteer, but where. Volunteering inside the community would provide them with a familiar and safe environment where the benefits of volunteering would be limited to community members. Conversely, volunteering outside the community could risk compromising their strict religious values, but allow them to help other people and, more importantly, acquire skills for future employment (Table I).

	Family background and community belonging	Networks	Trust	Orientation to the state and its institutions	Motivations	Social capital
Volunteers' in the community	Close, homogenized and separate	Closed: only in the community	High specific trust and low generalized trust	Very low, hostile attitude	Mainly altruistic and religious	Mainly "Bonding" social capital
Volunteers' outside the community	Open, Tends to Integrate, Heterogeneous	Open: also outside the Community	High generalized trust, sometimes with low specific trust	Low-medium, ambivalent	Mainly utilitarian motive	Mainly "Bridging" social capital and bonding SC

Table I.
Motivation for volunteering – bonding and bridging social capital

Ultra-Orthodox men, from both groups, demonstrate limited if any attachment and identity with the state and its institutions so the reasons for volunteering can be attributed either to specific targets worthy of contribution or to benefits that accrue from volunteering. Here again, differences were found between the two groups. For volunteers inside the community the motivations matched their social capital. On the one hand, a desire to contribute to their close-knit community and, on the other hand, reluctance to step out of the community and interact with strangers, regardless of the potential benefits of this choice. Volunteers outside the community do not have the same reservations, they have previous experiences of interactions and wider networks, a more limited commitment to the ultra-Orthodox community and a desire to reap the advantages of volunteering outside the community. Regardless of their intentions, however, it is quite possible that volunteering does change their perception of and affiliat`ions with the state and its institutions. These motives encourage individuals from separatist-religious communities to volunteer in secular frameworks, with the aim of maximizing their personal abilities and skills and to cautiously break the boundaries of their community and utilize external resources and social networks that help them develop a significant occupational horizon.

The inclusion of ultra-Orthodox men in the NCS is significant for their ability to integrate in the labor market, alleviate poverty and strengthen ties with other communities. The study results demonstrate that different incentives and opportunities will have to be developed for volunteers to overcome the limitations of bonding social capital. While this research is limited in scope, it suggests that volunteers who outstep their community boundaries are motivated by instrumental reasons and economic incentives rather than by attachment to society and state. However, regardless of initial motivations, interactions and experiences can change perceptions and commitments of alienated minority groups, increase their trust of other groups and provide for future integration.

Notes

1. All names of interviewees are pseudonyms.

2. Nonetheless, the utilitarian aspect derived from the stipend received for the national civic service and the fact that this service exempts them from military service cannot be completely rejected.

3. MDA is a national rescue organization, and works in cooperation with other emergency and security authorities (Israeli police, IDF, fire fighters, etc.). MDA belongs to the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement and is Israeli Red Cross National Society (for more details see the MDA homepage www.mdais.org/en/). "Yad Sara" is the largest voluntary organization in Israel, provides a spectrum of free or nominal cost services designed to make life easier for sick, disabled and elderly people and their families. The organization established by UO family 40 years ago. Part of the organization management today is still UO (www.yadsarah.org.il/)

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