

ISM UNIVERSITY OF MANAGEMENT AND ECONOMICS

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THE INFLUENCE OF SOVIET IMPRINTS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF
NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS IN A POST-SOVIET CONTEXT

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	6
LIST OF FIGURES	7
KEY DEFINITIONS	8
INTRODUCTION	9
1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	16
1.1. Conceptualization of the Third Sector.....	17
1.1.1. Organizational Aspect of the Third Sector	22
1.1.2. Non-governmental Organizations as Representatives of the Third Sector	24
1.1.3. Performance in Non-governmental Organizations.....	26
1.1.4. Volunteering as a Primary Resource for Non-governmental Organizations	27
1.2. Non-governmental Organizations in a Post-Soviet Country Context	33
1.2.1. Soviet Context	33
1.2.2. Transition to Market Economy	36
1.2.3. Development of Non-governmental Organizations in Lithuania	38
1.2.4. Organizing Third Sector and Non-governmental Organizations in Lithuania	40
1.3. Imprinting Theory	44
1.3.1. History and Definitions of Imprinting Theory	44
1.3.2. Imprinting in Industries	50
1.3.3. Imprinting in Organizations	50
1.3.4. Imprinting on Individuals	51
1.3.5. Research on Soviet Imprints	52
1.4. Theories Related to Imprinting.....	54
1.4.1. Scripts as Behavioral Imprints.....	55
1.4.2. Life Course Theory.....	57
1.4.3. Institutionalization Theory and Non-governmental Organizations	59
1.4.4. Unlearning as Part of Organizational Change	61
1.5. Concluding Overview of the Research on the Non-governmental Organizations in a Post-Soviet Context.....	63
2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND FINDINGS.....	67

2.1.	Methodological Approach	67
2.2.	Study I.....	68
2.2.1.	Research Design	68
2.2.2.	Data Collection.....	69
2.2.3.	Data Analysis	72
2.2.4.	Findings of the Qualitative Study	75
2.3.	Main Conclusions from Study I and Hypotheses for Study II	97
2.3.1.	Age and Attitudes Toward Formal Volunteering.....	98
2.3.2.	Age, Attitudes toward Non-governmental Organizations and Volunteering	99
2.3.3.	Age, External Power Primacy, and Volunteering	101
2.3.4.	Age, Authoritarian Outlook, and Volunteering.....	103
2.3.5.	Sample and Procedure of Study II	104
2.3.6.	Measures of Variables	106
2.3.7.	Results of Study II	108
2.3.8.	Overview of the Study II Findings	114
3.	DISCUSSION	116
3.1.	Limitations of this Thesis and Suggestions for Future Research	122
3.2.	Practical Implications	123
	CONCLUSIONS	124
	REFERENCES	126
	SANTRAUKA.....	148
	SUMMARY	166
	SHORT BIO	184
	ANNEXES.....	185

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Analysis of the organizational features of the third sector in different contexts.....	43
Table 2. Theories like imprinting.....	54
Table 3. Respondent information.....	71
Table 4. Positive and negative Soviet influence on NGOs development	75
Table 5. Citations with codes (Authoritarian regime).....	81
Table 6. Citations with codes (stability and security guaranteed by the government).....	85
Table 7. Citations with codes (Hidden social problems).....	88
Table 8. Citations with codes (Absence of donation culture)	90
Table 9. Citations with codes (absence of the NGO as a legal organizational form).....	94
Table 10. Sociodemographic factors of respondents in Study II	106
Table 11. Descriptive statistics and intercorrelations of study variables	109
Table 12. H2a and H2b hypothesis testing report	110
Table 13. H2C hypothesis testing report	110
Table 14. H3a and H3b hypothesis testing report	111
Table 15. H3c hypothesis testing.....	112
Table 16. H4a and H4b hypotheses testing report	112
Table 17. H4c hypothesis testing report	113
Table 18. Hypotheses testing results.....	113

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Theoretical framework.....	16
Figure 2. Welfare triangle.....	18
Figure 3. Third sector composition	21
Figure 4. Imprinting framework.....	49
Figure 5. Research design.....	68
Figure 6. Gioia's data structure.....	73
Figure 7. Hypothesized links between age, attitudes toward NGOs, and attitudes toward formal volunteering	101
Figure 8. Hypothesized links between age, external power primacy, and attitudes toward formal volunteering	102
Figure 9. Hypothesized links between age, authoritarian outlook, and attitudes toward formal volunteering	104

KEY DEFINITIONS

Bottom-up – discourse starting from the lowest hierarchical levels, e.g., initiatives raised by casual citizens and not by governmental institutions.

Central and Eastern European Countries (CEE) – a group that consists of the countries Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the Slovak Republic, Slovenia, and the three Baltic States: Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania(OECD, 2008).

Civil Society – an idealized theoretical space in which societal actors come together for discussion and debate and produce shared normative values relating to our evolving ideas about civil society (Viterna et al., 2015).

Third sector (TS) – a sector of organized human action composed of collective actors beyond the family and distinct from the state and the market (Viterna et al., 2015). The term also comprises NGOs and nonprofit organizations.

Non-governmental organization (NGO) – a voluntarily acting public legal entity separate from governmental institutions, the purpose of which is not solely to gain political power or to act for religious purposes (NGOs Development Law, Lithuania, 2014).

Nonprofit Institutions (NPI) – legal or social entities created to produce goods and services whose status does not permit them to be a source of income, profit, or other financial gains for the units that establish, control, or finance them [...] (and) their productive activities are bound to generate either surpluses or deficits but any surpluses they happen to make cannot be appropriated by other institutional units (1993 SNA, para. 4.54.).

Imprinters – preexisting forces and characteristics that constitute the environment in which the imprinting takes place (Simsek et al., 2015, p. 293).

The imprinted – the target or bearer of the imprint (Simsek et al., 2015, p. 294).

Imprints – attributes that "reflect forces present during relatively short, susceptible periods in [...] history" (Lyle et al., 2022, p. 3).

Imprinting process – the actual occurrence of imprint formation and the mechanism that occurs during the sensitive period" (Simsek et al., 2015, p. 298).

INTRODUCTION¹

World economies face many challenges associated with poverty, injustice, and other forms of people's suffering. In such context, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are defined as "organizations concerned with the promotion of social, political or economic change" (Lewis et al., 2020, p. 7) that provide additional resources and promote development (Lewis & Kanji, 2009). NGOs organizing bottom-up human actions that differ from government and business and are beyond families' efforts (Viterna et al., 2015) often are seen as 'saviors' (Carapico, 2000, p. 12) as well as one of the main attributes of a democratic culture (Kamerāde et al., 2016). NGOs established through the initiative of the people are a valuable resource in contemporary economies and have grown rapidly worldwide, both in terms of the number of entities and in the variety of forms (Salamon, 1999). In Europe, NGO sectors account for 29 million employees, making it by size the third "industry" in Europe (Enjolras et al., 2018, p. 54). The development of this sector in Central and Eastern European countries (CEE) has been slower and continues to exist in an early development state in comparison to more economically developed European countries (Enjolras, 2021; Enjolras et al., 2018). This may be explained by the historical past of CEE countries.

From World War II until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, CEE countries had been occupied by Russia and incorporated in the Soviet system. The Soviet regime relied on a planned economy with predominant state ownership, a centralized social security system providing free health care and education for all citizens, and a centrally planned labor force distribution system, creating total employment and the absence of poverty and unemployment (Bučiūnienė, 2018b; Ciszewska-Mlinaric et al., 2018; Vadi, 2018). It was an egalitarian society without market competition, characterized by equal pay structures, relatively high retirement pensions (compared to salaries), and free provision of social services (Bučiūnienė, 2018b; Grybkauskas et al., 2011). The Communist Party reigned in the former CEE countries, and all liberal initiatives and movements were forbidden (Grybkauskas et al., 2011). Even trade unions functioned under a specific model as governmental organizations and distributed some benefits and services (Vickerstaff & Thirkell, 2000). Volunteering as a free will to devote oneself

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to work in unpaid organizational settings did not exist in Soviet times. There was a highly authoritarian management rule with a top-down approach in every aspect of life. There was no place for free bottom-up initiatives to be recognized in official organizations. All organizations had to align with the government's agenda, so 'one-man management' was the only legitimate way in Soviet institutions (Yanowitch, 1984, p. 96). The NGO sector did not exist under the Soviet regime and emerged in CEE countries only after the restoration of independence in the 1990s, along with subsequent liberation and democratization processes. The propensity to take an active and self-starting approach to work was practically nonexistent, especially among casual citizens who did not hold high positions in the Soviet hierarchical system (Frese et al., 1996). Moreover, in Soviet times, in a centrally planned system, human resources and other state-owned resources were allocated to achieve the established plans, preferably without deviation. As state plans were imperfect, some sectors needed obligatory 'volunteering' from casual citizens to catch the local or regional plans. Mandatory involvement in work, calling it 'volunteering', eventually eroded the true meaning of volunteering in organizational settings (Khvorostianov & Remennick, 2018).

After liberalization from Soviet occupation, CEE countries have shared many similarities in NGO development (Rozbicka et al., 2021). Scholars note that the post-socialist public sphere may be small but may be contributing enough (Olivo, 2011) in instilling openness to different opinions and movements (Foa & Ekiert, 2017) as well as contributing to the development of democracy (Kamerāde et al., 2016). However, when it comes to formal organizing, NGOs are neglected by governments (Cox, 2020; Olivo, 2011; Regulska, 1999) and cannot create an independent role (Cox, 2020). Moreover, they are less resilient to political changes than in Western countries (Pape et al., 2020). Social norms still do not favor NGOs in many CEE countries as well (Waniak-Michalak et al., 2020). NGOs in the context of early post-Soviet countries are noticed to have a wide variation in organizational structure, an absence of common logic, a lack of finances, and a weak infrastructure compared to those in Western countries (Žiliukaitė et al., 2006). Negative attitudes toward NGOs were already noticed in the early days of democracy (Regulska, 1999), as well as after three decades of its development (Waniak-Michalak et al., 2020). The EU has influenced the acceleration of NGOs in CEE countries (Meyer et al., 2020) including Lithuania, but there still exists a lack of citizen initiative (Enjolras, 2021; Žiliukaitė, 2018).

Scholars acknowledge the scarcity of citizen initiatives (as invaluable volunteering resources) in CEE countries compared to Western Europe (Enjolras, 2021; Enjolras et al., 2018). Post-Soviet countries generally rank low in volunteer numbers and NGO workers (Principi et al., 2012). Volunteering is unrecognized in post-Soviet countries, and people do not feel proud to volunteer and work for free (Silló, 2016). While in older democratic societies, people tend to recognize the value of volunteering in later adulthood (Gray et al., 2012), in post-Soviet societies, volunteering is especially neglected by older citizens (Ehlers et al., 2011; Pranaitytė, 2022). In post-Soviet countries, voluntary services usually have to rely on people from the younger generation who have never experienced the Soviet system (Raišienė & Vilké, 2014).

Scholars acknowledge that different countries differ in volunteering resources because of the differences in social capital (Putnam, 2000) and because of different “social origin” approaches caused by historical factors (Salamon & Anheier, 1998). Investigating the country context would be necessary to understand NGOs better (Carapico, 2000). Inattention to geographical and historical issues in specific regions could be crucial. NGOs in one region may not be understood the same way they are in other regions. If an NGO in a specific country is unable to replicate the specific models of an NGO in highly developed countries, this NGO could then be seen to be failing, “weak,” or “underdeveloped” (Mercer, 2002, p. 13). By following the importance of evidence about NGOs from different regions, researchers call for more attention to the history and contextualization of NGO research (Mercer, 2002). The influence of the national context on volunteering behaviors has garnered increasing attention among scholars (Liu & Jia, 2022; Luria et al., 2015), suggesting that historically inherited institutional characteristics are pivotal in shaping an individual’s capacity to engage in volunteer activities throughout the European nations (Enjolras, 2021, p. 1204).

We base our research on imprinting theory (Marquis & Tilcsik, 2013), suggesting that specific attitudes and behaviors adopted in a certain environment during a particular time period in the past may persist for a long time in organizational settings (Stinchcombe, 1965) and individuals (Higgins, 2005). Such attitudes and behaviors or attributes reflecting a specific period of time in history may be called imprints (Lyle et al., 2022). These imprints as reflections of the past may affect the behaviors of individuals, organizations, and society decades after the initial sensitive period ends and the historical context changes (Xu et al., 2021).

If we wish to have insights of why post-Soviet countries have less developed NGOs and lower volunteering rates, we need to take a closer look at the reality of the post-Soviet cultural and historical context (Howard, 2003; Toepler & Salamon, 2003). Previous research indicated that five decades of the Soviet regime have had a significant impact on the minds and behaviors of CEE societies (Banalieva et al., 2017; Toepler & Salamon, 2003; Žiliukaitė et al., 2006). However, the research on Soviet imprints affecting post-Soviet societies is scarce (Albu et al., 2020; Banalieva et al., 2017). Evidence on Soviet imprints in post-Soviet countries is still limited and was concentrated on the abilities of business organizations to adapt to changes and perform concerning the demands of newly established practices (Albu et al., 2021; Kriauciunas & Kale, 2006) and new organizational behavior (Banalieva et al., 2017). The knowledge about the Soviet imprints on NGO developments and volunteering in CEE countries is limited and tends to demonstrate NGOs as a marker of democratization (Foa & Ekiert, 2017; Kamerāde et al., 2016) or critique their struggles in developmental trajectories (Howard, 2003). Whereas much of the research acknowledges the influence of the Soviet past on NGO development issues (Howard, 2003; Regulska, 1999; Toepler & Salamon, 2003; Waniak-Michalak et al., 2020), research has not examined the exact issues of Soviet imprints that might have interfered with NGO development in CEE countries.

In this dissertation, we seek to answer the research question of what the Soviet imprints are and how they have affected the NGO's development in a post-Soviet country and attitudes towards volunteering.

This thesis aims to explore the Soviet period's imprints and their manifestation in the development of NGOs in Lithuania, a post-Soviet country.

Research objectives:

1. To conceptualize the development of NGOs as a part of civil society and their development in post-Soviet countries.
2. To reveal the features of the Soviet environment that became the imprints affecting the early development of NGOs in Lithuania after its independence.
3. To examine the influence of Soviet imprints on the attitudes toward formal volunteering, the primary resource of NGOs in Lithuania.
4. To provide recommendations for strengthening NGOs in post-Soviet countries.

The dissertation employs a mixed-methods approach, combining qualitative and quantitative research to explore the influence of Soviet imprints on NGO development.

Study I is a retrospective qualitative study based on interviews with 30 creators and developers of early democratic NGOs in Lithuania. It aims to explore the features of the Soviet environment (the imprinters) that turned into imprints that affected early NGO development.

Study II is a quantitative survey of 351 respondents conducted to test the findings from Study I and assess the influence of Soviet imprints on attitudes toward volunteering in Lithuania.

Combining these methods allows for a comprehensive exploration of the research question, providing depth and breadth to analyzing Soviet imprints and their impact on NGOs in a post-Soviet country.

Our study contributes to research in several ways. First, we explore the manifestation of Soviet imprints in a CEE country, i.e., Lithuania, that offers “still a promising research context” (Bučiūnienė, 2018b, p. 698). By creating and testing the conceptual model showing Soviet imprints’ installment for later NGO development, we offer a new lens for post-Soviet NGO and volunteering research (Plagnol & Huppert, 2010; Silló, 2016; Voicu & Voicu, 2009). The existing NGO research does not specify historical legacies that continue to influence their development. This dissertation fills this gap by exploring how Soviet imprints—ingrained attitudinal patterns and behavior formed under the Soviet regime—have shaped the development of NGOs in Lithuania, a post-Soviet country. We identify Soviet imprints influencing NGOs and thus contribute to the post-Soviet NGO research (Regulska, 1999; Waniak-Michalak et al., 2020).

Second, by using imprinting theory (Marquis & Tilcsik, 2013) as a primary tool in the search for historical factors that might affect NGO development, we enable worldwide NGO research seeking to understand the development of local NGOs from the perspective of a historical viewpoint (Salamon & Anheier, 1998; Toepler & Salamon, 2003).

Furthermore, by identifying imprints that influence the organizational landscape of NGOs, we contribute to the research on organizational imprinting, which has hitherto been dominated by studies focusing on business organizations (Albu et al., 2020; Banalieva et al., 2017; Kriauciunas & Kale, 2006; Liu & Luo, 2022).

We also examine how soviet imprints affect attitudes toward volunteering as a citizen initiative and main source of NGOs and add to the post-Soviet volunteering research studies (Khvorostianov & Remennick, 2018; Pranaitytė, 2022; Silló, 2016; Žiliukaitė, 2018).

Research relevance to practice. Studying Soviet imprints on NGOs opens new insight and application opportunities for different stakeholders:

- Government institutions might benefit from acknowledging the specific patterns of post-Soviet NGO development issues and using this knowledge to create NGO policies, such as forming the NGO identity and building stronger capacity in the NGO sector.
- NGO leaders might also note these findings and address the vulnerabilities stemming from Soviet-related attitudes when communicating with external stakeholders, such as governmental institutions, and when recruiting, motivating, and devoting jobs to volunteers, especially senior ones.
- NGO agencies should work toward creating a legal and regulatory environment that encourages the participation of both younger and older volunteers.

The dissertation is structured as follows: first, a detailed review is presented of the existing literature on NGO development as a worldwide phenomenon and Soviet legacies as a hindrance to NGO development in the post-Soviet space, with an emphasis on the gaps this study seeks to fill; then, imprinting theory is introduced as a conceptual framework with which to study Soviet legacies in early post-Soviet and modern society; third, the qualitative study is introduced, as well as its findings as the basis for the quantitative study; then the quantitative study and its findings are discussed, as well as the overall findings; and finally, the conclusions of the entire thesis are presented.

PUBLICATION OF DISSERTATION RESULTS AND CONFERENCES

Publications in peer-reviewed journals:

1. Petreikienė, D., & Bučiūnienė, I. (2024). Unearthing the Legacy: Contrasting Soviet Imprints on Early NGOs in Lithuania. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 1-13.
2. Petreikienė, D. (2024). Still post-Soviet? What Is Left from Soviet Attitudes to Form the Modern Attitudes Toward Volunteering? *Tiltai*. 93(2).

Presentation at international conferences:

1. Bernadeta Goštautaitė; Heike Schroder; Margarita Pilkienė; Dovilė Petreikienė; Irina Liubertė. Career imprints of older workers and proactive behaviors at work in Germany and Lithuania. 6th Age in The Workplace Small Group Meeting, October 2021.
2. Irina Liubertė; Dovilė Petreikienė; Bernadeta Goštautaitė; Margarita Pilkienė. Methodological challenges to studying silence in organizations. *Academy of Management Proceedings*, 1, August 2021.
3. Bernadeta Goštautaitė; Margarita Pilkienė; Dovilė Petreikienė; Irina Liubertė. Career imprints of Lithuanian schoolteachers: the “silenced generation” in changed times. 38th EGOS Colloquium, July 2022.
4. Dovilė Petreikienė; Ilona Bučiūnienė. Soviet imprints as inhibitors and inducers in post-soviet non-governmental organizations’ development. *European Academy of Management Conference*, June 2022.
5. Dovilė Petreikienė; Ilona Bučiūnienė. Soviet imprints on NGOs’ development in a CEE country context. Fifteenth International Conference of the International Society for Third Sector Research, July 2022.
6. Irina Liubertė; Dovilė Petreikienė; Bernadeta Goštautaitė; Margarita Pilkienė. The methodological struggles of studying silence: a review and recommendations for research practice. *Academy of Management Proceedings*, 1, August 2023.
7. Dovilė Petreikienė. From past regimes to present attitudes: assessing Soviet influence on attitudes toward volunteering. *Voluntary Sector and Volunteering Research*, September 2024.

1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study intends to deepen the existing knowledge about the issues in the development of post-Soviet NGOs through the examination of “how the past emerges in the present” (Reiner, 1991, p. 93) and to better understand the factors that have influenced organizational involvement from Soviet times to the present. In order to trace the origins of these issues, we analyze the literature on the development of NGOs worldwide (Enjolras, 2021; Enjolras et al., 2018; Salamon & Anheier, 1998), then we try to understand the specific developmental issues of various post-socialistic NGOs (Olivo, 2011; Regulska, 1999; Waniak-Michalak et al., 2020), focusing more on the case of one post-Soviet country—Lithuania. Later, we introduce the imprinting theory, which, through history in theory approach (Kipping & Üsdiken, 2014; Lawrence, 1984) suggests that environmental conditions in a sensitive period, such as the Soviet occupation, leave imprints on individuals, organizations, and society, which affects them even after the historical context has changed. In the framework of the imprinting theory, we consider the Soviet era (1944–1990) as the sensitive period, during which the initiators, creators, developers, participants, and supporters of early NGOs were highly affected by the Soviet “environmental influence” (Marquis & Tilcsik, 2013, p. 199). The Soviet political regime, with its planned economy, controlled social and cultural life, and obligatory institutional experiences, left lasting traces on people’s thoughts and behaviors long after the regime had changed.

Figure 1. Theoretical framework.



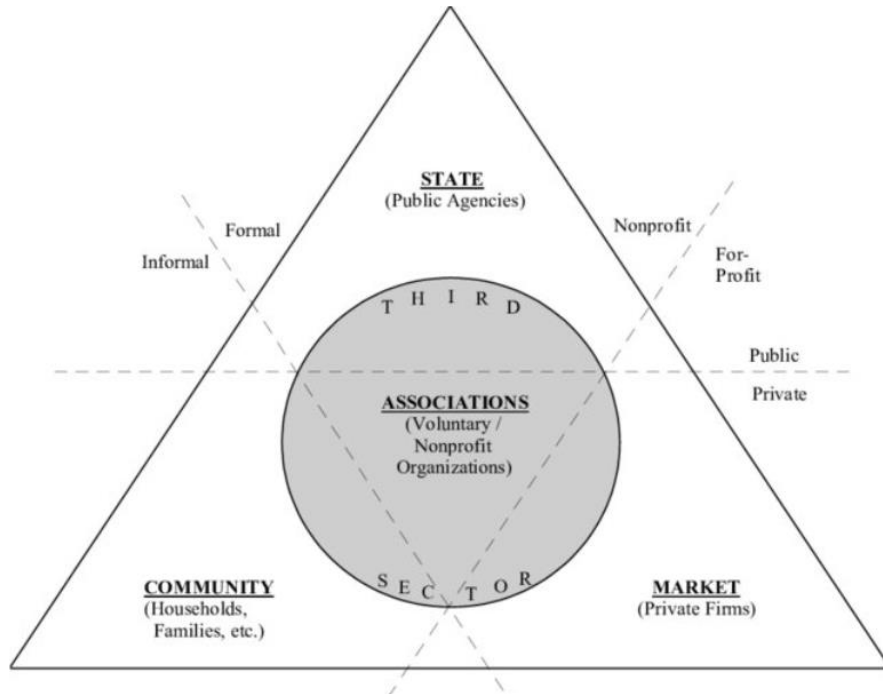
1.1. Conceptualization of the Third Sector

Starting from the roots, many scholars followed Tocqueville (1805-1859), who was a French aristocrat who traveled to America and analyzed the beginning of democracy, noting the associative movement as democracy's core pillar—the idea of viewing America as the cradle of civil society—which was later institutionalized into the third sector (TS) (Viterna et al., 2015). As civil society refers to the "space of uncoerced human association and also the set of relational networks" (Walzer, 1995, p. 7), some scholars argue that the term "civil society" is too broad and that every single initiative could be considered to fall under it (Viterna et al., 2015). Because of its indistinct nature, it is rare to find a precise conceptualization of the TS. Salamon and Anheier (1998) wanted to restrict the outlines of the TS to focus on organized, self-governing private entities that do not distribute profit to shareholders and in which membership is voluntary—third sector organizations (TSOs).

With the aim of better understanding what the TS is, finding out more about the context in which it interacts and coming up with proper definitions in this relatively new field are very important (Morris, 2000). The TS is characterized as "both a group of organizations and a social space between government and market" (Lewis & Kanji, 2009, p. 8), or the TS is seen as "a sector of organized human action composed of collective actors beyond the family and distinct from the state and the market" (Viterna et al., 2015, p. 175). It is a worldwide phenomenon, organized in different forms such as NGOs, non-profit organizations, volunteer organizations, foundations, associations, and others (Enjolras et al., 2018). Even though some scholars say that the TS is as old as a society (Defourny & Develtere, 2009), the amount of TS research has risen since the 1970s (Etzioni, 1973).

In most countries and thoughts, the TS is painted as an essential participant in the "welfare triangle" that consists of the government, the market, and the community (Evers & Laville, 2004; Pestoff, 1995). Scholars describe the TS's presence in the welfare triangle as essential to modern democratic countries. The TS's difference from the other two sectors makes it valuable. It serves as a middle ground between private households and the state or the market.

Figure 2. Welfare triangle



Source: Pestoff (1995).

For a long time, a two-sided formal system consisting of the government and the market seemed enough. The evolution of democratic systems eventually recognized some government and market failures (Weisbrod, 1986), leaving space for TSOs to emerge. Government and market failure theory suggests that both the government and the market have the opportunity to produce quasi-public goods; however, the market would stop making necessary products that serve society's needs if there were no profit and the government is used to satisfying only part of society with homogeneous behavior (Salamon, 1987). The more heterogeneous a society in a given country is, the more NGOs we may see (Matsunaga & Yamauchi, 2004). On the other hand, the supply-side theory says that people generally are altruistic and self-sufficient enough to be organized for the public good (Salamon & Anheier, 1998). It recognizes the part of societies in various cultures in which charity, volunteering, solidarity, integrity, and responsibility are vital to understanding welfare. In such cultures, the TS is seen to cope mainly with many problems in that society, which means coping with difficulties in the welfare economy. However, some scholars

criticize the view that NGOs should be seen as 'saviors of failed economies' and suggest looking closer at the context to understand the development of the TS (Carapico, 2000, p. 12).

Provision of Welfare from a Historical Perspective. Scholars note that the historical backgrounds of different countries and regions have laid the background for the further development of diverse welfare economies and their third sector involvement (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Salamon & Anheier, 1998). Scholars recognize three main welfare regimes based on their history, economies, and social policies: liberal (Anglo-Saxon), conservative-corporatist (Continental Europe), and social democratic (Nordic countries) (Esping-Andersen, 1990). The liberal regime laid on the history of liberal democracy, emphasizing market solutions and personal freedom, suggesting minimal state intervention, leaving the social welfare to the market and individuals responsible for their good (Esping-Andersen, 1990). The Conservative-corporatist model, most common in countries like Germany, Austria, and France, comes from a deeply rooted Catholicism, preferred stability, the hierarchy of social status, and traditional family structure. Later, it tended to rely on social insurance schemes and employment status, providing more state benefits to specific social groups (e.g., employers and employees) rather than equal individuals (Esping-Andersen, 1990). The social-democratic welfare regime may be noticeable by its social solidarity, equality, and extensive state intervention in social welfare provision (Esping-Andersen, 1990). The author notes that the path created by the historical, economic, and social policy mix later became pervasive through created institutions and their different institutional logic (Esping-Andersen, 1990).

Salamon and Anheier (1998) integrated the historical context and the welfare regimes of the countries to maintain the antecedents and realize specific TS approaches in different countries. Scholars specified the historical circumstances of the relationship, which eventually emerged between the nonprofit and the state, and called this theory "social origins" (Salamon & Anheier, 1998, p. 226). The social origins theory explains how specific historical, social, and state legacy-forming forces lead to a difference in both nonprofit sector size (large or small nonprofit sector) and profile (issues solved and financial mechanism).

Third Sector Pillars. Some scholars oppose the idea of a distinction between sectors and invite us to look closer at the ties, claiming that the third sector has a tying nature between all the sectors, including business and government (Defourny &

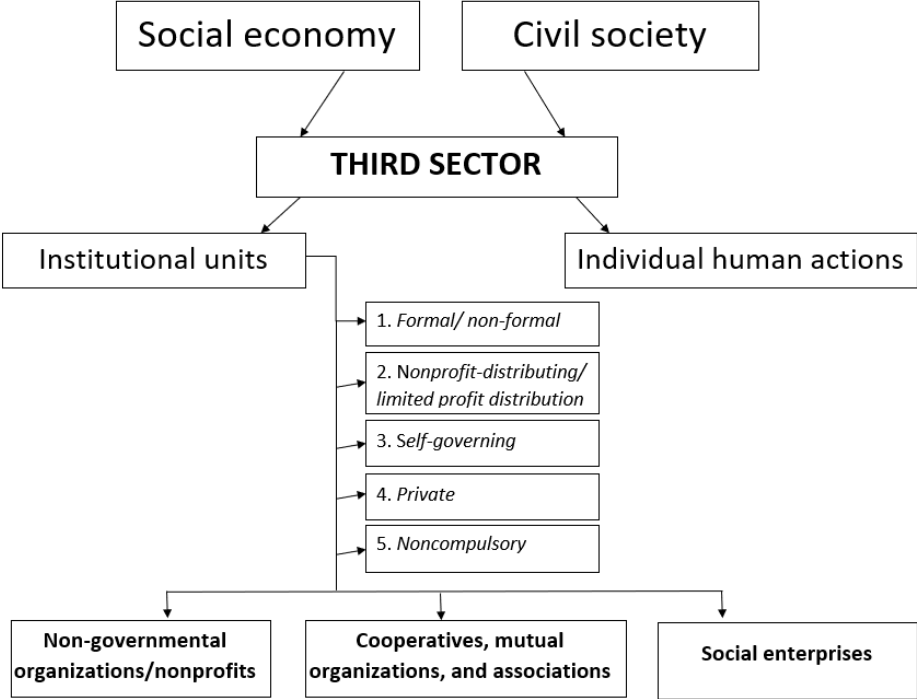
Nyssens, 2014). However, the intermediary nature of the TS might be both its central value and the uncertainty surrounding it. The TS, as an intermediate sector that intertwines resources and rationales from other sectors (government and market), may be seen as weak in many countries because of not having the frames and legacy under which they can legally act (Enjolras et al., 2018). On the other hand, constraints and limited legacies may lead to unsatisfied work area limitations, leading to more robust bureaucracy and reduced effectiveness. This same intermediary nature makes the TS valuable in adjusting to immediate social requirements, especially if these are a new issue in the country, such as in the 1990s in Central and Eastern countries (CEE).

The TS sometimes is referred to as the “civil society” (Viterna et al., 2015) sector or the “social economy” (Evers & Laville, 2004). Still, conceptualizing the TS is one of the most challenging issues for many scholars researching it (Salamon & Sokolowski, 2016). Europe has developed the TS more on the “welfare state” theory, which requires the state to spend a lot of money on social welfare (Salamon & Toepler, 2015). While some scholars were concerned about European TS history and its identity, it is important to remember that the formation of the TS in Europe has benefited from organizations other than charities, voluntary organizations, or foundations: other organizations were needed, such as mutuals and cooperatives and, in general, calling the TS the “social economy” (Defourny & Develtere, 2009; Evers & Laville, 2004). In Figure 3, we can see how the TS, the social economy, and NGOs are interrelated.

Figure 3 shows that the conceptualization of the TS arises as an agreement between two emphasized areas (civil society and social economy), which seek the same outcome—to analyze the engagements of society, which tend to work for welfare (health, happiness, and fortunes of a person or group) in the world/country/community. Social economy is a mobilized umbrella for different practices and policies created to cover human needs that are not covered by other sectors (Moulaert & Ailenei, 2005). Whereas civil society is more of a cognitive space open for raising questions, and creating initiatives, ideas, and social norms (Viterna et al., 2015). Both are aiming for the same inclusiveness and welfare outcomes. Still, they do examine the target from different angles: the social economy’s perspective is from the government’s position, looking top-down to laws and regulations, even if considering different angles, while the social economy is more from the government’s position, looking top down to the laws and regulations, while civil society perspective is a more of a bottom-up approach with the aim of collaboration and raising the voice of those needing help.

In the research on TS operationalization, there is a tendency for the TS to be divided into institutional units and some individual forces, resulting in non-selfish action. Institutional units would be those with some institutional reality (not necessarily legally registered) (Enjolras et al., 2018). Individual human actions are not paid and differ from activities that people do specifically for their own or their family's enjoyment, edification, or quality of life (Enjolras et al., 2018). Following this map of definitions, we see that the TS is a vast field comprising not only social enterprises (Laville & Nyssens, 2001), nonprofits, or NGOs, but also mutuals, cooperatives, and associations—the main three pillars of the social economy (Moulaert & Ailenei, 2005).

Figure 3. Third sector composition



Source: Enjolras et al. (2018)

1.1.1. Organizational Aspect of the Third Sector

Instead of setting boundaries, scholars suggest essential institutional components so that other scholars, including practitioners, can recognize TSOs (including NGOs) as “organizations, whether formal or informal; private; self-governed; non-compulsory; and totally or significantly limited from distributing any surplus to investors, members or other stakeholders” (Salamon & Sokolowski, 2018, p. 33). Scholars explained each of the components thoroughly.

Formal or Informal Organizations. TSOs should be groups of people who follow a unique organizational system and act within specific procedures for longer than several months (Enjolras et al., 2018). Following Enjolras et al. (2018), the organizational feature does not necessarily mean the organization should be legally situated and registered; however, emphasis is placed on structure and boundaries. Speaking about organizational features from a historical perspective, scholars date these back to the Middle Ages, showing how the associations of merchants, brotherhoods, or guild masterships and other social movements from long ago introduced the tradition of something similar to modern TS values (Defourny & Develtere, 2009). In the nineteenth century, the United Kingdom showed an interest in charity organizations and altruistic voluntary commitment, eventually providing a framework of rules and directives that made it more organized. In France, we see a social economy sector in which the social values with economic features were linked through informal solidarity movements aiming for social peace (Evers & Laville, 2004). Western cultures, the first to enter democracies, have longer traditions in developing the third sector through organizational features than post-Soviet countries (Enjolras, 2021).

Private. The central aspect of being private as related to the TS is understanding it as not being controlled by the government, as well as that those in charge of this type of organizational unit could decide whether the organization should function in the same way, another way, or a better way, or whether it should no longer function at all (Enjolras et al., 2018). The characteristic of being private does not imply financial independence but is more about control. The idea of the private feature of these organizations in Western countries began a few centuries ago when the royal families financially supported science, the arts, and medicine. Of course, at that time, royal families represented the state, so some degree of control on top of financial support

was to be expected. We, therefore, believe that the private feature was better fulfilled with the start of democratization in the early twentieth century. The democratization process brought privacy issues, including private asset issues. Private assets include organizations and the ability to control those by private entities such as individuals, boards, or other companies (Enjolras et al., 2018).

Self-governing. The self-governing aspect of a TSO refers to the fact that organizations have autonomous responsibility and are distinct units or separate organizations despite their actual ownership or actual founding party (Enjolras et al., 2018). This feature is about taking responsibility for one's actions and the possibility of one's decision-making. Even though a business institution might establish a TSO, it still counts as a TSO if it has full responsibility for its economy, risks, and rewards. The TS values (charity, volunteering, solidarity) were institutionalized long before modern times. Separate self-governing institutions could even be seen in the early twentieth century. Self-governing mutual organizations, cooperatives started their capacity during the early industrialization (Enjolras et al., 2018).

Non-compulsory. By identifying TSOs as non-compulsory, scholars mean that any other party must not enforce participation in the organization, and there must be a meaningful degree of choice to participate in any organizational unit (unless part of the job requirements for certain professions) (Enjolras et al., 2018). This is one of the most emphasized components of the TS— so much so that the “voluntary sector” is even suggested as a synonym for the TS in some countries. We could say that the non-compulsory aspect of the TS began in the nineteenth century, or even earlier, in the sixteenth century, when people initiated various educational activities in a non-compulsory manner. Organized religion also promoted volunteering, and where religious traditions were strong, we could see more significant trends of voluntarily helping children, the elderly, the poor, the hungry, and the sick across the centuries (Enjolras et al., 2018). Western countries have a long tradition of volunteering, and the peak of this was, of course, after WWII, when many crises came to head at once. People needed to collaborate in a non-compulsory manner to rebuild their countries and restore humanity.

Limited Profit Distribution. Limited profit distribution is another feature of TSOs that gives special attention to the qualitative issues of society and immediately makes money of the opposite interest. Here we see Enjolras et al. (2018) tactically proposing a win-win idea for the two opposing sides of scholars regarding the debate on whether

money should be an issue in the third sector (Defourny & Develtere, 2009; Defourny & Nyssens, 2014; Laville & Nyssens, 2001) or whether it should not (Salamon & Anheier, 1998). The totally or significantly limited profit feature establishes that the social economy (where the purpose of money is an important thing) has the full right to be recognized as the TS. The statement also means that the laws and regulations of an organized entity must cover the right to limit profit or surplus distribution, and it must be documented (Enjolras et al., 2018). In Western countries, we can see a variety of TSOs with totally limited profit distribution (nonprofits, charities) and also with only slightly limited profit distribution, in which companies can distribute 50 percent or less of their profits to their stakeholders (mutuals, cooperatives, social enterprises) (Enjolras et al., 2018).

1.1.2. Non-governmental Organizations as Representatives of the Third Sector

The term “non-governmental organizations” is used in the CEE region and South America, mainly originating from the intended opposition between governmental organizations and the needs of civil society. However, in various types of literature, the term “NGO” is used synonymously with “nonprofit organization,” “voluntary organization,” and even “third-sector organization”. Regardless of how an NGO is referred to in different countries (nonprofit, voluntary organization, etc.), they are mainly created to provide resources to people in need (e.g., healthcare, microfinance, human rights, etc.), to promote change in society/the environment/the economy (e.g., advocacy), and to work in partnerships with the government, business organizations, or communities to strengthen society (Lewis & Kanji, 2009). NGOs act as preventers of authoritarian regimes by offering more diverse society representatives on the political scene, giving voices to the silenced groups within society, and being one of the main drivers of societal change (Mercer, 2002). However, it is essential not to forget that it is irresponsible in the TS context to say that NGOs act only for good. Extremism may also come into play, and the need for more resources for NGOs may not be the only way to solve the NGO’s problems (Mercer, 2002). Investigating the context of TS countries would be necessary to understand NGOs better (Carapico, 2000). Inattention to geographical and historical issues in specific regions could be crucial. NGOs in one region may not be understood the same way they are in other regions. If an NGO in a specific country is unable to replicate the specific models of an NGO in

highly developed countries, this NGO misleadingly could then be seen to be failing, “weak,” or “underdeveloped” (Mercer, 2002, p. 13). By following the importance of evidence about NGOs from different regions, researchers call for more attention to the history and contextualization of NGO research (Mercer, 2002).

NGO Working Spheres. NGO working spheres are broad. Organizations can take the economic role by providing necessary goods and services; a political and communicative role by being an alternative to the state and economic powers by being able to gather different people in a specific space to communicate and sustain norms and values; and of course, a social role (Lewis & Kanji, 2009). NGOs are valuable for their ability to enhance the diversity in values, cultural practices, and other citizen initiatives created for societal purposes (Enjolras et al., 2018). For a more comprehensive view, there is a need to name some of the exact work that NGOs tend to organize, including initiatives to do the following: “improve a community; organize public, cultural, or religious events; promote public health, safety, or education; provide emergency relief or preparedness; clean up the environment or rescue animals; help a person in need with food, assistance, or companionship; take part in, or organize, a demonstration or advocacy campaign; uncompensated pro-bono work undertaken in a professional capacity (e.g. legal or emotional counseling, review of scientific papers for publication, arbitration, etc.)” (Salamon & Sokolowski, 2018, p. 44).

Critique for NGOs. Besides the cherishing notes for NGOs, scholars also see that poverty rises together with the number of NGOs. They suggest questioning the true essence of NGOs, whether they are to build the bottom-up society with their authentic voice, or rather they are like marionettes of the further top-down approach to maintain the ‘ideal citizen’ and keep everyone busy and at some point dependent on charities (Parsell et al., 2022). Scholars pursue the understanding that charities and NGOs should switch the focus on justice and the availability of resources as their actual role in enabling people (Parsell et al., 2022). Other scholars are even more rigid and note that charities, as they are, do not fit into the bottom-up approach but are very hierarchical, empower power imbalance, and often ensure only the symptoms of society's needs but focus less on the root causes (Raventós & Wark, 2018). Scholars note that, for example, poverty is not an individual failure but rather a systematic disharmony, and there are better methods to ensure the basic needs of people, such as universal basic income to guarantee regular and unconditional income to meet the basic society's needs (Raventós & Wark, 2018).

Marketization for Social Welfare. We will talk more about organizations providing social goods and practices for the needy; here, we would also like to introduce the marketization prospect, which has been common since the 1980s. Marketization is a priority given to the neo-liberal market forces and their functional ability to meet the needs of society in almost every aspect of human life (Salles-Djelic, 2006). Scholars note several trends in many areas, including social policies and the public sector: commercial revenue generation, competition in contract making, new emerging donors, and social entrepreneurs (Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004). Scholars note these strategies as helpful in many ways that marketization may provide - innovation, fast improvements, resource efficiency, and accountability/ However, there is the uncertainty of stability and service provision when the money cannot be paid, and there is a need for the underserved values such as unpopular voice raising or social capital building (Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004).

1.1.3. Performance in Non-governmental Organizations

Performance in NGOs is usually measured by goal clarity and measurability (Sawhill & Williamson, 2001). These can also be attributed to job characteristics, as well as the measurability of individual performance and degree of job challenge (Perry & Porter, 1982). However, the goal of the NGO is to be the leading guide for organizational activity measures. Still, third-sector employees, in many ways, like public-sector employees, are often motivated when they feel they contribute to the expected change (which is usually what is sought by third-sector organizations) and organizational success (Perry & Porter, 1982).

Some scholars say that “survival” could be one of the success criteria (Kimberly, 1979). Uvin and Miller (1996) also suggest “scaling up” as a visible factor of success and discuss it not only in a quantitative sense but also functional scaling up (adding new functional activities, such as political scaling up, or interacting with the state to address state-level dimensions of local problems), and organizational scaling up (the ability to rely on sustainable and renewable resources). Scaling up and survival are associated with adapting and searching for novel approaches to gain resources for further development.

1.1.4. Volunteering as a Primary Resource for Non-governmental Organizations

Volunteering is a “long-term, planned, prosocial behavior that benefits strangers and occurs within an organizational setting” (Penner, 2002: p. 448). Volunteering may also be noticed in businesses, especially those that develop their identity as sustainable (Haugh & Talwar, 2010), but, as a phenomenon, it is mainly seen in NGOs. Most NGOs provide goods and services free of charge, and their abilities often rely on an unpaid workforce of volunteers. Even though volunteer work has rarely been acknowledged in financial and economic returns, it has been recognized worldwide as a unique, inexhaustible resource (Enjolras et al., 2018), as well as an invaluable input into the development of regions, states, and communities (Mook et al., 2007).

Volunteering, as an activity for individuals and communities, may take place at or through different types of NGOs (welfare, community, sports, recreation, education, etc.) at various stages of life (Gray et al., 2012). It may also take different forms (online or offline), involve just one organization or several organizations, and take place for a variety of different measures of time (time spent at each session, frequency of sessions, and overall duration of the volunteer position) (Ihm, 2017).

Considering volunteering as an invaluable and primary resource for NGOs, scholars distinguish three types of volunteering: traditional, third-party, and spontaneous. The first type (traditional) is the most valuable in providing resource flexibility and sustainability, but it also runs a high risk of depletion. The last one (spontaneous) may be useful in filling significant gaps and activating available resources in certain situations, but it is also relatively passive and unpredictable. In the middle, we have volunteering that is intentionally organized by third parties (e.g., business organizations), which has the potential to become a gateway to either traditional or spontaneous volunteering (Koolen-Maas et al., 2023). There is value in every type of volunteering, but scholars note that most organizations prefer traditional volunteering because it is effective and long-lasting (Koolen-Maas et al., 2023). From an organization’s perspective, this tends to predict the sustainability of volunteering resources (Aydinli et al., 2016).

Research shows that individual and organizational factors, such as volunteer motivation and organizational climate, are crucial in sustaining volunteering (Nencini et al., 2016). Volunteers spend more time volunteering if they feel engaged and even more if they are committed to the beneficiaries of the volunteer work (Shantz et al.,

2014). Volunteer role identity is also an essential factor in predicting the amount of time dedicated to volunteering activities and the intention to cease doing volunteer work (Grube & Piliavin, 2000).

Volunteer Role Identity. Many factors explain volunteering behavior, but research shows that volunteer role identity best predicts sustained volunteering (Chacón et al., 2007). It acts as one of the main drivers for long-term volunteering (Gill, 2021; Marta et al., 2014) at both younger ages (Marta & Pozzi, 2008) and in retirees (van Ingen & Wilson, 2017). Scholars suggest the importance of developing the volunteer role identity because it may unlock the mechanism through which specific attitudes would have an effect in attaining more sustained volunteering behavior (Marta et al., 2014).

Volunteer Motivation. Volunteers engage with volunteer work psychologically, meaning it has a “unique, positive, motivational structure” that differs from physical engagement (Alfes et al., 2016, p. 597). Different kinds of motives act in answering the question of why people choose to volunteer (Clary & Snyder, 1999). Scholars notice that many people volunteer because it serves at least six functions for different kinds of people. Volunteering may help people to express their internal values according to social concerns and recognized altruism (values); to gain new knowledge and embody it in practice (understanding); to relate with friends or follow other influential persons who encourage certain activities (social); to prepare for new career opportunities (career); to protect their ego from negative features of themselves or to reduce guilt (protective); to strive for positive affect in maintaining a good mood or gain a feeling of personal growth (enhancement) (Clary et al., 1998). Volunteers and paid workers (at NGOs) differ in their motivation, and while workers value more autonomous work, volunteers seek relatedness (Boezeman & Ellemers, 2009).

Motivation and its strength may also change depending on the time spent helping an organization (Clary & Snyder, 1991). Motives may also depend on the age at which the person begins volunteering. Scholars agree that education, health, and certain critical life events (such as the death of a wife/husband or the early stage of retirement) are vital in shaping the prospects of volunteering at older ages (Ehlers et al., 2011). Volunteering activities for the younger generation may provide a meaningful activity and pay off financially later in life (Shantz et al., 2019).

Volunteering in Later Life. Sociological research suggests that, in general, volunteering rates tend to fall during the transition period from adolescence to young

adulthood and then rise again around middle age (Wilson, 2000). Scholars highlight various theories that offer different explanations for volunteering in later life. Some mention the free time available during retirement and the need for a social and professional life in the post-employment period; conversely, others note that people at older ages do not involve themselves in voluntary sector organizations because of a lack of social resources (Wilson, 2000).

As society ages and more people in developed societies live alone, most European countries acknowledge the need for active aging in Europe, in which volunteering is one of the main parts of healthy aging (Principi et al., 2014). Volunteer work may help people avoid social exclusion and find meaning in life at older ages (Chen, 2013). Volunteers gain more social capital when devoting time to others, resulting in better health and quality of life (Onyx & Warburton, 2003). Scholars note that older volunteers feel happier and more satisfied with their lives and that their psychosocial functioning (depression rate, self-esteem, psychological well-being, social network, and its quality) and their physical functioning are reported to increase due to volunteering activities (Anderson et al., 2014). However, the studies often note a curvilinear relation between volunteering and positive individual health outcomes for volunteers, meaning that if there is too much volunteering with too many working hours, increased stress, and low support, then the healthy impact of volunteering at older ages may be much reduced (Onyx & Warburton, 2003).

Scholars note that many effects play together and can affect the benefit of volunteering at older ages. The degree of benefit depends on different level factors and the interrelation between them: individual motivation and attitude; how the voluntary organizations themselves structure the ability for older volunteers to work voluntarily; how inter-institutional interactions correspond to the needs of older working people; how a country's various policies encourage voluntary work for elderly people; and, on the structural level, "the specific welfare regime and the set of cultural values and beliefs that characterize it may determine volunteering among older people" (Jensen et al., 2014, p. 22). However, while noticing the positive effects of volunteering at older ages worldwide and noticing working practices on different levels of analysis, nations engage in different practices to promote volunteering, and there is also much variation in the provision of volunteering capacity (Chen, 2013; Principi et al., 2014). What is more, different practices in different countries affect the perceived health benefits differently across countries (Fiorillo & Nappo, 2014). This suggests that a

country's context affects an individual's ability to function in society in the form of participating in voluntary activities (Enjolras, 2021).

Volunteering in Different Contexts. Volunteering results from individual attitudes or organizational procedures, and it represents a reaction to a social context (Güntert et al., 2022). The country context suggests the explanations for a varying “extent and nature of the voluntary work” (Principi et al., 2014, p. 9). Beginning volunteer work in later life is often based on the provision of the social welfare model, which is related to a country's historical and cultural development (Warburton & Jeppsson Grassman, 2011). The environment is, therefore, critical in choosing whether or not to volunteer. Research suggests that those who go out more often for leisure purposes and have more extensive formal and informal social networks (having more friends, meeting up with them more) are more likely to volunteer in formal organizations (Wang & Yoshioka, 2014). The quantity of social networks is essential when promoting volunteering, but the quality of those networks is critical. Scholars note that an individual's existing social norms and individual virtues, which usually stem from their family of origin, as well as their practical experience from their everyday life, such as obligations to volunteer at school, at church, or with other organizations in early adulthood, may help shape their later engagement in volunteering activities (Janoski et al., 1998). Some authors go even deeper, acknowledging that not only do good habits or virtues make the most difference but also that the formed pro-social attitudes about citizenship and social obligations gained via the social environment at a young age are critical in choosing to volunteer later in life (Janoski et al., 1998). It is also noted that having a more robust national identity can also explain why people tend to begin doing volunteer activities (Lai et al., 2013).

Countries are all the result of different historical development trajectories, which eventually form different traditions that either favor the promotion of volunteering promotions or do not (Principi et al., 2014). Regions like the post-Soviet one often rely on the lowest levels of volunteering, especially at older ages (Principi et al., 2014). For example, in Lithuania, a country that was in the Soviet Union for almost half a century, older people (aged 66 and above) are among those who are “least likely to volunteer” (Ehlers et al., 2011, p. 18). Evidence from post-Soviet countries suggests a specific context and culture were applied there. Scholars relate such low rates of volunteering in the post-Soviet countries with the imposed Soviet imprints, which may still discourage people from volunteering, even nowadays (Pranaitytė, 2022).

The influence of the national context on volunteering behaviors has garnered increasing attention among scholars (Liu & Jia, 2022; Luria et al., 2015), suggesting that historically inherited institutional characteristics are pivotal in shaping an individual's capacity to engage in volunteer activities throughout the European nations (Enjolras, 2021, p. 1204). The research on how a country's background shapes its volunteering resources has revealed different factors that must be included. For example, exploring Hofstede's cultural dimensions highlights the profound impact of national contexts on volunteering behaviors across different countries. Societies higher in individualism engage more in prosocial behaviors (giving money to charities, volunteering, and helping strangers), while those with greater power distance, uncertainty avoidance, and future orientation predict lower engagement in prosocial behaviors (Luria et al., 2015). However, when looking at volunteering alone out of all the prosocial behaviors, individualism in society did not predict volunteering behavior; people in power-distant countries did not volunteer less, even if they donated less and helped strangers less (Luria et al., 2015). This opens up even more questions to be answered regarding the social context issues related to volunteering behavior.

Other scholars noticed that the acknowledged relationship between education and volunteering varies proportionally in different countries because of national-level variables such as the average level of cognitive competence in the country and the mechanism of negative social selection (having relatives with low levels of education is a predictor for a low level of education in an individual, eventually leading to low resources in social networks) (Gesthuizen & Scheepers, 2012). However, more extensive national comparative data are needed to better understand the phenomena of philanthropy and volunteering (Luria et al., 2015; Wiepking et al., 2021), particularly in non-Western contexts in which NGO data remains underexplored (Bloodgood et al., 2023).

Volunteering in CEE Countries. While scholars acknowledge many individual benefits of volunteering at young and older ages and benefits for organizations doing corporate volunteering (Haski-Leventhal et al., 2019), in CEE countries, volunteering is still low. Data on volunteering in 11 European countries (only two countries selected from Central and Eastern Europe) show that the highest volunteering rates can be seen in continental Europe and Scandinavia. At the same time, the lowest is seen in Poland, Greece, Spain, and the Czech Republic (Hank & Erlinghagen, 2010). According to the calculated World Giving Index, CEE countries ranked low for many

years, except for the sudden rise in various giving types during the COVID-19 pandemic (Foundation, 2022, 2024). Despite the evidence for the health benefits of volunteering, research in CEE countries shows especially low levels of volunteering at a senior age, eventually resulting in high social exclusion of the older generation, especially in Eastern Europe (Ehlers et al., 2011). Post-Soviet countries rank low in volunteer numbers and workers (Principi et al., 2012). In older democratic societies, people tend to recognize the value of volunteering in later adulthood (Gray et al., 2012). However, in post-Soviet countries, voluntary services usually rely on younger people who have never experienced the Soviet system (Raišienė & Vilké, 2014).

Scholars have tried to answer the question of why volunteering in people in post-communist countries is so low. Scholars posited that the reasons might be high rates of informal volunteering, lower cultural and psychological prevalence, and lower gains from volunteering activities (Plagnol & Huppert, 2010). However, the data refuted all the abovementioned factors and showed that post-Soviet countries gained a lot from volunteering. However, post-Soviet countries had no infrastructure to maintain and develop volunteering (Plagnol & Huppert, 2010). In CEE countries, the volunteering phenomenon is not socially recognized, and people do not feel pride in volunteering and working for free (Silló, 2016).

Looking from a broader perspective, we must also acknowledge that different countries differ in volunteering resources because of the differences in social capital (Putnam, 2000) and because of different “social origin” approaches caused by historical factors (Salamon & Anheier, 1998). Some scholars see some similarities between volunteers in Western and Eastern countries, noticing that there are common factors predicting volunteering activity, such as education, religious practice, social network, income, and age (Voicu & Voicu, 2009). However, they emphasize the national level and the level of development, higher trust, and education in society concluding that a country’s culture matters a lot in volunteering decision-making (Voicu & Voicu, 2009), which in the context of post-Soviet countries tends to be based on the foundations of Soviet heritage (Toepler & Salamon, 2003).

When the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, and the forced volunteering culture was dissolved, the negative impact of the socialistic experience remained, leaving voluntary work unrecognized in society and organizational settings (Silló, 2016; Voicu & Voicu, 2009). Scholars have noticed that Soviet culture profoundly impacted post-Soviet countries because they have lower volunteering rates than Western countries

(Toepler & Salamon, 2003). Such notes suggest that if we wish to answer why post-Soviet countries have lower volunteering rates, we need to look at the reality of the post-Soviet cultural and historical context.

One of the reasons explaining the weak culture of volunteering in one such post-Soviet country, Lithuania, may also lie in the past of the long-lasting Soviet regime (Pranaitytė, 2022); however, the research on Soviet imprints affecting post-Soviet societies is only very recent (Albu et al., 2020; Banalieva et al., 2017). Leaving us without further explanation of the Soviet influence on later attitudes toward volunteering and NGOs.

1.2. Non-governmental Organizations in a Post-Soviet Country Context

1.2.1. Soviet Context

From 1918 to 1940, Lithuania was a free and autonomous country. During this period, new social, health, and education systems were created, and thus many organizations and societies were established: youth organizations and unions (Scouts, “Santara”, etc.); cultural organizations (Vydūnas Society, Lithuanian Sobriety Union, Society of Humanists, Literates, etc.); health organizations (Heath Security for Jews Society); and environmental organizations (Society to Beautify Lithuania). In 1940, the Soviet Union served an ultimatum to the Lithuanian government and replaced its structures with the party falsely claiming to express the “people’s will”—the Communist Party (Brazaitis, 1990, p. 36). In order to create Soviet society, the Communist Party eliminated all types of organizations (Brazaitis, 1990, p. 37), and all land, banks, and industries—even large houses—were nationalized and theoretically belonged to the nation, but in reality were used to serve the party’s interests (Brazaitis, 1990, p. 43). From 1941 to 1944, the Russians had to step back and hand over Lithuanian land to the Germans. However, following World War II, the Soviet structures returned to Lithuania and the rest of the CEE countries.

After World War II, while the Western world was creating the Charter of the United Nations, which focused on the sovereignty of small and large nations, as well as on human rights, the Eastern European nations were occupied by the Soviet Union and incorporated into it under the leader of the Soviet Union, Stalin. The Soviet Union employed an ultra-aggressive policy of terror, distrust, and totalism—all underpinned by deception and military force (Brazaitis, 1990, p. 276). All actions served the interests

of the only party allowed under the regime, thus creating an authoritarian society in the CEE. The socialist ideology of the Soviet regime was based on the idea of an egalitarian society and the homogeneity of people's goals, interests, and activities (Grybkauskas et al., 2011), so it could not allow any private or autonomous initiatives (Brazaitis, 1990, p. 285). All cultural, environmental, and social organizations belonged to the government.

Stalinism (1924–1953) could be referred to as “communist totalitarianism,” in which ideological goals acted more as tools to keep and maintain the government institutions (Vaiseta, 2014, p. 121). Under Stalin's regime, people experienced mental and physical trauma, massive deportation, the expropriation of private property, and the sowing of the seeds of fear and distrust between citizens (Brazaitis, 1990).

After Stalin's death, Nikita Khrushchev took on the leadership of the Soviet Union (1953–1964) and made a shift in political consensus by acknowledging Stalin's aggressive policies as a crime and condemning Stalin's brutal mass arrests and deportations, which was urgently needed by society at that time (Tompson, 1993). New cultural ideas came with revived heroes (Lenin) and political liberalism, giving more power to lower-level party members. However, the same “repressions, heightened social control, and cultural re-ideologization” could be noticed (Donovan, 2015, p. 465). Although his leadership introduced a type of “warming” atmosphere, this was also the time when special secret services (KGB – *Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti* – The Committee for State Security) were introduced to cope with those who would oppose and act against Soviet rule (Tompson, 1993).

Brezhnev's era (1964–1982) was called the stagnation period, in which “boredom” was seen in society, while people were also beginning to notice that Soviet ideology was merely a façade and that no one truly believed in it (Vaiseta, 2014). Despite Brezhnev's desire to tighten the rules and preserve the existing order, the non-formal interest groups and the “second economy” flourished during this late Soviet period (Vaiseta, 2014). Many illegal and underground movements, which the KGB often persecuted, appeared in various fields, from rock music in basements to the intellectual underground press to large environmental initiatives, through creating large networks (Ramonaitė, 2015) within the “parallel life” of Soviet society (Kavaliauskaitė & Ramonaitė, 2011).

The last of the Soviet Union's most significant leaders was Michail Gorbachev, who took power in 1985. He introduced restructuring and political reform called

“perestroika” as the primary policy change needed to democratize the Soviet Union's societies. The KGB no longer persecuted different societal movements as much.

By following the aforementioned changes to policies, we see that after Stalin's death, the Soviet regime slowly lost its power, decade by decade, with more and more opportunities for civil society to rise (Kavaliauskaitė & Ramonaitė, 2011). However, Soviet ideology remained influential until the end of the regime because the regime retained the essential totalitarian structures and the all-encompassing regulation of aspects of social life, where governmental institutions were the only ones making decisions about social policy (Ciszewska-Mlinaric et al., 2018; Grybkauskas et al., 2011), aiming to achieve an egalitarian society with zero unemployment (Bučiūnienė, 2018b; Ciszewska-Mlinaric et al., 2018; Vadi, 2018)¹. Under such conditions, the public space could only function as a demonstration space and an object of purposeful thematic control (Vaiseta, 2014). Labor was extensively planned as well at all levels; education, training, and distribution were all run according to a plan that was not based on the principles of demand and supply, so there were often some industries that were lacking employees while others had people with nothing to do (Brown, 1957). This ineffectiveness of the labor market created the government's plans for volunteers based on exact directions of who, when, and how to work the non-paid work (Brown, 1957). Volunteering activities were no exception to highly controlled government plans. So-called “voluntary” (bearing in mind that forced participation in Soviet Union organizations was considered “voluntary”) organizations had no autonomy and primarily served to spread Soviet ideology. Many people were forced to participate in various social activities like trade unions, self-education and self-development groups, people's societies, friendly courts, lectures, political parties, electoral canvasses, commissions, and so forth (Vaiseta, 2014). Individual and autonomous initiatives unapproved by legal authorities were forbidden (Brazaitis, 1990)¹. The former Soviet culture banished individual initiative from people's minds and attitudes because the governmental system aimed to control all aspects of people's lives (Ciszewska-Mlinaric et al., 2018; Grybkauskas et al., 2011).

The Soviet Union operated so-called public organizations, where people would gather to act in specific areas of life like culture and recreation, science, ethnography, sports, health, and youth organizations. Even though such organizations would be called self-propelled, they had no autonomy and primarily served to spread the ideology. Such “public” organizations were mainly initiated by the governmental

institutions, not the citizens. Such institutions nowadays could not be called non-governmental organizations, as these, in essence, have to be autonomous (Enjolras et al., 2018). Even though civil discourse and public protest actions were forbidden, and the government did not listen to the citizens while persecuting and politically repressing those who worked against the system (Grybkauskas et al., 2011), we could see political resistance movements striving for independence against the interests of the Soviet regime operating in the underground (Šiliasauskas, 2006). Even under such harsh circumstances, people were not only trying to accommodate themselves within the regime (Žilinskienė & Ilic, 2018) but also joining dissident movements and seeking political, economic, and social changes mainly organized by the intelligentsia (Polanska & Chimiak, 2016).

Civil Movements in Lithuania During the Soviet Regime. Behind the ideological facade presented to the public was a desire for human dignity. Guided by this, people adapted to the circumstances but tried to maintain their true beliefs, values, and way of life. As a result, there were self-sacrificing personalities who, day by day, created a reality based on the real news and critical reflections to answer the actual needs of virtuous humans in the dystopian reality of the Soviet era. Such practices would include many informal networks through personal connections and family relations, which greatly influenced the civil society movements under the Iron Curtain, calling it an 'invisible society' (Ramonaitė, 2015). Such nonformal but systemic work networks would provide knowledge and culture anticipating liveliness, awakening people from the all-occupying Soviet system. Some scholars note that many collective actions started to rise in the 1970s when the society was immersed in perpetual meaningless activities in the scarce Soviet economy, and the repressions loosened after Stalin's death (Vaiseta, 2014). Many networks aroused as ideological movements against Soviet injustice and illegality, but there were also cultural, ethnographic, and environmental movements, garage bands, and rock movements that were self-help based and highly unfitting the Soviet system; however, working under the principles of volunteerism (Ramonaitė, 2015).

1.2.2. Transition to Market Economy

The Authoritarian regime, eventually using milder and milder control devices, persisted until the end of the 1980s, when the need for more democratic processes

and movements was established in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Socialist Republics gained their freedom with the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991.

After the member states regained independence, the restoration of a liberal political system based on a market economy was introduced, together with the democratic processes and inspiration of autonomous NGOs. “CEE societies grasped the previously restricted opportunity to self-organize legally” (Polanska & Chimiak, 2016, p. 664) and eventually implemented the enactment of the laws for NGOs (Šimašius, 2007). Private initiatives arose but immediately faced different types of obstacles. The transition period needed to change from an authoritarian regime to a democratic one. Scholars notice that during the transition period, private organizations did not know how to organize in a democratic state, and organizations were not effective enough to be competitive (Uhlenbruck et al., 2003). Complex adjustments in management had to be made (Shama, 1993). During the first decade, NGOs in post-Soviet countries were weak, lacked organizational skills, could not obtain funding, and were unwilling to collaborate or attract volunteers (Regulska, 1999, p. 63). NGOs did not trust one another, and this was present both within and between NGOs (Jancar-Webster, 1998). Scholars have noticed that the lack of laws regulating NGO activities and heavy reports have been followed by tension between the government and NGOs (Regulska, 1999). Poor institutional mechanisms and the less empathic post-Soviet society led to NGOs lacking “social trust” (Waniak-Michalak et al., 2020). Toepler and Salamon noticed that in the early days (1995–1996) of the post-Soviet era, NGOs shared only 1.7% of paid employment and volunteering (in Western countries, this was 10.3%) and mainly in the fields of culture and recreation—initiatives tolerated by the state—and very few in education or health (2003). The worst situation was in the areas outside of bigger cities (Regulska, 1999). Despite huge help for NGO development in CEE countries coming from foreign foundations in the form of financial support, know-how, training, and institution building, all this aid did not reach much farther than the capital cities (Quigley & Popson, 1999). So when organizational development was at hand, there was a vast “gap” when comparing the real bottom-up organizations coming from citizens’ initiatives and those that got international support from international organizations and international funds (Jancar-Webster, 1998, p. 86).

1.2.3. Development of Non-governmental Organizations in Lithuania²

In 1990, the Baltic countries became independent from the Soviet Union. Lithuania, one of the Baltic countries, began its path toward Western democracy. Lithuania joined NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization) and the European Union in 2004, which were significant achievements that boasted of how much Lithuania had achieved in building democracy and acting under liberal rule in a short time.

Non-governmental organizations, under Lithuanian law, refer to “a public legal entity established voluntarily for the benefit of the public or a group of the public, which is independent of the management of state or municipal institutions and bodies and whose purpose is not to seek political power or to pursue purely religious objectives” (Law on the Development of Non-Governmental Organizations of the Republic of Lithuania 2014). The same law carries on listing the types of organizations that cannot be treated as NGOs, such as political parties; labor unions, work organizations, and gatherings; organizations where attendance is mandatory for professional purposes; associations in which 1/3 of memberships belong to private legal entities; associations created in order to manage joint real estate; and families. According to Lithuanian statistics, NGOs take three institutional forms in modern Lithuania: public organizations (which may be mixed with governmental organizations that have the same form), associations, and charity funds. Some NGOs have been registered since 1990 and were registered mainly thanks to the initiatives with help from international legal structures working abroad. The beginnings of the institutionalization of the third sector could be seen in 1992, when the first legal documents (representing the regulations applicable to nonprofit organizations) were established and the first legal entities were created. The most common organizations we could think of as belonging to the third sector in 1991 would be labor unions, even though these do not count as third sector organizations nowadays. However, participation in labor unions was far from voluntary, and people did not trust these organizations compared to the trust they inspire in Western countries (Žiliukaitė et al., 2006). The law applicable to volunteering was introduced in 2011. While some researchers are more open to a variety of TS

² Parts of this section are published in Petreikienė, D., & Bučiūnienė, I. (2024). Unearthing the Legacy: Contrasting Soviet Imprints on Early NGOs in Lithuania. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 1-13.

organizations and suggest privateness, public purpose, and free choice as the main features of the third sector (Enjolras et al., 2018), or even use definitions that come closer to business (Defourny & Nyssens, 2014), post-Soviet countries find it challenging to define the third sector. The Law on the Development of Non-Governmental Organizations of the Republic of Lithuania was approved in 2014. The list of organizations (charity organizations, associations, and funds) falling into what is perceived as the third sector in Lithuania is relatively small compared to Western countries. This information may be proof of Lithuania's immaturity and the scarcity of possible forms NGOs can take in the post-Soviet third sector.

NGOs in Lithuania. As it is across the world, the NGOs in Lithuania are also growing, and according to the Lithuanian Department of Statistics, at the beginning of the year 2019, there were more than 19,000 associations registered, more than 11,000 public institutions, more than 1,600 charities and relief funds, and a number of other nonprofits. Even though these numbers are high, many organizations work in the hands of one person and contain only one person's interests or are inactive but not registered as such.

Since 1990, anyone has been free to start a new third-sector organization, but these organizations were not yet working effectively, and membership was relatively scarce (Žiliukaitė et al., 2006). The situation has been varied regarding the organizational features of the NGOs through the post-Soviet decades. In the early years of Lithuanian independence from the Soviet Union, we could see social movements acting mainly for nationalistic purposes. However, during 1990–1992, many organizations were created, but mainly from the initiatives of foreign democratic countries together with their financial mechanisms. With the help of Western democratic countries and the requirements that needed to be met to grant any financial support, the Lithuanian third sector gained a more mature type of third-sector organization. In the second decade of the 21st century, third-sector organizations were still sporadic, not united enough to have a meaningful impact in collaboration with the state, and lacked managerial skills (Stumbraitė, 2006). Very often, we could see a one-man or one-project organization in which one individual organizes the activities to inspire the possibility of getting funding, and there is just one project, or a few projects, to be implemented. When the projects were over, these organizations usually existed only as registered entities but were inactive. The growing number of formal institutions is not always an accurate reflection of actual behavior or a change in attitude. However,

behavioral changes depend on norms and culture, which take more time to change compared to regulations and laws (Vadi, 2018). It might be that Lithuania, especially during the 1990s, was just not ready to act for the needs of society because the Communist party had spent a long time declaring the same but acting in the opposite manner. In post-Soviet countries, some NGOs were created only because of the financial mechanisms of Western democratic countries, but not to meet the needs of post-Soviet society (Laurėnas, 2006; Žiliukaitė et al., 2006). Scholars notice that if the third sector is being created in an unfavorable context (immature political system, congestion of recent democratic governments, high degree of politicization of the majority of the population), there might be unpleasant results and complications (Šilias, 2006). In 2006, scholars noticed that there were no solid social movements in Lithuania, and they only had an occasional or sporadic organization quality (Laurėnas, 2006). The inability to demonstrate working organizational models and cooperate with other legal structures (Laurėnas, 2006) in obtaining the needed resources was an issue during the early institutionalization of the NGOs in post-Soviet countries and later as well (Stasiukynas, 2014).

1.2.4. Organizing Third Sector and Non-governmental Organizations in Lithuania³

Looking at the beginnings of Lithuania's independence, scholars note that various initiatives gained their voices in most CEE countries, including Lithuania, after 1989 (Žalimienė & Rimšaitė, 2007). They recognize two periods of social change: the revolutionary period (1988–1992), in which society was in search of and then forming a new ideology, culture, economy, law, and ethics with the spontaneous founding of NGOs in terms of quantity (Butkuvienė, 2005). Also, the evolutionary stage development (starting from 1992) brought more effective organizational development focusing on legislation (Butkuvienė, 2005). In 1992, the Lithuanian Constitution was adopted, enshrining human rights and freedoms, as well as the right to form communities and associations together with the first resolutions from the government issued in 1993 (acting as the primary documents for NGO creation until 1996) (Šimašius, 2007). The legislation allowed civil society to gather in formal organizations to act even more

³ Parts of this section are published in Petreikienė, D., & Bučiūnienė, I. (2024). Unearthing the Legacy: Contrasting Soviet Imprints on Early NGOs in Lithuania. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 1-13.

effectively. However, new problems arose, such as economic deprivation, unemployment, and others, which do not favor or facilitate an active civil society (Butkuvienė, 2005).

Scholars have noticed that since its independence (1994–1998), the prominence of the individual power to organize has been part of the public spirit in Lithuania (Stasiukynas, 2014). However, the organizational methods used were intuitive and planned only for the short term. Members gathered due to ideological concerns through personal contacts, which eventually resulted in a low level of organizational continuity around 2004 (Stasiukynas, 2014). Three external things were common pitfalls in creating the NGO sector: lack of a supportive legal system, lack of government approval, and lack of civil society awareness (Žalimienė & Rimšaitė, 2007).

In post-Soviet countries, most NGOs were privately owned, fulfilling the requirements of Western financial mechanisms; however, very few people, mainly raised in the Soviet Union, could understand and fully implement the organizational structures and management of an NGO as it existed in Western countries. In the Soviet Union, there was no private responsibility, and the state owned everything, so Lithuanians faced many problems in managing the NGOs, and lots of good initiatives (even those coming from abroad) had to be shut down because social entrepreneurs had no practice with how to organize and sustain resources (Stasiukynas, 2014). Even the first EU financial support dedicated to the Lithuanian transition into the European Union, during 2004–2006, came with many inconveniences. With the heritage of the Soviet-planned economic system and in the wake of long decades of scarcity in the Soviet Union, people still thought that the owner of anything was someone else and any responsibility for it also belonged to someone else, so although organizations were created in 2004 in Lithuania to absorb financial aid, they did not behave responsibly enough to create any value from the money received. Self-governing is still a weak feature of NGOs in Lithuania in modern times. The 2021 Index for Civil Society Organization Sustainability for Central and Eastern Europe in Lithuania also reported that NGOs operate freely under the law and have many opportunities to strengthen their capacity. However, the same index reported that in Lithuania, at least half of the registered NGOs (from 34,000) are inactive and have weak financial reporting; furthermore, in some smaller municipalities, authorities try to destabilize NGOs' activities.

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the non-compulsory feature of NGOs has been working in these newly democratic countries. Lithuania has slowly been learning how to initiate bottom-up decision-making processes and how to strengthen civil society (Stasiukynas, 2014). The most influential people came from the legacy of international organizations (such as the United Nations, Soros Foundation, etc.). The local activists were here to take responsibility for the first third-sector organizations representing the free will to make social changes. Although the Soviet Union collapsed in 1990, the culture did not shift in a day, and these same people worked to solve societal problems. As we discussed before, in the Soviet Union, most organizations were officially ‘voluntary’, except that membership was usually forced and accompanied by intimidation. Unsurprisingly, the older generation in the post-Soviet countries, even nowadays, run from any mention of “volunteerism” or “voluntary” organizations (Khvorostianov & Remennick, 2018; Pranaitytė, 2022). Also, some older people think they are too old for any activities outside of the home, or they think that they do not belong to those active groups (Žiliukaitė et al., 2006). In summary, when analyzing the non-compulsory feature in post-Soviet countries, we may see that although the official and legal possibility of acting in a non-compulsory manner when choosing to act within the third sector or in a volunteer organization to act within now exists, there is another problem: the imprint of Soviet culture left upon a part of this post-Soviet society that means they still fear and avoid the word ‘voluntary’ (Pranaitytė, 2022; Žiliukaitė et al., 2006)

Scholars of the third sector include in their considerations many organizations that can distribute profit, but of course, only in a limited manner—50 percent or less. In their conceptualization of the third sector, we see mutuals, cooperatives, and even social enterprises (Salamon & Sokolowski, 2016) This view is still impossible in Lithuania. Social enterprises in Lithuania have a different meaning than in Western countries (e.g., France). However, NGOs usually refer to organizations that do not distribute profit but reinvest it into their own activities to achieve their organizational goals. The table below analyses the main organizational features of the third sector in different contexts.

Table 1. Analysis of the organizational features of the third sector in different contexts

	Third Sector	Western countries	The Soviet Union	The post-Soviet democratic countries (CEE)
1.	Organizational (formal/informal) feature	Institutionalization processes were established long ago (19 th century) and continue without significant interventions in all social, economic, and environmental spheres.	Organizations could be created only for some purposes, such as spreading political rhetoric.	Early democratic Lithuanian society created only a weak, noninstitutionalized third sector, which other senior democratic countries helped mature. Still, even in modern days, the third sector is not institutionalized systematically.
2.	Private feature	Starting with the industrialization period in the early 20 th century, governments also encouraged private initiatives.	There is no private feature. The government controlled all organizations.	Private initiatives were allowed and developed consistently through the years, starting with foreign funds. However, many organizations were created by the government, too.
3.	Self-governed feature	Highly promoted since the industrialization periods.	Governing was only in line with Communist ideology.	Fragile self-governing feature due to a lack of administrative/leadership experience in the third sector.
4.	Noncompulsory feature	Noncompulsory participation in charities and solidarity movements has been promoted since the 19 th century.	The false concept of "volunteering." Officially, all organizations were "voluntary," but in the real world, people were forced to participate in most of them to fulfill ideological purposes.	This feature is most effective in the younger and more educated segment of society. People who grew up in the Soviet Union still do not trust voluntary services.
5.	Limited profit-distributing component	Organizations vary from minimal profit distribution (charities) to limited to rates of 50 percent or less (mutuals, cooperatives, social enterprises).	No profit-distributing organizations existed, but there could not be any surplus within the Soviet-planned economy.	Mainly no profit-distributing organizations.

Scholars note that after 2004, we may notice stabilization in the NGO sector, in which NGOs define their activities with clear objectives and share their experience with other Eastern countries. NGO leaders become experienced managers, develop services, and start to overcome better financial and organizational difficulties (Žalimienė & Rimšaitė, 2007). The growing importance of NGOs is recognized in society, and NGOs are trying to strengthen their cooperation with authorities

(Žalimienė & Rimšaitė, 2007). However, the inactiveness of NGOs and passivity in volunteering activities are noted due to financial hardship, individualistic and egoistic views, and Soviet heritage—distrust, reliance on governmental institutions, and avoidance of individual responsibility (Butkuvienė, 2005). Thus, organizational continuity is also a fundamental problem in Lithuania in 2014 (Stasiukynas, 2014). In later years, we may see more attention given to NGOs as essential partners in creating social welfare (Vorevičienė, 2016), social innovations (Lisevičiūtė & Žalimienė, 2016), and entrepreneurship (Kėrytė, 2015), but the generation of finances for NGOs is still out of scope in society's mindset (Kėrytė, 2014).

Additionally, there is the paradox that in Soviet times, Lithuania had many vibrant civil society movements with many participants (Ramonaitė, 2015) yet after independence, we can see only the number of NGOs rising instead of the number of involved participants (Žiliukaitė, 2012). Despite the amount of growth in the sector, scholars still notice that NGOs in the European post-Soviet region are less resilient to political changes when compared to Western countries (Pape et al., 2020). However, we need to better understand the mechanism by which the Soviet past could penetrate later society's attitudes and behaviors.

1.3. Imprinting Theory

In asking how the Soviet past influenced the subsequent involvement and development of democratic NGOs in a post-Soviet country context while considering its historical aspects, there is a need to relate the past activities with the changed environment and upsurge in new institutions—NGOs. Studies suggest that when incorporating history in theory phenomena in research (Kipping & Üsdiken, 2014), we may use imprinting theory (Marquis & Tilcsik, 2013).

1.3.1. History and Definitions of Imprinting Theory

The imprinting theory is about “a time-sensitive (i.e., occurs at sensitive stages of life) learning process (i.e., a stamping process whereby the focal entity reflects elements of its environment) that initiates a development trajectory (i.e., produces persistent outcomes)” (Mathias et al., 2015, p. 2). From the early 19th century until 1965, it was applied only in biological research, calling it behavioral imprinting (Bateson, 2011). For example, birds, familiar with certain types of food during their early life, tended to like that food more than other choices (Immelmann, 1975). Egg

transfer experiments showed that birds tend to return to breed in the area in which the post-fledging period was spent, regardless of whether it was the natal area (Immelmann, 1975). Behavioral imprinting states that social attachment forms through learning activation in a specific context, and this context is stored in a creature's motor system (Bateson, 2000). As the outcome of numerous biological experiments, the following two main characteristics of imprinting theory were derived: first, imprinting appears within a limited time, or a sensitive period, in which an entity experiences specific environmental conditions or contexts; second, imprinting affects the entity and its behavior even when the sensitive period ends and environmental conditions change (Immelmann, 1975; Marquis & Tilcsik, 2013). In the 1960s, in organizational studies, Stinchcombe (1965) noticed some characteristics similar to imprinting that were relevant to companies. He evidenced that the current state of any organizational behavior is intrinsically linked with its founding conditions, even up to the full persistence of the past elements into the current usage of the structure. Kimberly (1979) suggests institutionalization is like human psychology, in which an infant's early development leaves massive traces on their later life course. Organizational life, or the quality of an organization's developmental life, also depends on the circumstances in which it began. These are considered sensitive periods and combine internal processes and the environment (Kimberly, 1979). Kimberly (1979) proved his idea with the longitudinal analysis of a medical school, examining its initiation, innovation, and institutionalization processes and concluding that the birth period of an organization has long-term implications for its future, especially noting the importance of the entrepreneur in the initiation stage. A very similar phenomenon to biological evidence was observed in organizations (Johnson, 2007; Kimberly, 1979; Kriauciunas & Kale, 2006; Stinchcombe, 1965), their building blocks (jobs, units, etc.) (Baron et al., 1999), collectives, such as industries (Raynard et al., 2013) (Marquis, 2003; McEvily et al., 2012) or communities (Marquis, 2003) as well as in individuals (Banalieva et al., 2017; Dokko et al., 2009; Ellis et al., 2017; Higgins, 2005; McEvily et al., 2012; Tilcsik, 2014).

Drawing on the characteristics of ecological imprinting and Stinchcombe's "social structures," other scholars conjured up an imprinting theory that entirely fits organizational research. Imprinting, as a very complex theory, consists of a three-part definition consisting of sensitive learning periods, moments of reflection of the environment during the sensitive period, and repetition of that learned experience (Marquis & Tilcsik, 2013).

The first part of the definition regards sensitive periods, which are specific time periods during which the subject of research acquires learning skills and follows external influences. This is a period of intense learning. Organizations, as units depending on human interactions or advocacy, also have sensitive periods. The most sensitive periods for organizations are during their initiation and foundation processes, when organizations intentionally invest in specific strategic roads (Boeker, 1989). Organizations' sensitive periods may come from various transitions, such as "becoming a public company, merging, changing industries, replacing senior management team" (Marquis & Tilcsik, 2013, p. 221). The researchers studying the communist imprints on the rise of technological innovation in the USA documented the life stage from ages "six to twenty-five," evidencing that this is the most sensitive period for individuals (Puffer et al., 2018, p. 25). These findings are consistent with the sensitive early-carrier stage being one of the most influential in an individual's further career (Higgins, 2005).

The second part of the definition suggests considering the specific environmental conditions or context, which may be infused into organizational structure and be stable enough to last for a long time (Baron et al., 1999). Understanding the environment during such sensitive periods may reveal important information for further development. The research notes the importance of specific management characteristics (selection, attachment to organization, control) to fit the chosen model, which eventually becomes a specific pattern, blueprints, or specific environmental conditions available for founding a company (Baron et al., 1999). Moreover, these acquired conditions affect the further development of companies, especially in bureaucratization issues (Baron et al., 1999). Usually, people acquire certain new features and certainties and thus no longer live in uncertainty. Organizations, in general, tend to use the same logic and acquire specific characteristics whenever there is uncertainty or casual practice. Organizations do fit specific environmental features because they seek to build a specific type of ladder to reach success through gaining consistency between legacy and uncertainty.

The third part of imprinting is persistence. Marquis and Tilcsik (2013) view persistence as a specific feature to resist adopting new structures because of the possibility that the early adopted conditions still fit perfectly for specific reasons, such as the ideologies being created, someone's interests, or traditions. Regarding organizational change, sometimes, turning off the main road into other fields can be

very costly, and companies want to save money as much as possible. Eventually, people might fall into inertia and resist efforts to transform things even though the negative consequences of this failure to act may lie just around the corner (Hannan et al., 2004). Hannan et al. (2004) deeply analyzed organizational inertia as a phenomenon, finding that inertia is more common for intricate and complex organizations, especially older ones.

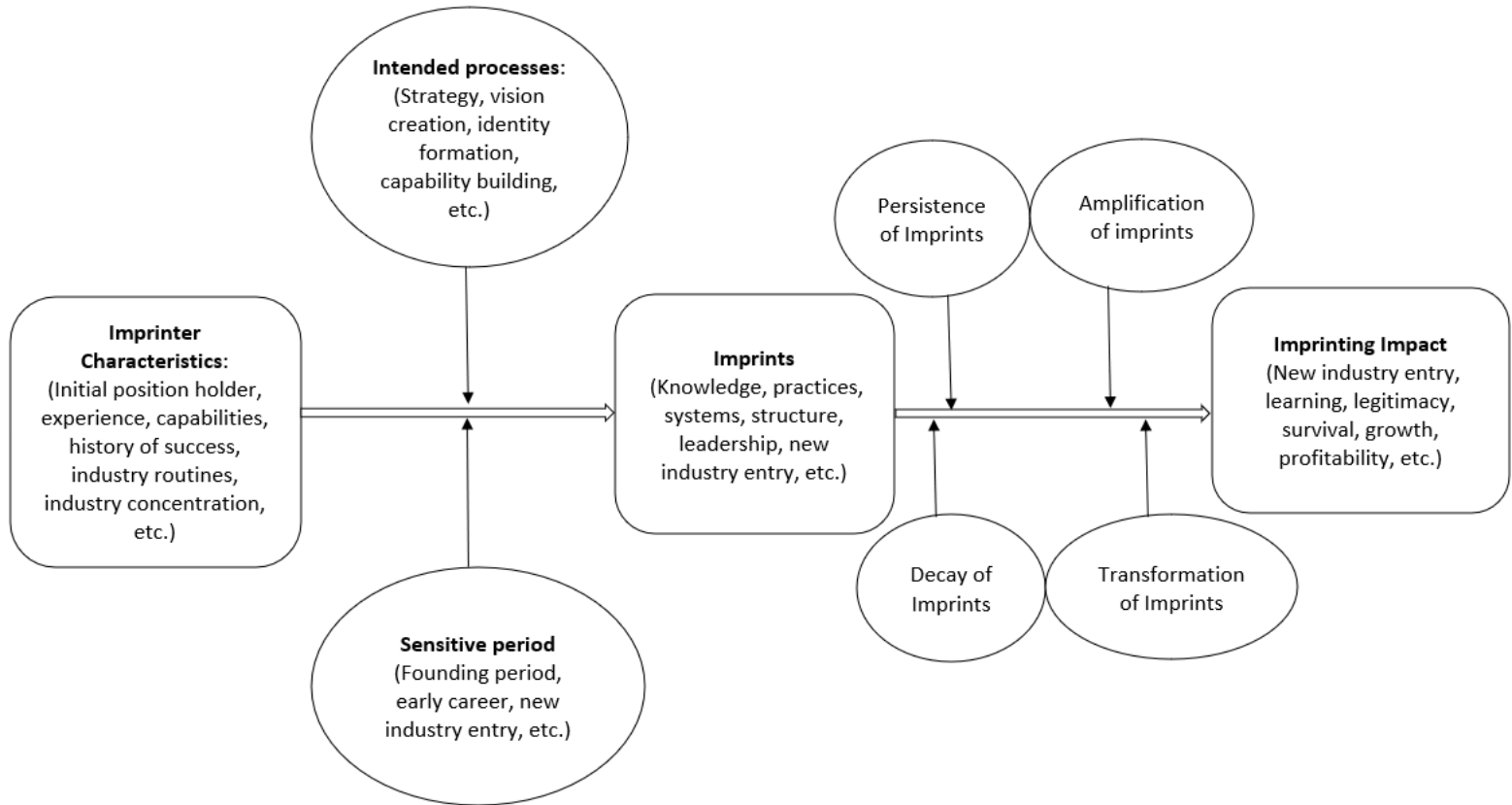
The persistence of imprints, however, is not immutable. They may transform or, in certain instances, decay, especially when the imprints are incongruent with the subsequent environmental settings (De Cuyper et al., 2020; Simsek et al., 2015). This attrition of imprint efficacy is particularly evident when the foundational imprints clash with the demands or ethos of newer organizational contexts (Kriauciunas & Kale, 2006; Simsek et al., 2015). In contrast, ideological imprints, rooted in societal normative beliefs, often exhibit greater longevity, perpetuating through generations via “secondhand imprinting” mechanisms (Xu et al., 2021). Furthermore, encounters with radically divergent environments may catalyze a transformation of these imprints into “antithetical” forms, wherein they manifest in polar opposition to their original nature (Albu et al., 2021). However, understanding specific environmental conditions or contexts, which an entity experienced during sensitive periods, may yield important insight further explaining its development (Baron et al., 1999). The imprints or stamps of the past affect people’s minds and behaviors within the changed environment (Ellis et al., 2017); they may develop inertia and resist transformation even though their reluctance might generate negative consequences under the new circumstances (Hannan et al., 2004).

Scholars agree that imprinting is a process (Mathias et al., 2015; Simsek et al., 2015). Imprinting is like a lifecycle, which forms, evolves, and becomes a manifestation (Simsek et al., 2015), as shown in the model in Figure 4. The imprinting process refers to “the actual occurrence of imprint formation and the mechanism that occurs during the sensitive period” (Simsek et al., 2015, p. 298). The beginning stage of imprinting is called genesis. In the genesis stage, we may see specific preexisting forces—the imprinters, which are “preexisting forces and characteristics that constitute the environment” (Simsek et al., 2015, p. 293) and which provide resources (previous knowledge, experience), establish the environment (industry routines, regulatory conditions), and are the motivation (founder/team values, external conditions) for the imprints. Scholars agree that primary sources of imprint are a) the environment,

b) organizations, and c) individuals/groups, which may create imprints in different levels: a) industries, b) organizations, c) individuals (Marquis & Tilcsik, 2013; Simsek et al., 2015). The imprinting process happens when certain conditions (sources of imprint) meet the focal object (an entity that bears the imprint)—the imprinted, or “the target or bearer of the imprint” (individuals, teams, organizations, networks, industries) (Simsek et al., 2015, p. 294). Eventually, we face imprints, which themselves are considered attributes that “reflect forces present during relatively short, susceptible periods in [...] history” (Lyle et al., 2022, p. 3). The imprints may take different forms because of the different characteristics of both the imprinter and the imprinted entity itself and because the processes by which imprints occur are different: strategy selection, vision articulation, capability building, or resource recombination.

Metamorphosis is a dynamic process by which imprinting persists, decays, amplifies, or transforms (Simsek et al., 2015). The characteristics gained in the sensitive period may persist over time (months, years, decades) because of rules, habits, routines, or management ideas (Simsek et al., 2015). Scholars notice that imprints may even be amplified and increase over time through path dependence, organizational learning, and other mechanisms, which are recognized as positively reduced choices (Simsek et al., 2015). Imprints may also fade for some time if the imprinted features are ineffective and show poor performance or if there are significant changes in the environmental context (Simsek et al., 2015). This is called the decay of imprints. Environmental shifts may also inspire the transformation of imprints, where imprints may become sedimented (embedded layers of imprints), recombined (Simsek et al., 2015), and antithetical (Albu et al., 2021). If the conditions are stamped on and do not decay in the focal entity, we see a manifestation process in which direct or indirect effects of the imprinting appear. Scholars recognize two types of manifestation: proximal outcomes (knowledge sharing, turnover propensity, professional development, founder behavior) and distal outcomes (growth and performance) (Simsek et al., 2015).

Figure 4. Imprinting framework



Source: Simsek et al. (2015)

1.3.2. Imprinting in Industries

As organizational collectives, industries can be defined by three main criteria: market characteristics, geography, and organizational forms (Clemens, 2002). As Stinchcombe noticed in early 1965, imprinting in organizational collectives occurs during the founding conditions, eventually even becoming patterns for later organizations in that particular industry. These could also be economic and technological conditions that shaped the organization during its founding period and continue to be the leading conditions for market entrants (Clemens, 2002). Macro-level research demonstrated how the political and economic circumstances, geographic spread, or cultural norms espoused at an earlier stage of creation affect industries and organizations. An analysis of corporate social responsibility (CSR) initiatives in Chinese industries demonstrated that CSR activities were also related to a company's founding conditions (Raynard et al., 2013). This study revealed imprints left by a political regime: companies established under the rule of Mao Zedong (which promoted political and social aims over economic goals) differed in CSA strategies and activities compared to companies created during the government of Deng Xiaoping (who liberalized the economy and emphasized profit generation). Both types of companies, differing in their founding eras, kept their initial strategies for CSR activities even though the political and economic circumstances had changed (Raynard et al., 2013). Scholars have demonstrated that the political and economic circumstances and cultural norms espoused at an earlier stage of invention have affected industries and organizations and their later development (Liu & Luo, 2022; Wang, Du, & Marquis, 2019).

1.3.3. Imprinting in Organizations

Research analyzing the imprinting effect in organizations suggests that environmental stamps from a company's founding period impact their future activities and "may be an important constraint on later development" (Kimberly, 1979, p. 465). Ellis et al. (2017) relate the role of the firm's founder to the firm's entrepreneurial proclivity in later stages, as well as to other organizations created by prospective entrepreneurs who started in that firm. Studies have shown how organizations rely on their founders (Johnson, 2007) as they highlight their role in setting the specific processes while choosing the specific elements to incorporate the historically available

environmental features, which may remain part of the company's foundations despite any required further changes (Burton et al., 2002; Kimberly, 1979; Phillips, 2005). Scholars even find that the company founder's attitudes may persist and eventually may be transferred to any newly established (by the parent company) firms through various routines (Phillips, 2005). Other scholars have noticed nuances in technological change and other organizational processes, which may be based on the initial company's environmental conditions experienced during the founding years of the company, which would persist in maintaining the same technological trajectory despite changes (Zyglidopoulos, 1999). Marquis (2003) evidence that companies that created intercorporate local networks when aviation technology did not yet exist tended to focus on local ties even after the possibilities for air travel increased tremendously in subsequent years.

1.3.4. Imprinting on Individuals

Research on imprinting phenomena at the individual level helps to understand how individuals may be repeating similar thinking and behavioral patterns imprinted in the past. For example, McEvily et al. (2012) provide evidence that past bridging ties, such as relationships with experienced mentors during the early stages of an individual's career, mattered more than current bridging ties. Other scholars found that people had different attitudes to investment risks depending on their early life experience and existing macroeconomic environment features. People who had experienced financial losses were less willing to take risks later in life despite essential economic changes, and vice versa; people who had acquired greater returns were much more willing to invest and take risks (Malmendier & Nagel, 2011).

Scholars have analyzed the impact of institutional conditions on individuals and found career imprints and patterns (Dokko et al., 2009; Higgins, 2005; Tilcsik, 2014). Individuals carried their prior work experiences to new organizations where these imprints of the past affected their performance (Dokko et al., 2009). Research on career and individual behavior at work showed that people behaved differently under the same conditions based on their previous early career environmental conditions, such as resource abundance at work (Tilcsik, 2014). Higgins explained this as an organizational career imprint—a “set of capabilities and connections, coupled with the confidence and cognition that a group of individuals share as a result of their career experiences at a common employer during a particular period in time” (2005). For the

first time, she revealed that the early career experiences of individuals who later became CEOs of other companies were transferred to these other companies and even formed the patterns for rising new industries, as was the case of biotechnology startups in the USA (Higgins, 2005).

1.3.5. Research on Soviet Imprints⁴

Evidence from the post-Soviet countries shows that the Soviet period certainly left imprints affecting further business development (Shinkle & Kriauciunas, 2012) or individual working practices in post-Soviet organizations (Banalieva et al., 2017). An examination of Soviet imprints showed that companies that were founded during the Soviet era and continued to operate after independence were less adaptive to change compared to companies that were founded during the post-Soviet period (Kriauciunas & Kale, 2006).

Individual attitudes acquired in Soviet workplaces also persist and shape post-Soviet working attitudes (Banalieva et al., 2017) and the propensity to depend on the government despite the subsequently perceived advantages of liberalization in the region resulted in greater financial prosperity (Alesina & Fuchs-Schündeln, 2007). People who have lived under authoritarian rule tend to have more positive attitudes to increased state power and state interventions than those who have never experienced authoritarianism (Alesina & Fuchs-Schündeln, 2007).

Based on interviews regarding the social and environmental reporting practices of businesses, scholars suggest four major Soviet imprints: state centrism, the primacy of collective good, secrecy, and decoupling, which may all affect organizational practices in the field of environmental reporting (Albu et al., 2020). Scholars not only recognize Soviet imprints as persistent stamps that penetrated new liberal environments and new types of workplaces but also highlight the length of time spent under communist exposure as essential in predicting the behavior at work, where the more prolonged time intensifies the imprints' persistence (Banalieva et al., 2017).

Other scholars also notice that imprints may transform over time (Simsek et al., 2015). Based on the transformational nature of imprints, scholars explain that post-Soviet society, being in despair of the Soviet system in the post-Soviet period, acquired

⁴ Parts of this section are published in Petreikienė, D., & Bučiūnienė, I. (2024). Unearthing the Legacy: Contrasting Soviet Imprints on Early NGOs in Lithuania. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 1-13.

not only persistent imprints but also an antithetic ideology, meaning that society severely refused the old Soviet norms when acquiring the new norms of the new liberal environment (Albu et al., 2020). This antithetical ideology may explain the mainstream resistance to volunteering in CEE countries when coupled with the imprints of the previously forced volunteering. This is especially true for the older generation, alongside other reasons such as financial deprivation, family obligations (caring for grandchildren), and poor knowledge about opportunities to volunteer (Ehlers et al., 2011; Khvorostianov & Remennick, 2018).

Scholars state that Soviet heritage persists in organizational issues and highly affects NGOs and their resources (Pranaitytė, 2022; Regulska, 1999; Waniak-Michalak et al., 2020). However, research on Soviet imprints is scarce, and only recent studies have started to notice the imprints of different parts of the Soviet past on society and organizational practices (Albu et al., 2020; Banalieva et al., 2017). The questions of which past Soviet issues are relevant and how they affect NGOs in a country previously repressed by the Soviet regime remain scarcely addressed.

The literature on imprints on NGOs is very limited. However, scholars analyze sector imprinting in the case of switching jobs from NGOs into public (governmental) organizations, noticing that people from NGOs see the public sector's excessive bureaucracy and formalities as higher compared to non-switchers (Chen, 2012). Even fewer research studies have named the exact imprints on NGOs as a heritage possibly stemming from historical sociopolitical circumstances. Some scholars overview the political, economic, and historical circumstances and only hint at NGOs from Soviet times possibly inheriting several imprints: the negative attitude to volunteering because of "45 years of imposed top-down volunteerism", poor finances from private funds, and confrontation between NGOs instead of collaboration (Regulska, 1999, pp. 63-65).

Drawing on imprinting theory, this paper suggests that when Lithuania regained its independence in 1990, people unconsciously kept acting in the ways they did in their recent past under the Soviet regime, even though a new era of democracy had emerged. We believe these Soviet imprints have affected the development of NGOs and involvement in organizational activities in post-Soviet CEE countries. In order to study previously unexplored issues of NGO development in a post-Soviet country and to understand better the Soviet imprint phenomena in modern NGOs, we need qualitative open-ended data (Edmondson & McManus, 2007) to answer the question

of how the Soviet past emerged in NGOs (Reiner, 1991), as well as quantitative data to reveal the effects of Soviet imprints on modern NGOs.

1.4. Theories Related to Imprinting

Scholars recognize some similar theories to imprinting, which could be mistaken for each other: path dependence and cohort effects. Path dependence is a theory in which some historical events may accidentally arise to create some path, which is exaggerated through positive feedback. Usually, this path is locked in for a certain period, even with increasing dominance over time. For example, when some specific types of computer files (like pdf) were created and gained their dominance over time. Path dependence differs from imprinting theory because of the intention to provide more generalizable explanations of certain phenomena, like being locked in during some periods, not taking too much notice of particular historical effects (Kipping & Üsdiken, 2014). The cohort effect is a set of similar experiences gained in life, which makes individuals of a certain group act similarly. For example, those born around 2010 tend to exhibit similar behaviors in childhood. Imprinting may occur without causing cohort effects (Marquis & Tilcsik, 2013). Condensed information about the differences between the mentioned theories is represented in Table 2.

Table 2. Theories like imprinting

Theories	Imprinting	Path dependence	Cohort effects
Conditions	Prominent environmental conditions	Historical accidents	Similarity in characteristics and outcomes
Effect comes through	Short sensitive periods	Long-term event chains	Similar continued experiences throughout the life course
Stability/change	Stability of stamped-in features	The increasing dominance of a pattern	Intra-cohort homogeneity
Mechanism	Persistence of environmental conditions stamped in during a brief sensitive period	The unfolding process of path formation, not only the reproduction of certain properties	Represents an outcome—results from a variety of processes

Source: Marquis and Tilcsik (2013)

1.4.1. Scripts as Behavioral Imprints

“A script is a schematic knowledge structure held in memory that specifies behavior or event sequences appropriate for specific situations” (Gioia & Poole, 1984, p. 449). Scholars note that schematic knowledge of how to behave and sequential behavioral practices are often noticed in organizations and their members. These scripts create knowledge for casual tasks that must be done in organizations and serve as a plan for further action. Such knowledge of sequential behavior is consciously created but usually unconsciously repeated by the older worker. Some scholars see scripts as mindless behavior in organizations and note scripts to be unconscious “event schemas” that are significantly related to specific organizational roles (Ashforth & Fried, 1988, p. 306). They are especially beneficial for newcomers in terms of their learning provision (Gioia & Poole, 1984). Scripts are used for vicarious learning (“an observer learns from the behavior and consequences experienced by a model rather than from outcomes stemming from his or her performance attempts”) purposes as a means to influence desired behavior (Gioia & Manz, 1985, p. 528). In general, scripts in organizations function regarding a) control, b) legitimizing some actions in a sense to make them rituals, c) sense-making purposes, d) efficient organization, e) guidance, f) reducing ambiguity, g) evaluating behavior, h) conserving the required action in order not to forget (Ashforth & Fried, 1988, p. 309).

The ontology of scripts may also lay in cultures, which help to create specific cognitive maps and schemas (Elwood & Murphy, 2015). Cultural scripts are understood as “representations of cultural norms that are widely held in a given society and that are reflected in the language (culture-specific ‘keywords,’ phrases, conversational routines, and so on)” (Wierzbicka, 2002, p. 401). Moreover, they can draw a path to acquired norms of truth or communication formulas. Cultural scripts, being deeply rooted within an individual’s personality, are uneasy about changing them when a regime changes and new scripts, such as new ideological doctrines, are acceptable (Wierzbicka, 2002).

Scripts may be like imprints, as they are once formed and then held in memory until a similar situation occurs. Both can act as perceptions and behaviors, may be conscious and unconscious, and may be initially formed by cues and behavioral patterns/models.

Scripts do differ from imprints, though, because scripts are schemas and sequences of thoughts and behaviors, and imprints can instead be separate, unique

thoughts, attitudes, and behaviors; scripts are schemas taken from memory to fit a suitable new situation, while imprints may persist even though they are wrong for the new situation. Scripts serve to form an understanding of upcoming needs or events—for sense-making and learning purposes (e.g., to guess how a particular type of a person might behave because “the recall of events for a similar or prototypic situation provides the decision maker with the script for understanding and predicting the outcome of the decision” (Gioia & Poole, 1984, p. 454), whereas imprints focus on retrieving past experiences. Scripts tend to fit the requirements of the focal environment or “guide” and are used to contain good practice, but imprints that may not fit at all will still be represented. An imprint is more static, containing specific frames in itself, while a script “can be viewed as more ‘dynamic’ in that it retains knowledge of expected sequences of behaviors, actions, and events” (Gioia & Manz, 1985, p. 529). Scripts are derived from external models, whereas imprints may be more of a self-enhancement process.

Proactiveness and Scripts. From one point of view, where scholars recognize scripts as unconscious behavior delved into routinized practices (Ashforth & Fried, 1988), this seems to contradict proactive behavior, where consciousness is one of the personal components promoting proactive behavior (Bateman & Crant, 1993). However, where scripts function for learning purposes as the basis for understanding and initiating behavior (Gioia & Manz, 1985), scripts may be used to design a job and reduce uncertainty for managers (Tansik & Smith, 1991). Scripts might serve as a space to start new things and provide an example of an employer requesting employees to work face-to-face with customers and providing services to employ a certain level of proactive behavior (Söderlund, 2018). The author suggests that managers encourage proactivity, which may be done through scripts, but on the other hand, it might cause employees to feel unable to initiate processes themselves (Söderlund, 2018). However, nowadays, scripts are a tool to apply proactive behavior at work and are considered the most appropriate for autonomous service robots that directly interact with customers (Peng et al., 2019).

Career Scripts. Scholars also see scripts in career settings as specific successful practices determining career paths (Laudel et al., 2019). Career scripts are formed by context and individuals' willingness (Valette & Culié, 2015). These researchers argue that careers (boundaryless careers, in the cited article) may not be perceived through the lenses of the constraints of institutional context but through an individual's

interpretations of the social positions held (Valette & Culié, 2015). Career scripts are like “guidelines coming from a variety of institutions such as the employing company, the profession, industry interests or from family and social contexts that individuals use to make sense of their situation” (Garbe & Duberley, 2021, p. 2472). This suggests that imprints may be a resource for gaining insight into and navigating an organization's social environment better to understand its development and potential and pitfalls.

1.4.2. Life Course Theory

Life course theory explores the links between people's lives and changing societies, including dividing lives into periods linked or intertwined with other lives and how people manage their lives in society (Elder Jr, 1994). According to this theory, the life course has four main themes:

1. Lives and historical time. Historical moments in which people are born, and which define their resources and opportunities, often known as the “cohort effect.”
2. The division of life into stages and their social meanings. Social stages consist of events that occur over time, the ordering of roles, and the formation of certain attitudes depending on age.
3. Linked lives. Social ties with relatives and friends bind people throughout their lives, leading to socialization processes, behavioral exchanges, or successes based on kinship.
4. Human agency. This concept is essential for individual differences and links to the broader social context. The changing environment influences people's behavior, and the process of making choices becomes essential for life course development and aging (Elder Jr, 1994).

Two critical quests are noticed in research based on life course theory:

1. The stability of specific characteristics and behavior during the lifespan;
2. The understanding of stages of life, such childhood, adolescence, adulthood, etc., and how those periods of life interact with other periods (Mayer, 2009).

When looking at life courses and institutions, researchers mostly:

- a) compare long-term relationships with institutions and look at how this relationship is changing (more or less institutionalized);

b) compare cross-country data to study the relationships (their order and disorder) between people and institutions and how institutions affect people's lives (Mayer, 2009).

Researchers have explored life course theory as a theoretical orientation to human development and aging, and from this perspective, life course theory is about "age-graded patterns embedded in social institutions and histories" (Elder et al., 2003, p. 4). The life course is also identified according to the terms life history, lifespan, or life cycle, which unfold throughout people's lives in a society that is influenced by the vicissitudes of history as well as by relationships (family, friends, etc.) or abilities (science) (Elder et al., 2003). Life course theory can provide a framework for studying social pathways, developmental trajectories, and social change (Elder et al., 2003). Trajectories usually refer to long-term involvement in or links to particular social institutions and their respective roles and are, therefore, very similar to careers (Elder et al., 2003).

Thus, social pathways—the trajectories of individuals or groups in society in terms of education, work, family, and place of residence—are an essential part of the theory. Trajectories refer to a sequence of roles and experiences and consist of transitions or changes in the current position or role (Elder et al., 2003). Examples of transitions include moving out, becoming a parent, retiring, etc.

Life course theory is particularly relevant in moments of sudden historical change (Elder Jr, 1998) when examining the impact of such contexts on people's lives. This is most often done through the analysis of generations (cohorts and their differences), and here, the following key aspects are identified:

a) Do the institutional imprints of the old system change radically in the transition to the new one, or does the life course shaped by the old system persist under the new conditions?

b) When do the conditions of life in the past act as a resource or constraint? (Mayer, 2009).

Life course theory is often used in articles on human health topics (Elder Jr, 1998), such as how shifts into old age after leaving the labor market affect physical and mental health outcomes (Moen, 1996). The theory is also being used to understand more about people's crimes (Sampson & Laub, 2005). The life course is often used to examine contextual and institutional factors that influence the changes young people experience as they transition to adult life (Shanahan, 2000).

Although life course theory is rather challenging to analyze using quantitative methods, the intertwining of trajectories cannot always be explained by cause-effect relationships between variables but rather as a process influenced by the broader social and cultural context/norms. For example, specific economic changes influence life changes, but authors suggest different ways of doing this (Elder et al., 2003). Others take a life course perspective using qualitative methods (Fehring & Bessant, 2009).

1.4.3. Institutionalization Theory and Non-governmental Organizations

New forms of organizations do not emerge out of the blue, and institutional theory suggests they come from organized politics or social movements (Rao, 1998). Elaborating more on institutional theory, we may see that new social movements and the institutionalization of newly prescribed ideology are usually only one layer on top of existing institutions' historical sequence (Schneiberg & Lounsbury, 2008). Tolbert and Zucker (1999) analyze institutionalization as a causal process with these key points: various environmental forces (technological change, legislation, market forces) predict the need for innovation, and the engine of three sequential procedures of habit creation, seeing alive creatures as objects, and sedimentation begin to function. Habit creation means developing patterned problem-solving behaviors and associating such behaviors with incentives. Full institutionalization is, therefore, "likely to depend on the conjoint effects of relatively low resistance by opposing groups, continued cultural support and promotion by advocacy groups, and positive correlation with desired outcomes" (Tolbert & Zucker, 1999, p. 184).

In the early 1990s in Lithuania, there was no institutionalization of the third sector. Institutionalization can be viewed as a process of instilling value, which suggests that first, certain ideologies (civil society ideology) must exist without any framing into rules and legacy, and over some time, those ideas mature to be institutionalized, where institutions serve as vehicles (Scott, 1987) to maintain stable patterns of behavior with which to act (Tolbert & Zucker, 1999). Such institutional regulations often persist over time, giving us the direction to import the imprinting theory (described in the section below), which could be named as a mechanism of institutionalization, showing that the environment incorporated at the beginning of the unit's creation is challenging to change later. Institutional theory creators see the historical sequence as a necessity to be understood because not all institutionalization processes are necessarily rational

and planned—they instead incorporate environmental structures in organizations (Scott, 1987). This study's main idea is that the NGOs established in 1990 persist in repeating some cultural aspects gained from the Soviet Union.

In reading the literature on the third sector, institutionalization theory, and imprinting theory, we may see scholars emphasizing three main attitudes that would make the most significant impact in establishing the primary third sector institutions: entrepreneurial capacity, historical context and culture, and external environment conditions, which exist during the creation period (technology, legal structures, state constraints, etc.). Historical context and culture were reviewed in the previous section, showing links to the possible imprinted Soviet behaviors.

Entrepreneurs. Institutional entrepreneurs are ideological activists who combine unconnected beliefs and norms into an organizational solution to a problem (Rao, 1998). They have to mobilize the goals, assemble the resources, and legitimize the new form and the clients embodied in the new form, and they do this within the existing culture (Rao, 1998). Understanding institutionalization theory should lead us to analyze social entrepreneurs or NGO founders further because they are the main influencing forces within NGOs.

Motivational Context. Compared to for-profit businesses, the *non-compulsory* feature of NGOs and the limited profit distribution possibilities suggest different types of motivation for interaction with NGOs. People usually voluntarily become involved in certain public activities with little or no expectations for money. This makes the TS unique and has been identified as a renewable resource for specific problem-solving (Enjolras et al., 2018). Perry and Porter (1982), in the analysis of the motivational context in public organizations (which are sometimes combined with nonprofit organizations), describe four main categories of variables: individual characteristics, job characteristics, work environment characteristics, and external environment characteristics (Perry & Porter, 1982). They analyze individual characteristics, like attitude, and find that young people who entered nonprofits, compared to profit-based organizations, were more dominant, flexible, and status-oriented but less attached to profit gain (Leete, 2000). Work environment characteristics employ mainly two factors: peer group and the supervisor (Perry & Porter, 1982). As scholars further notice, these two factors, working through organizational actions, systematic rewards, individual rewards, and the organizational climate, have a role to play in motivation. NGO employees and volunteers often take low/zero-paid jobs because they get the

opportunity to learn (Žiliukaitė, 2006). If these workers notice the incompetence of their supervisors, keeping employees for a longer time becomes very challenging, but there is one thing public supervisors are better at compared with profit supervisors—human relations (Perry & Porter, 1982). The external environment, significantly when changing, is very important in forming human behavior at work (Perry & Porter, 1982). External environmental changes are not easy to control. However, scholars see that leaders of organizations can monitor and intervene with adaptive internal changes, which may influence the motivation of employees (Perry & Porter, 1982). Even Perry and Porter notice that employees in public organizations value money less than those who work in the for-profit sector. Leete (2000) argues that non-profit employees will get fair wages if employers want them to work honestly because non-profit employees feel bad if they get less than those who work in the for-profit sector, and this eventually lowers their motivation and performance unless they perceive that others are being altruistic, so then they are motivated to do the same. Leete also noticed intrinsic motivation, adherence to group norms, and organizational pride as the most important incentives for motivation in the non-profit sector. Studies also reveal that usually, better-educated people become involved in third-sector activities (Leete, 2000; Žiliukaitė et al., 2006).

1.4.4. Unlearning as Part of Organizational Change

Often, scholars seek to continuously recognize imprints or scripts because they need to fit into modern organizational behavior to avoid unlearning. Scholars need to acknowledge the concept of unlearning in the context of human resource development (Kim & Park, 2021). Still, if we follow the definition of Bateman and Crant (1993, p. 103) of proactive behavior as a “relatively stable tendency to affect environmental change,” then we see its interaction with development, learning, organizational changes (Grant & Ashford, 2008, p. 7), and innovation. Scholars notice the importance of the unlearning concept in the need for growth and development, where critical reflection opens the unlearning processes for further development (Matsuo, 2018b). However, few scholars have researched unlearning from the perspective of proactive behavior.

As organizational changes, especially the acquisition of new knowledge for innovations, proactivity in this sense may relate to unlearning behavior as seeking “to accommodate new information and behaviours” (Becker, 2005, p. 661). The unlearning literature highlights changes in beliefs (Akgün et al., 2007), where the

unlearning types differ according to the needed changes in environment and unpredictability.

Proactive behavior may be moderated by consciousness and self-monitoring, where the workers engage in proactive behavior because of accountability issues (Grant & Ashford, 2008), it is similar to an unlearning process, which also unfolds through the necessary conscious behaviors and mindfulness (Thomas, 2011). Despite this, proactivity at some point (when acquiring changes) may adopt conscious processes of unlearning when employees actively seek to explore new things (Matsuo, 2020). Only a few scholars have referred to these constructs. Of course, only intentional unlearning is a conscious process adopted by individuals to give up old knowledge, aiming to replace it with new knowledge (Cegarra-Navarro & Wensley, 2019). It may be linked to proactive behavior rather than unintentional or accidental unlearning.

Instead, some scholars recognize unlearning as a proactive behavior itself (Hislop et al., 2014; Kmiecik, 2020) and state that unlearning mediates the relationship between a paradox mindset (when the individual is motivated by work tensions) and work engagement (Yin, 2021). Unlearning releases employee creativity only through individual reflection (Matsuo, 2018a). At the same time, workers actively engage in work processes (Matsuo, 2018a), and though it relates to proactivity, critical reflection may be seen as a proactive behavior. Other scholars found the opposite—that critical reflection promotes unlearning, which serves as a mediator to affect innovative work behavior (idea generation and idea realization constructs), but only for non-managers (Kmiecik, 2020).

As noticed from the literature above, unlearning may be the key to unlocking new types of behavior needed when changing the social environments and regimes, as was the case in many CEE countries after the Soviet Union fall in 1991. As unlearning highlights changes in beliefs (Akgün et al., 2007), understanding this phenomenon could have fostered the development of new types of organizations throughout the first decade of NGO creation in post-Soviet countries.

1.5. Concluding Overview of the Research on the Non-governmental Organizations in a Post-Soviet Context⁵

For research purposes, scholars operationalized observable third sector units into “organizations, whether formal or informal; private; self-governed; non-compulsory; and totally or significantly limited from distributing any surplus to investors, members or other stakeholders” (Salamon & Sokolowski, 2018, p. 33). The term “non-governmental organizations” is used in the CEE region and South America, mainly originating from the intended opposition between governmental organizations and the needs of civil society. However, in various types of literature, the term “NGO” is used synonymously with ‘nonprofit organization,’ ‘voluntary organization,’ and even ‘third-sector organization.’ Regardless of how an NGO is referred to in different countries (nonprofit, voluntary organization, etc.), they are mainly created to provide resources to people in need (e.g., healthcare, microfinance, human rights, etc.), to promote change in society/the environment/the economy (e.g., advocacy), and/or to work in partnerships with the government, business organizations, or communities to strengthen society (Lewis & Kanji, 2009). NGOs serve people through their main resource – volunteering, a “long-term, planned, prosocial behavior that benefits strangers and occurs within an organizational setting” (Penner, 2002: p. 448).

Different kinds of motives act in answering the question of why people choose to volunteer (Clary & Snyder, 1999). Despite individual motives, which also may rely on the circumstances experienced at different ages, the country’s culture matters a lot in volunteering decision-making (Voicu & Voicu, 2009). Countries are all the result of different historical and cultural development trajectories (Salamon & Anheier, 1998), which eventually form different traditions that either favor the promotion of volunteering or not (Principi et al., 2014).

Regions like the post-Soviet one often rely on the lowest levels of volunteering, especially at older ages (Principi et al., 2014). For example, in Lithuania, a country that was in the Soviet Union for almost half a century, older people (aged 66 and above) are among those who are “least likely to volunteer” (Ehlers et al., 2011, p. 18). Scholars assume that when the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, and the forced volunteering culture was dissolved, the negative impact of the socialistic experience remained,

⁵ Parts of this chapter were published in Petreikienė, D., & Bučiūnienė, I. (2024). Unearthing the Legacy: Contrasting Soviet Imprints on Early NGOs in Lithuania. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 1-13.

leaving voluntary work unrecognized in society and organizational settings (Silló, 2016; Voicu & Voicu, 2009). Such notes suggest that if we wish to answer the question of why post-Soviet countries have lower volunteering rates, we need to examine the reality of the post-Soviet cultural and historical context more closely.

After World War II, while the Western world was creating the Charter of the United Nations, which focused on the sovereignty of small and large nations, as well as on human rights, the Eastern European nations were occupied by the Soviet Union and incorporated into it under the leader of the Soviet Union, Stalin. The Soviet Union employed an ultra-aggressive policy of terror, distrust, and totalitarianism—all underpinned by deception and military force (Brazaitis, 1990, p. 276). All actions served the interests of the only party allowed under the regime, thus creating an authoritarian society in the CEE. The socialist ideology of the Soviet regime was based on the idea of an egalitarian society and the homogeneity of people's goals, interests, and activities (Grybkaukas et al., 2011), so it could not allow any private or autonomous initiatives (Brazaitis, 1990, p. 285). All cultural, environmental, and social organizations belonged to the government. Labor was extensively planned and not based on the principles of demand and supply (Brown, 1957). This ineffectiveness of the labor market created the government's plans for volunteers based on exact directions of who, when, and how to work the non-paid 'volunteer' work (Brown, 1957). People were also forced to participate in various social activities like trade unions, self-education and self-development groups, people's social gatherings, friendly courts, lectures, political parties, electoral canvasses, commissions, and so forth (Vaiseta, 2014). The Authoritarian regime, eventually making use of milder and milder devices for control, persisted until the end of the 1980s, when the need for more democratic processes and movements was established in the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Socialist Republics gained their freedom with the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991.

After the member states regained independence, the restoration of a liberal political system based on a market economy was introduced, together with the democratic processes and inspiration of autonomous NGOs. Private initiatives arose but immediately faced different types of obstacles. Three external things were common pitfalls in creating the NGO sector in Lithuania: lack of a supportive legal system, lack of government approval, and lack of civil society awareness (Žalimienė & Rimšaitė, 2007). During the first decade, NGOs in post-Soviet countries were weak, lacked organizational skills, could not obtain funding, and were unwilling to collaborate or

attract volunteers (Regulska, 1999, p. 63), because people (especially older generations), even though years have passed from the Soviet times, run from any mention of “volunteerism” or “voluntary” organizations (Khvorostianov & Remennick, 2018; Pranaitytė, 2022). The number of NGOs could be noticed to rise instead of the number of involved participants (Žiliukaitė, 2012, 2018). Despite the amount of growth in the sector, scholars still notice that NGOs in the European post-Soviet region are less resilient to political changes when compared to Western countries (Pape et al., 2020). Such evidence echoing the Soviet past's liveliness, after many years, leads us to the question of what kind of history we still cannot resist in making organizational and individual decisions. Scholars suggest a history-in-theory approach (Kipping & Üsdiken, 2014) and imprinting theory (Marquis & Tilcsik, 2013) to better understand the mechanism of how past attitudes and behaviors can penetrate the later society's attitudes and behaviors.

Imprinting, as a very complex theory, consists of a three-part definition consisting of sensitive learning periods, moments of reflection of the environment during the sensitive period, and repetition of that learned experience (Marquis & Tilcsik, 2013). It suggests that specific attitudes and behaviors adopted in a certain environment during a particular time period in the past may persist for a long time in organizational settings (Stinchcombe, 1965) and individuals (Higgins, 2005). Such attitudes and behaviors or attributes reflecting a specific period of time in history may be called imprints (Lyle et al., 2022). Evidence from the post-Soviet countries showed that the Soviet period certainly left imprints affecting further business development (Shinkle & Kriauciunas, 2012) or individual working practices in post-Soviet organizations (Banalieva et al., 2017). Individual attitudes acquired in Soviet workplaces persisted and shaped post-Soviet working attitudes (Banalieva et al., 2017) and social norms relying on dependence on the government and state power (Alesina & Fuchs-Schündeln, 2007).

Even though many years have passed since independence, researchers in various fields do not see as much qualitative change in NGOs (Žiliukaitė, 2018) between generations, as they would like, and the situation still needs attention because it still encounters obstacles and faces the challenges of attraction and sustainability of human resources (Tuzaitė, 2016). The uncertainty of the NGO sector poses difficulties for identity, assertion, and embeddedness (Kérytė, 2015) and lower resistance to various crises (Pape et al., 2020). Thus, research is needed on Soviet imprints, how

they have affected the development of NGOs in a post-Soviet country, and attitudes towards volunteering in this context.

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND FINDINGS

2.1. Methodological Approach

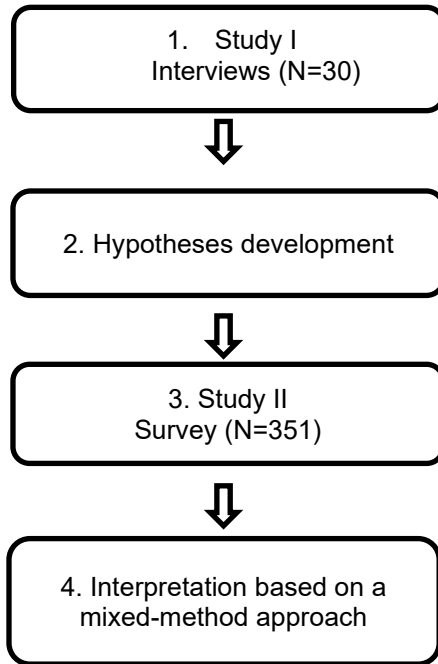
Following the logic discovered in the literature analysis, we understand that the literature explaining how Soviet imprints have affected the NGOs in post-Soviet CEE countries is scarce. First, we need to explore the phenomena. The current state of the literature suggests the need to explore the topic in greater depth with open qualitative data, which helps us to better understand phenomena that have not yet been the subject of much research (Edmondson & McManus, 2007). Therefore, in the first step, we use “exploratory design” (Ivankova & Creswell, 2009, p. 140).

While the unique qualitative data echoing Soviet attitudes and behaviors would help strengthen the literature focusing on the exact Soviet features that possibly affect post-Soviet NGOs, we intend to use quantitative data to test the findings from the qualitative study in the next step.

The empirical research design is seen in Figure 5. First, in Study I, we gathered qualitative data focusing on the early NGOs in a post-Soviet country setting while looking at them from the perspective of Soviet imprints. Through coding and structuring the data using inductive reasoning, we explored the Soviet environment features, which, after the independence from the Soviet Union, turned into imprints and affected the development of early democratic NGOs,

In Study II (the quantitative study), we explored whether Soviet imprints (disclosed in Study I) would influence volunteering behavior. We gathered quantitative data in Study II, which helped test the findings explored in Study I and understand whether imprints of the past may still affect society’s attitudes toward the main resource of NGOs—volunteering. After both studies, we propose my interpretation from the qualitative and quantitative data analysis as a mixed-methods approach.

Figure 5. Research design



Source: Ivankova and Creswell (2009, p. 141)

2.2. Study I

A retrospective qualitative study with 30 creators and developers of early democratic NGOs focuses on exploring the Soviet environment features that, after independence from the Soviet Union, turned into imprints, affecting the early development (mostly 1990s) of NGOs in Lithuania, a post-Soviet CEE country. The findings of this study were published in the research article “Unearthing the Legacy: Contrasting Soviet Imprints on Early NGOs in Lithuania” (Petreikienė & Bučiūnienė, 2024).

This study aimed to answer two questions: **what features of the Soviet environment could be primarily noticed in early liberal NGOs, and what kind of imprints have these Soviet features formed?**

2.2.1. Research Design

We conducted a qualitative study with the founders, creators, and developers of early NGOs (see Table 3 for respondent information) in one of the European post-Soviet countries—Lithuania. Lithuania is one of the most representative countries

regarding Soviet heritage, as it was fully incorporated into the Soviet Union from 1944 until 1990.

We looked at Soviet imprints, which remained in individuals' minds and affected their attitudes and behavior regarding involvement in NGO activities during the transition period after the democratic republic of Lithuania was restored—between 1990 and 1999. We believe that imprints from the Soviet regime's behavior and attitudes influenced the development of NGOs. To better understand the development of NGOs in this post-Soviet country, the research setting required a retrospective qualitative study with the main representatives of this type of organization's ideological and practical issues—the initiators, creators, and developers of early NGOs—to understand the process of NGO development in Lithuania. By following the idea of Soviet imprints on early NGOs, we employed the purposeful sampling of informants who had unique access to the information on the formation of NGOs during the early post-Soviet period because they participated in the events themselves or were experts in the field of Lithuanian NGOs. We decided to collect data through semi-structured interviews with the founders, members, and experts of the NGOs, i.e., persons who were active in accelerating NGOs, who initiated the NGOs' financial mechanisms, or were in some other form involved in NGO development, i.e., had an interest in observing the creation of NGOs (e.g., sociologists) and who had been born under and spent at least their early socialization period in the Soviet Union.

2.2.2. Data Collection

We interviewed the respondents, asking them to explain their experiences and thoughts retrospectively, focusing on the decay of Lithuania's independence and the first decade of NGO creation. In such cases, it is important to understand the retrospective recall bias, when informants may fall into the trap of "inappropriate rationalizations, oversimplifications, faulty post hoc attributions, and simple lapses of memory" (Miller et al., 1997, p. 189). Retrospective studies are valuable in the sense that the respondent may look at the past and narrate the meaning of certain events (Fujii, 2010) and assess past experiences while considering a broader environment of a later context. Also, actions like focusing on essential issues or considering that informants were directly involved or were close observers of that time process should reduce the retrospective bias (Huber & Power, 1985).

We employed the snowball sampling technique to recruit respondents, asking the interviewees to name other potential respondents—NGO activists who could provide information about the development of a particular NGO since its early years. After several interviews, the respondents started to offer the names of the same NGO activists, so it is believed that for such a small country, a sample of 30 individuals is sufficient to draw a comprehensive picture of NGO development in Lithuania, a post-Soviet country. We addressed potential informant bias by choosing representatives from different organizations, ensuring a diverse range of perspectives: some organizations were founded in the 1990s and have not survived; some are still operational today; some were legally set up only after 2000. Informants also varied in their working experience: some started their work at business/governmental organizations/universities and later switched to NGOs; some started an NGO and then left for another sector; some were lifetime NGO workers; some were only observing and researching NGOs. The time spent living under the Soviet regime may affect respondents' attitudes (Alas & Vadi, 2004; Pop-Eleches & Tucker, 2014), so an age range of 39 to 95 was chosen. The youngest respondents were chosen because of their expertise or work in different NGOs (see Table 3 for the respondent information).

All the interviewees consented to participate in the study I and agreed that the interview could be recorded. To obtain structured data, we developed an interview guide asking about their experience and knowledge, as well as about NGOs they worked for and NGOs at that time in general: their environment in the 1990s, how they worked, what helped them work, and what created difficult circumstances for them. Thirty semi-structured interviews were conducted in Lithuanian (the native language of the author and the respondents) between July 2020 and March 2021, with a duration that ranged from 43 minutes to 148 minutes.

Table 3. Respondent information

Interview no.	Type of respondent	Age	The founding year of the first NGO respondents were involved in	Regional, national, or umbrella organization	Activity area
Interview 1	NGO developer and creator	65	2001	National	Social service
Interview 2	NGO creator, and accelerator ⁶	50	1995	National	Advocacy
Interview 3	NGO member, creator, policy maker	57	1991	National	Social service (religious)
Interview 4	NGO creator, developer ⁷ , policy maker	59	1998	National	Advocacy
Interview 5	NGO creator	45	1989	National	Youth
Interview 6	NGO creator	60	1990	Regional	Youth
Interview 7	A member and developer of an NGO created by US	92	1990	National	Advocacy
Interview 8	NGO member, creator, policy maker, researcher	57	1990	National	Advocacy
Interview 9	NGO creator, accelerator	43	1998	Regional	Advocacy
Interview 10	NGO creator, member	64	1990	National	Advocacy
Interview 11	Participated in NGO as expert	62	1998	National	Advocacy
Interview 12	Developed a program in NGO, creator of own NGO	56	1990	National	Advocacy
Interview 13	Worked at international NGO, NGO accelerator, created own NGO, policy maker	64	1992	International	Advocacy
Interview 14	NGO member and developer	54	1994	National	Advocacy
Interview 15	NGO member and developer	49	1994	National	Advocacy
Interview 16	NGO developer	64	1998	National	Advocacy
Interview 17	Sociologist, researcher of NGOs	48	-	-	-
Interview 18	NGO developer	46	2004	National	Advocacy

⁶ participated in NGO acceleration programs.

⁷ someone who did not create the NGO but who was the representative or the head of the organization.

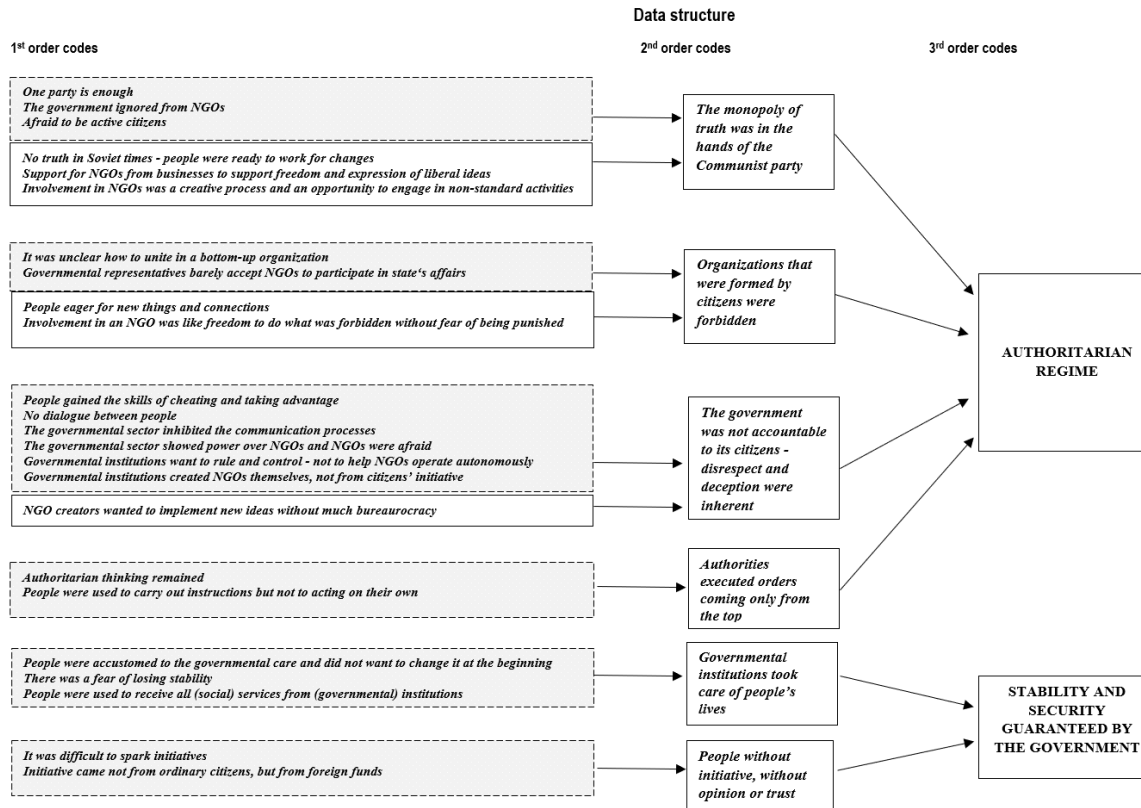
Interview no.	Type of respondent	Age	The founding year of the first NGO respondents were involved in	Regional, national, or umbrella organization	Activity area
Interview 19	NGOs member and developer	48	1994	National	Advocacy
Interview 20	NGO creator	70	1994	Regional	Advocacy
Interview 21	NGO creator and developer	48	2008	National	Advocacy
Interview 22	NGO creator	64	2001	Regional	Advocacy
Interview 23	NGO creator	73	1997	Regional	Advocacy
Interview 24	NGO leader, developer, expert	39	1998	Regional	Advocacy
Interview 25	NGO leader	78	1995	Regional	Social service (religious)
Interview 26	NGO creator	53	2000	National	Social service
Interview 27	NGO creator and accelerator	61	1989	National	Advocacy
Interview 28	NGO creator and leader	66	1995	Regional	Social service
Interview 29	NGO creator, journalist	63	2009	Regional	Advocacy
Interview 30	NGO creator	95	1989	National	Social service (religious)

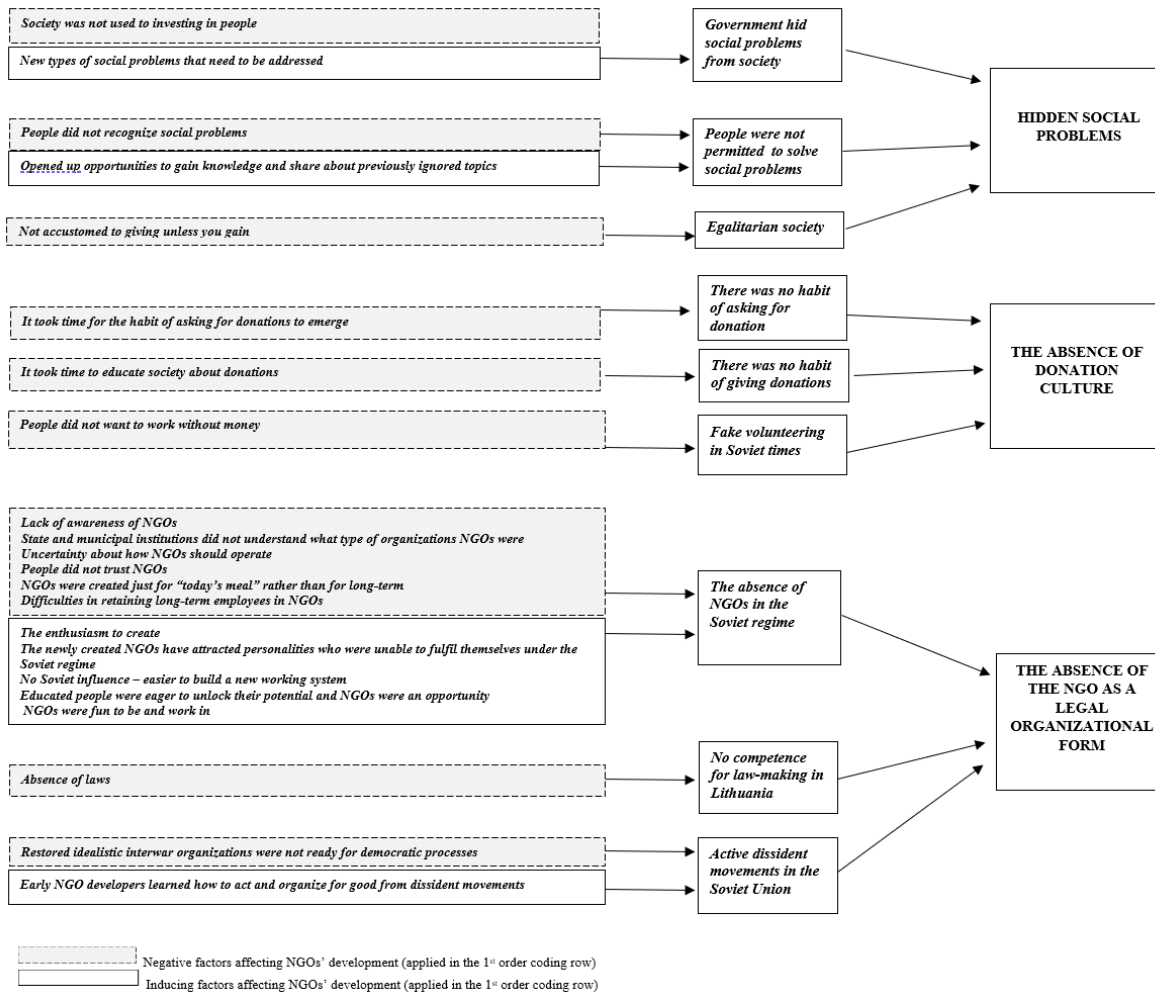
2.2.3. Data Analysis

The interviews were transcribed verbatim. The initial coding, memos, and text bolding were done while transcribing the data using the MAXQDA program and while reading the transcripts (Myers, 2019).

While seeking qualitative rigor and using the interpretive approach (Pellauer & Dauenhauer), we created codes that look at the issues through imprinting theory using Gioia's methodology (Gioia et al., 2013) (see Figure 6). As suggested, we revised, merged, changed, and reorganized the codes to structure the first-order codes in a non-repetitive manner (Miles et al., 2014). After revision and emerging similar code information, 38 first-order codes were left. In order to create a "map", a pattern coding method was applied to structure the first-order codes into the second-order codes (Miles et al., 2014, p. 88) and third-order codes reflected the patterns of the Soviet times as the sensitive period.

Figure 6. Gioia's data structure





We searched for specific patterns in the interviewees' answers that could reveal possible Soviet imprints and their subsequent influence on NGOs. This influence was later divided into positive and negative.

2.2.4. Findings of the Qualitative Study

The analysis revealed five groups of Soviet imprints associated with the formation and development of early NGOs in Lithuania (see Table 4): (1) the authoritarian regime; (2) stability and security guaranteed by the government; (3) hidden social problems; (4) the absence of donation culture and (5) the absence of the NGO as a legal organizational form. The revealed Soviet imprints have had different effects on NGO development in Lithuania. As expected, they predominantly interfered with the development of NGOs; however, the data revealed that some of the Soviet imprints positively affected the development of NGOs.

Table 4. Positive and negative Soviet influence on NGOs development

CHARACTERISTICS OF IMPRINTERS	THE NEGATIVE IMPRINTS ON POST-SOVIET NGOS	THE POSITIVE IMPRINTS ON POST-SOVIET NGOS
1. Authoritarian regime		
The monopoly on truth was in the hands of the Communist party	One party is enough	
	The government ignored criticism from NGOs	No truth in Soviet times—people were ready to work for change
		Support for NGOs from businesses to support freedom and expression of liberal ideas
	Afraid to be active citizens	Involvement in NGOs was a creative process and an opportunity to engage in non-standard activities
Organizations that were formed by citizens were forbidden	It was unclear how to unite in a bottom-up organization	People were eager for new things and connections
	Government representatives barely accept NGOs participating in state affairs	Involvement in an NGO was like the freedom to do what was forbidden without fear of being punished
The government was not accountable to its citizens—disrespect and deception were inherent	People gained the skills of cheating and taking advantage	
	No dialogue between people	
	The government sector inhibited the communication process	

CHARACTERISTICS OF IMPRINTERS	THE NEGATIVE IMPRINTS ON POST-SOVIET NGOs	THE POSITIVE IMPRINTS ON POST-SOVIET NGOs
	The government sector showed power over NGOs, and NGOs were afraid	
	Government institutions wanted to rule and control, not to help NGOs operate autonomously	NGO creators wanted to implement new ideas without much bureaucracy
	Government institutions created NGOs themselves, not from citizens' initiatives	
Authorities only executed orders coming from the top	Authoritarian thinking remained	
	People were used to obeying instructions but not to acting on their own	
2. Stability and security guaranteed by the government		
Government institutions took care of people's lives	People were accustomed to the government's care and did not want to change this at the beginning	
	There was a fear of losing stability	
	People were used to receive all (social) services from governmental institutions	
People had no initiative, opinions, or trust	It was difficult to spark initiatives	
	Initiatives came not from ordinary citizens but from foreign funds	
3. Hidden social problems		
The government hid social problems from society	Society was not used to investing in people	New types of social problems that need to be addressed
People were not permitted to solve social problems	People did not recognize social problems	Opened up opportunities to gain knowledge and share about previously ignored topics
Egalitarian society	Not accustomed to giving unless you gain	
4. The absence of donation culture		
There was no habit of asking for donations	It took time for the habit of asking for donations to emerge	
There was no habit of giving donations	It took time to educate society about giving donations	
Fake volunteering in Soviet times	People did not want to work without money	
5. The absence of the NGO as a legal organizational form		

CHARACTERISTICS OF IMPRINTERS	THE NEGATIVE IMPRINTS ON POST-SOVIET NGOS	THE POSITIVE IMPRINTS ON POST-SOVIET NGOS
The absence of NGOs under the Soviet regime	People lacked awareness of NGOs	The enthusiasm to create something new
	State and municipal institutions did not understand what type of organizations NGOs were	The newly created NGOs attracted personalities who felt they did not fit in the Soviet system
	Uncertainty about how NGOs should operate	No Soviet influence—easier to implement initiatives
		Educated people were eager to unlock their potential and NGOs were an opportunity to do this
	People did not trust NGOs	
	NGOs were created just for “today’s meal” rather than for the long term	
	Difficulties in retaining long-term employees in NGOs	NGOs were fun to be a part of and work in
No competence for law-making in Lithuania	Absence of laws	
Active dissident movements in the Soviet Union	Restored idealistic interwar organizations were not ready for democratic processes	Early NGO developers learned how to act and organize for good from dissident movements

The qualitative data is structured according to the groups of Soviet imprinters, which formed imprints interfering with or promoting NGO development. First, we explain each group of Soviet imprinters and the imprinters within the group; then, we elaborate on how the group has negatively influenced the development of NGOs; and finally, we introduce any positive influences that have been observed.

Imprinters of the Authoritarian Regime. This research revealed that the characteristics of the authoritarian regime were the most influential Soviet remnants affecting the development of NGOs in post-Soviet Lithuania. Below, we briefly introduce the imprints related to the core features of democratic NGOs or the ways they work. Later, we explain how these imprints affected NGOs in the post-Soviet context.

The monopoly on truth was in the hands of the Communist Party. The authoritarian regime had a monopoly on truth. It implemented it through the ideology of the only legal party “because there was one truth anyway, the truth of the Communist Party” (Interview 4).

Organizations that were formed by citizens were forbidden. Individual citizens had no right to organize anything that was not accepted by the regime, so the “organizations initiated by individual groups of citizens were not allowed to emerge” (Interview 27).

The government was not accountable to its citizens—disrespect and deception were inherent. Soviet government institutions and their representatives were not accountable to lower levels of the hierarchy, such as the community, so “the skill of being accountable to the community goes against his [government representative] experience” (Interview 9).

The authorities only executed orders coming from the top. Top-down orders were the primary source of initiative in society. One respondent said, “Until ‘91? we doubt if there was anything constructive going on there; it was all top-down” (Interview 15).

The imprints mentioned above were observed to have an inhibiting effect, which we explain below mainly.

The Negative Influence of the Imprinters of the Authoritarian Regime. The 46-year-long authoritarian Soviet regime interfered with people’s attitudes and behaviors, leaving behind a lasting impact that prohibited the successful development of NGOs.

One party is enough. First, the Soviet system did not allow for various organizations, and early NGO creators could not understand why more than one organization was needed to act with similar purposes. The common belief was that “if we [NGO representatives] would expand our organization, we would not need others. We echoed the mentality of the Communist Youth organization: If there is one youth organization, then why do we need more?” (Interview 3).

The government ignored criticism from NGOs. Despite the intention to implement more liberal processes, the Lithuanian government did not recognize NGOs as a source of assistance, especially “when [NGOs] had [their] opinion, which was different from that of the officials, nobody wanted to talk with [them]” (Interview 26).

Afraid to be active citizens. Not taken seriously in the state-building processes, NGO representatives were afraid to be “bullied, subjected to unjustified accusations, and marginalized” (Interview 8), which was “one of the barriers to civic engagement” (Interview 8).

It was unclear how to unite in a bottom-up organization. Looking from the other side, the early NGOs did not represent themselves well because “it was unclear how

to form an organization [NGO], how to represent one's interests collectively" (Interview 9).

Government representatives barely accept NGOs participating in state affairs. The perspectives of many early NGOs were blurred because many social services such as "nursing, childcare, and psychological services could be done by NGOs, but the government [did] not want to give it up. It is their money, it is their posts, and the authorities suppress NGOs" (Interview 29).

People gained the skills of cheating and taking advantage. To survive the scarcity of Soviet times, people mainly put emphasis on personal goal-seeking and cheating, if necessary, to achieve their goals. This also affected NGOs, as "the ability to cheat was stronger than the ability to create together" (Interview 9).

No dialogue between people. In such a repressive environment, people learned to be silent or defensive, leaving them without the skills to develop a constructive dialogue. This negatively affected early democratic NGOs based on the freedom to express their ideas and the right to be heard. Post-Soviet "people start talking, some raise their goals, and others raise theirs without paying much attention to listening to each other" (Interview 3).

The government sector inhibited the communication process. Also, *the government sector showed power over NGOs, and NGOs were afraid.* The government sector also "hindered the process of communication [with and between NGOs]" (Interview 13) and exerted its power over NGOs, and NGOs were afraid.

Government institutions wanted to rule and control, not to help NGOs operate autonomously. The government institutions did not want to share the public sphere with the unpredictable NGOs. They wanted to rule and control "instead of supporting organizations. They [the public authorities] looked for problems in that sector [NGOs], and this is the legacy of the past" (Interview 16).

Government institutions created NGOs themselves, not from citizens' initiatives. For example, when the grants for creating democratic NGOs came from abroad, "municipalities themselves situated those organizations [NGOs] and gave grants to them" (Interview 1), meaning that this same top-down approach did not allow the bottom-up initiatives to be spread.

Authoritarian thinking remained. The remnants of authoritarian thinking remained in post-Soviet times, and the "authoritarian outlook is very much present in society today" (Interview 8).

People were used to obeying instructions but not to acting on their own. Accustomed to the top-down approach, people were used to obeying instructions but not acting independently. After the Soviet regime collapsed, “it was a tiny proportion of the people who made decisions, who were thinking, because most of them were doers” (Interview 3).

The authoritarian regime and its imprints generated many adverse outcomes. They inhibited NGO development, but to some extent, they also motivated some people to work at NGOs.

The Positive Influence of the Imprinters of the Authoritarian Regime. After regaining independence, what was formerly the Soviet authoritarian regime became the driving force of change, and, to some extent, the creation of NGOs was perceived as the opportunity to do what was forbidden in Soviet times.

No truth in Soviet times—people were ready to work for change. There was no truth in Soviet times, so when the regime changed, people were ready to work for change and “contribute to the building of independence and overcome that Soviet absurdity” (Interview 7).

Support for NGOs from businesses to support freedom and expression of liberal ideas. The changes were first felt in business, and these renovated businesses then supported NGOs in promoting freedom and the expression of liberal ideas, which were uncommon in Soviet times. One interviewee recalled, “People were setting up their own businesses; they were very open to share, eager to support good ideas, enjoying the freedom that we did not have before” (Interview 3).

Involvement in NGOs was a creative process and an opportunity to engage in non-standard activities. This appealed to people who “wanted to do something non-standard, not to sit at work from eight to five” (Interview 13).

People were eager for new things and connections. Involvement in an NGO was like the freedom to do what was forbidden without fear of punishment. People were eager for new things and new connections, and NGOs freed “the person, the worker, to work to his heart’s content. There [was] no ghost behind it, so that if you have done something wrong, you will be punished” (Interview 22).

NGO creators wanted to implement new ideas without much bureaucracy. The creators of the new NGOs wanted to participate in the state-building activities and “help people without the bureaucratic system” (Interview 22).

In the table below, we provide citations and codes that resulted from Soviet characteristics stemming from the authoritarian regime (see Table 5).

Table 5. Citations with codes (Authoritarian regime)

Citations	1 st order codes (the negative/positive imprints)	2 nd order codes (specific characteristics of the imprints)
<p>[We] looked at each other and said that [if] our organization expanded, there would be no need for others. We mentally echoed Komsomol's notion that there is one youth organization, one organization, and that there is no need for so many of these organizations. Interview 3</p> <p>If a Social Democrat is the mayor of a municipality, all the employees will be Social Democrats. So they cannot just switch off and bring in new ones. The Soviet level is. (Interview 18)</p>	One party is enough	The monopoly on truth was in the hands of the Communist party
<p>We always say that everything is good here and that everything is well done! Ask any minister. However, they all replied to any criticism [from NGOs] that everything was fine. (Interview 18)</p> <p>The government does not seem to have changed. Because all wishes and whims are inconvenient. You are ignored. (Interview 9)</p>	The government ignored criticism from NGOs	
<p>It was necessary to overcome that Soviet absurdity and change everything. (Interview 7)</p> <p>Of course, a lot was also done by Lithuanians, who were enthusiastic about doing something different and contributing to the functioning and transparency of the government. (Interview 1)</p>	No truth in Soviet times—people were ready to work for change	
<p>People were setting up their businesses; they were very open to sharing. Lots of them were black money or something, but they were eager to support good ideas because there was an inspiration that we are all involved in, enjoying the freedom we did not have before. (Interview 3)</p> <p>It was as businesspersons were coming, and they saw those people in poverty, so they immediately took out a checkbook. (Interview 1)</p> <p>It was such a good event. It used to be that the businesspeople were coming, and they saw those people in poverty, so they immediately took out a checkbook and said, "Give me a cheque, and we will write to Bethany right away." (Interview 1)</p>	Support for NGOs from businesses to support freedom and expression of liberal ideas	
<p>One of the barriers to civic engagement is the fear of persecution, the fear of being victimized by civic engagement. (Interview 8)</p> <p>people are afraid; they do not want to be harassed and do not want their children to suffer [because of active</p>	Afraid to be active citizens	

Citations	1 st order codes (the negative/positive imprints)	2 nd order codes (specific characteristics of the imprinters)
negative statements against the government]. (Interview 29)		
<p>It was interesting, a chance to act and change. It was not an idle activity. It was an opportunity. (Interview 16)</p> <p>Some wanted to do something out of the ordinary, not to sit at work from 8 am to 5 pm. Some liked the free schedule, others liked the opportunity to interact with foreigners, and others liked something new. (Interview 13)</p>	<p>Involvement in NGOs was a creative process and an opportunity to engage in non-standard activities</p>	
<p>Society does not have the skills to represent its interests. Society cannot organize itself; [...] it does not know where to put its interests, form an organization, or represent its interests together. (Interview 9)</p> <p>It is hard to unite for a common purpose (organizations). (Interview 18)</p>	<p>It was unclear how to unite in a bottom-up organization</p>	<p>Organizations that were formed by citizens were forbidden</p>
<p>I was surprised by the reaction, "Oh, you are a non-governmental institution? So why should we talk to you and why negotiate? Why do you come here and interfere with the matters of the budget holders?" we am surprised that all these years have passed, and the competition has not disappeared. (Interview 22)</p> <p>Thus, he wrote—what is the need for [the creation of NGOs] here? It is the state that can perform all the functions they write here. (Interview 4)</p>	<p>Government representatives barely accept NGOs participating in state affairs</p>	
<p>There used to be such fights about who would go abroad because everyone was hungry, everyone was stupid, and everyone had not seen abroad. (Interview 6)</p> <p>The people themselves were looking for connections and contacts all over the world. (Interview 15)</p>	<p>People were eager for new things and connections</p>	
<p>It was a significant discovery that you can organize just as well without asking the government for permission. (Interview 3)</p> <p>Nevertheless, that system of NGOs frees the person, the worker, to work to his heart's content, to work freely. Moreover, there is not some ghost behind it. You did something wrong, so now you will be punished. (Interview 22)</p>	<p>Involvement in an NGO was like the freedom to do what was forbidden without fear of being punished</p>	
<p>The capacity for co-creation was taken by the nimbleness and the personal well-being—"skim, combine" took over the common well-being mindset. (Interview 9)</p> <p>All those who create there, we mean, then look for those personal benefits. If you look at the government and have someone you know in the municipality, that is where the money is. Furthermore, there was this struggle, looking for relationships and trying to pass through corrupt ways. (Interview 3)</p>	<p>People gained the skills of cheating and taking advantage</p>	<p>The government was not accountable to its citizens—disrespect and deception were inherent</p>
<p>Discussion or dialogue was not encouraged. (Interview 4)</p>	<p>No dialogue between people</p>	

Citations	1 st order codes (the negative/positive imprints)	2 nd order codes (specific characteristics of the imprinters)
<p>It did not work out immediately; people started talking; some had their own goals, and others had their own goals. We did not know how to talk one by one; we did not know how to listen. It was common for one person to start talking and for the others to start making an immediate association, and so on. (Interview 4)</p>		
<p>The public sector has hindered the process of communication. (Interview 13)</p> <p>We have studied the field of culture and have seen that this concept of culture is discriminatory and exclusionary because these stewards say that we are the custodians of culture, we produce culture, and all of you are just passive consumers of culture. (Interview 11)</p>	<p>The government sector inhibited the communication process</p>	
<p>Well, the more we go on, the more we get the idea that there is a demonstration of power, and we have even started to use the term "institutional violence". (Interview 22)</p> <p>It is effortless for the authorities to exert such elegantly subtle pressure, and people are now scared. (Interview 29)</p>	<p>The government sector showed power over NGOs, and NGOs were afraid</p>	
<p>Instead of calling together the staff of the centers and discussing how to work, they said: we will control. [...] what we see here is the absence of help. Furthermore, this also comes from the Soviet era. We control. We control. Be more petite, be afraid, and work. (Interview 25)</p> <p>These are power games here. To avoid losing their influence and power. A simple thing. If you do something, you start to grow "muscle", and that "muscle" goes with some financial capital. Not all administrators are happy with that. There is an opportunity for you to slip out from under that administrative umbrella. Some administrators think controlling, managing, and preventing is an effective way of administration. There is nothing you can do. (Interview 11)</p>	<p>Government institutions wanted to rule and control, not to help NGOs operate autonomously</p>	
<p>NGOs have been used as a supplementary source of income for those government organizations. (Interview 10)</p> <p>Usually, a municipality runs the NGOs, and then the municipalities set up the organizations and distribute the grants. (Interview 1)</p>	<p>Government institutions created NGOs themselves, not from citizens' initiatives</p>	
<p>It was not scary to lose my steady income and my job. Yes, because we wanted something new, and we were intrigued by helping people outside the bureaucracy. (Interview 22)</p> <p>Because bureaucratic bolts have not shackled them. They decided their structure, their people, and even their salaries. People who worked could be evaluated. It was... You could change the field of activity. If you see a problem</p>	<p>NGO creators wanted to implement new ideas without much bureaucracy</p>	

Citations	1 st order codes (the negative/positive imprints)	2 nd order codes (specific characteristics of the imprinters)
somewhere else, you can change it quickly. There was no bureaucratic red tape. (Interview 16)		
<p>This authoritarian outlook is very much present in society today. Even young people are unfortunately educated in this way. (Interview 8)</p> <p>In many places, the democratic mechanism did not work. A circle of like-minded friends formed around the leader; in many cases, they would stop and refuse to accept others. It would look strange if the members re-elected the leader [NGO]. (Interview 3)</p>	Authoritarian thinking remained	Authorities only executed orders coming from the top
<p>That psychological barrier had to be overcome - that you could express yourself and find yourself in the organization instead of someone else managing you. (Interview 6)</p> <p>A small proportion of the people who made decisions were maybe one other free thinker, but most of them were doers, quite specific practical things that [others] had to be responsible for. (Interview 3)</p>	People were used to obeying instructions but not to acting on their own	

Imprinters of the Stability and Security Guaranteed by the Government.

From one perspective, the Soviet Union offered its citizens a certain amount of stability and security. People living in the system for almost 50 years had become used to certain types of services provided by the government, and they were, therefore, resistant to changes.

Government institutions took care of people's lives. The Communist system put social life in order, "and the authorities were in charge. Not much depends on you, but you get a minimum of security, a minimum of public order" (Interview 8).

People had no initiative, opinions, or trust. In Soviet times, people would not dare to argue or contradict the existing system, which left the government in charge of making decisions about people's lives. Citizens tried to survive in their circumstances, leaving "people from the Soviet Union completely without initiative, ruined. They did not even believe they could do anything themselves" (Interview 1).

The imprinters stated above represent the inertia that was not easy to resist in post-Soviet times. These imprinters negatively affected post-Soviet NGOs because many did not recognize the need for individual responsibility and initiative.

The Negative Influence of the Imprinters of the Stability and Security Guaranteed by the Government. Despite being tired of the system, they were used

to getting the minimum social services from government institutions and were afraid of losing what they had if they complained. Most members of post-Soviet society were unaware of more liberal possibilities or were afraid of acting on their own.

People were accustomed to the government's care and did not want to change this initially. They were also accustomed to the socialist system. As one interviewee said, "Most wanted a strong hand and socialism" (Interview 10).

There was a fear of losing stability. Since "there was a desire for stability and the fear of freedom was also affecting us" (Interview 8), very few people would dare to contradict the previous system—the only one they knew and the system that provided the essential social services.

People were used to receiving all (social) services from governmental institutions. People were used to receiving everything related to social welfare from the government, and "even at the municipal level, people [were] constantly asking what we [an NGO] will give to them" (Interview 21).

It was difficult to spark initiatives. The above-mentioned attitude caused difficulties for NGOs' work, which is based on bottom-up initiatives, because "the initiative was so hard to find in people" (Interview 1).

Initiatives came not from ordinary citizens but from foreign funds. Initially, the initiatives came not from ordinary citizens but from foreign organizations and foreign funds, and "NGOs were formed because of external support and their given know-how" (Interview 19).

In the table below, we provide citations and codes based on Soviet characteristics stemming from the stability and security guaranteed by the government (see Table 6).

Table 6. Citations with codes (stability and security guaranteed by the government)

Citations	1 st order codes (the negative/positive imprints)	2 nd order codes (specific characteristics of the imprints)
There was illusory thinking that we were restoring the state, operating underground, and now letting the state decide, finance ethnographic movements, and take care of the environment and all the rest. (Interview 8) When the Sajūdis started, nobody thought there would be a free market; initially, everyone thought there would be socialism. (Interview 6)	People were accustomed to the government's care and did not want to change this at the beginning	Government institutions took care of people's lives
stability was a desire, and the fear of freedom was at work. (Interview 8)	There was a fear of losing stability	

Citations	1 st order codes (the negative/positive imprints)	2 nd order codes (specific characteristics of the imprinters)
<p>There was virtually no unemployment in those days, but it started, and it was a massive blow to people to be out of work. [...] we felt fear...(Interview 14)</p>		
<p>Society needs to be educated - to understand that the government does not have to give you something. Interview 9</p> <p>We tried to raise intellectual potential. Any meeting could have ended with exaggerated expectations: "The government did not give me this, the government does not allow me to do that..." (Interview 9)</p>	<p>People were used to receiving all (social) services from governmental institutions</p>	
<p>Civil society leaders without civil society, where civic participation is passive. To this day, NGOs are the ones who own or volunteer, certainly in comparison to Europe, which has such low numbers/percentages. (Interview 17)</p> <p>People were used to... there is an elder [of the community]... ask the elder... we will do what needs to be done here, but "it is none of our business." Furthermore, when we started to work, the initiative had to be taken from the people; only a few people were proactive and thought we could do something ourselves. (Interview 1)</p>	<p>It was difficult to spark initiatives</p>	<p>People had no initiative, opinions, or trust</p>
<p>[Initiatives] have been driven by the money supply—there is someone who supports and actively tries to make it happen. Some organizations received more incentives to work, grow, and strengthen, while others found the circumstances less favorable. (Interview 2)</p> <p>I remember that, in those days, we was advising on the creation of the Gay and Lesbian League. The very beginning. It did not seem relevant: we suspect that the topics that can be escalated in society are more likely to be those for which there are resources. That means that if Europe takes a green course, we guarantee there will be NGOs actively shouting about how polluted everything is here. Because then you get a mandate to apply for those funds. Because if there are funds but no problem, there is no reason to get them. Nevertheless, if you demonstrate a big problem, Europe says: "We need to address them. Here are the funds for you."—I can confirm that responsibly. (Interview 9)</p>	<p>Initiatives came not from ordinary citizens but from foreign funds</p>	

The Imprinters of Hidden Social Problems. The Soviet system emphasized the working class and acknowledged only a few social issues related to equal access to work and maintaining the physical and social abilities to work. The imprints we have observed reveal that many family problems were neglected and hidden from society.

The government hid social problems from society. Both families and individuals perpetuated the proposed social norms of satisfied Soviet citizens, who do not complain and try not to be the outcasts of society. This meant that “family was where

everything was hidden and said to be fine. If the problems came out, the whole family was condemned as being anti-social and dangerous for society” (Interview 22).

People were not permitted to solve social problems. People were not able to solve social problems. The Soviet system discouraged people from speaking openly about problems and did not offer people the means to solve these problems in everyday life. The entire psychological burden fell on individuals. Visiting a psychologist meant that you were seriously mentally ill. Nobody wanted to be seen as such a person, so “if a woman dared to speak in public about such things [her cheating husband], she would get the response that it is her fault, and she should not bring that rubbish out of the home” (Interview 22).

Egalitarian society. The Soviet system was based on the idea of an egalitarian society in which everyone was expected to have the same cultural and societal norms. In Soviet times, the government not only allocated goods and services, jobs and salaries, but also beliefs and values, so “there were no Jews during the Soviet era, only Soviet citizens” (Interview 7).

The Negative Influence of the Imprinters of Hidden Social Problems. The imprints relating to the unsolved social issues created the attitude that there was no need to solve these problems, which persisted for many years. NGOs that tried to solve various societal issues encountered much resistance from society and government representatives.

Society was not used to investing in people, and NGO creators recognized that “a person has no price, and nobody invests in [them]. This is the case nowadays as well” (Interview 20).

People did not recognize social problems. Social norms were very strict in Soviet times, and people did not question them, even when the circumstances changed. Instead, “they say that all is well here for men to earn more” (Interview 14).

Not accustomed to giving unless you gain. The Soviet government wanted to create a society where everyone would be equal, but they could not distribute enough resources to everyone. This meant scarce services and essential goods, like food and clothing. These conditions strengthened people’s resolve to obtain things in unconventional or illegal ways and to invest in things that promised immediate returns of better quality of life. This attitude did not change in early post-Soviet society, and instead of long-term social investment, people “support[ed] football, basketball—where advertisements are big, and big money [could] be shared” (Interview 2).

The Positive Influence of the Imprinters of Hidden Social Problems. In Soviet times, many problems were not addressed in society, marginalizing many people and forcing them to hide at home.

New types of social problems need to be addressed. After independence, new opportunities opened in Lithuania, and new social problems needed to be addressed despite resistance from the older generation. “These new ideas—gay, lesbian, couples, families—are easier for the young people,” said one respondent (Interview 22).

Opened up opportunities to gain knowledge and share about previously ignored topics. The creators of NGOs recognized that policy changes suddenly opened opportunities for them to gain specific knowledge and share previously ignored topics, and they began “to look for ways to change the situation” (Interview 27).

In the table below, we provide citations and codes, which stem from Soviet characteristics stemming from hidden social problems (see Table 7).

Table 7. Citations with codes (Hidden social problems)

Citations	1 st order codes (the negative/positive imprints)	2 nd order codes (specific characteristics of the imprinters)
Moreover, human beings have no price with us. No one invests in them. That is all. And to this day. (Interview 20) Respect for human rights was not there. (Interview 16)	Society was not used to investing in people	The government hid social problems from society
I was on the wave of human rights because nobody was doing anything in Lithuania then. (Interview 4) It is much legal drafting. That and, say, there was no competition. It was vast. There was a free field [for human rights]. (Interview 16) A breakthrough and a whole range of issues and questions arose [...] the freedom to act, the constraints, the creativity, the problems that cannot be solved. (Interview 15)	New types of social problems that need to be addressed	
[Equal opportunities] was not discussed in Soviet times... and today, it is still said: "Why are you raising issues and problems if there are no problems." Working with municipalities, they even say: "It is all right here; men earn more, there are more men in politics... Women do not vote for women." That sorting out is still poor. (Interview 14) I remember that they used to sneer and say, "What! You are going to separate families here now!" My activity caused such a surprise, such negativity, that what we was doing here was so unacceptable: "What violence? Who is doing the abuse? This is a family affair! It is a family matter! What are you going to do here?" (Interview 22)	People did not recognize social problems	People were not permitted to solve social problems

Citations	1 st order codes (the negative/positive imprints)	2 nd order codes (specific characteristics of the imprinters)
<p>Then we started to look not only among ourselves but also for ways to change the situation, to talk about human rights in Lithuania, the rights of the disabled, and the quality of life of people in closed institutions. (Interview 27)</p> <p>I started to work and investigate mental and intellectual disabilities. As far as we could, we took advantage of all the opportunities to acquire all the competencies in the non-governmental sector. When you interact with other NGOs, it opens up a particular circle of experts and specialists who can help you; you can always ask questions and that kind of knowledge... regarding the psyche and treatment. (Interview 18)</p>	<p>Opened up opportunities to gain knowledge and share about previously ignored topics</p>	
<p>Says one [sponsor]: "I sponsor football, basketball, powerhouses, where the ads are big, where the money can be shared." (Interview 20)</p> <p>It is the same as donating to the church and buying a ticket or paying union dues, where you cannot debate whether or not you should pay; you are told you pay, and you pay. (Interview 2)</p>	<p>Not accustomed to giving unless you gain</p>	<p>Egalitarian society</p>

Imprinters of the Absence of Donation Culture. The fourth group of Soviet imprinters relates to the absence of donation culture. Donation, in terms of money or time (volunteering), was a new phenomenon in early post-Soviet society.

There was no habit of asking for donations. There was no habit of asking for donations because nobody wanted to be seen as a poor, disadvantaged outsider, and "this [that someone might ask] was not the case in the first years. In general, there was no such thing [donation] in society at all" (Interview 2).

There was no habit of giving donations. Accordingly, there was no habit of giving donations either, as "some people [did] not have such a natural habit [to donate]" (Interview 2).

Fake volunteering in Soviet times. In the Soviet Union, volunteering did exist, but it differed from the form it takes concerning democratic NGOs. In Soviet times, people were usually forced to do "volunteer" jobs, as "there was no such thing in those days for a person to come voluntarily" (Interview 12). For most people, volunteering "was understood mainly as volunteering for the army" (Interview 3).

The Negative Influence of the Imprinters of the Absence of Donation Culture. The absence of a donation culture interfered with the development of NGOs because society needed to be educated not only about the work of NGOs but also about the

importance of donations so that the sector could grow on its own. The NGO sector, often relying on unpaid work, faced many hardships in the post-Soviet context.

It took time for the habit of asking for donations to emerge. Asking for a donation needed to be learned, and “it probably took decades for the habit to emerge that it is natural to ask” (Interview 2).

It took time to educate society about giving donations. On the other hand, it took time to educate society about giving donations, and if “[for Western societies] it is natural to make donations, for many people here [in the post-Soviet context], it is just ‘why me, what we am here for?’ and ‘I cannot do it either, we am poor’” (Interview 2).

People did not want to work without money. People also did not want to work without being paid because, in Soviet times, all jobs were paid employment. The newly created democratic NGOs had trouble getting staff, especially volunteers, and “when the salaries went away, so did they—my first team. They did not have the idea that you could volunteer” (Interview 22).

In the table below, we provide citations and codes, which stem from Soviet characteristics stemming from the absence of donation culture (see Table 8).

Table 8. Citations with codes (Absence of donation culture)

Citations	1 st order codes (the negative/positive imprints)	2 nd order codes (specific characteristics of the imprinters)
<p>It probably took decades to emerge as a natural habit. Various organizations ask, and we give as much as we can, and it no longer surprises me whether we am old or young here. (Interview 2)</p> <p>They [NGOs] were considered as “benefit claimants” [...] It was such a serious self-esteem dysfunction at the time. (Interview 9)</p>	<p>It took time for the habit of asking for donations to emerge</p>	<p>There was no habit of asking for donations</p>
<p>There is no tradition for big businesses to look for initiatives [to donate]. (Interview 17)</p> <p>However, to donate, you must first understand to whom you are donating and what the organization is [...] They were too lazy to ask, did not want to, and maybe some were ashamed. (Interview 13)</p>	<p>It took time to educate society about giving donations</p>	<p>There was no habit of giving donations</p>
<p>When the salaries went down, my staff and my first team did. We did not have this notion that you could volunteer. (Interview 22)</p> <p>In the beginning, there was not even [volunteering]. There was no tradition, no example. Everybody wanted to make money. You had to make money. (Interview 13)</p>	<p>People did not want to work without money</p>	<p>Fake volunteering in Soviet times</p>

Imprinters of the Absence of the NGO as a Legal Organizational Form. The fifth group of imprinters revealed that the Soviet system did not recognize organizations based on citizens' initiatives and that would not follow the calculated government plans for goods and services; however, dissident movements based on individual initiatives that did not follow the government rules did exist in Soviet times, but they were considered illegal movements trying to destroy Soviet well-being.

The absence of NGOs under the Soviet regime. One respondent stated, "There were no NGOs" (Interview 16). This sort of organization did not exist.

No competence for law-making in Lithuania. In the Soviet Union, all laws came from Moscow, and "everything was taken from Russian and translated into Lithuanian... there was no independent law-making" (Interview 16).

Active dissident movements in the Soviet Union. Although persecuted, dissident movements were active during Soviet times in underground communities, and people learned from them. "An illegal informal church organization has been operating near the church since '76. There were exciting activities for us as young people [...]. That was my school there," reported one individual (Interview 5).

The imprinters of the absence of the NGO as a legal, organizational form created circumstances that harmed the development of NGOs.

The Negative Influence of the Imprinters of the Absence of the NGO as a Legal Organizational Form. The absence of NGOs under the Soviet system created frustration in post-Soviet society.

People lacked awareness of NGOs. People lacked awareness of this type of organization. An NGO was like a UFO in people's minds. As one NGO expert explained, "In 1997, there was a sociological study: What is an NGO? Most responses answered that NGOs are UFOs—unidentified flying objects" (Interview 24).

State and municipal institutions did not understand what type of organizations NGOs were. The state and municipal institutions also did not understand what type of organization NGOs were: "Maybe two percent of civil servants and officials knew and understood what the NGO sector was" (Interview 13).

Uncertainty about how NGOs should operate. The creators of NGOs also felt uncertain about how NGOs should operate because "Nobody knew how such organizations could work or [what they could] look like" (Interview 26). Additionally, the initiators of NGOs "had a lack of understanding of what a budget was and [...] how to deal with it" (Interview 6).

People did not trust NGOs. This created unfavorable circumstances for their development, as people often stated that they “were created to launder money” (Interview 25).

NGOs were created for “today’s meal” rather than the long term. Early initiators did not have experience in envisioning the strategic value of NGOs, so NGOs were created just “for today’s meal and not [for] creating long-lasting activity” (Interview 18).

Difficulties in retaining long-term employees in NGOs. NGO creators faced difficulties in retaining long-term employees even though it was “easy to be tempted by the novelty of it, [but] it [was] harder to establish a long-term and sustainable [working] relationship” (Interview 2).

Absence of laws. The absence of laws negatively impacted the development of NGOs because “there was no legislation on this [NGO development]” (Interview 24).

Restored idealistic interwar organizations were not ready for democratic processes. Some activists (most of them were dissidents) expected that the organizational forms that existed during the interwar period and were situated for social purposes would fit the post-Soviet democratic requirements, too. However, the new reality was more complicated, with new requirements from foreign donors, and the restored organizations “could not respond to these management requirements” (Interview 3).

Many imprinters stated above offer difficulties for newly created NGOs, but we also noted a few factors that favored their development.

The Positive Influence of the Imprinters of the Absence of the NGO as a Legal Organizational Form. Despite the difficulties that NGOs felt from the beginning, many motivating factors favored the creation of a new public realm with NGOs as the trailblazers in creative change-making.

The enthusiasm to create something new. After the collapse of the Soviet regime, people were eager to create something new, and they were “enthusiasts with seemingly limitless resources” (Interview 17).

The newly created NGOs attracted personalities who felt they did not fit in the Soviet system. Some people choosing NGOs felt they never fit within the Soviet system and “did not have a trade, so they set up an organization [NGO]—thinking of doing something” (Interview 13).

No Soviet influence—easier to implement initiatives. New people brought new ideas, and the most rapid development was seen in the spheres that had not existed

during Soviet times, like “non-formal youth education [, which] was completely unknown to the Soviet system. Everything was new, and it was easier to go through” (Interview 3).

Educated people were eager to unlock their potential, and NGOs were an opportunity to do this. Educated people were eager to unlock their potential, and NGOs were an opportunity, especially for “soft” professions, such as “teachers, librarians, and social workers. When services began to diminish, they quietly got involved in the community movement because they had the knowledge, the drive, and desire, and were very successful in doing these things” (Interview 11).

NGOs were fun to be a part of and work in. The NGOs acted on more creative—and less rigid—principles than businesses or government organizations, so they were fun to be a part of and work in. People felt valued and enjoyed their work, saying the “guitar is playing, we give the lyrics to everyone, sing and come up with some ideas—who is going to do what” (Interview 1).

Early NGO developers learned how to act and organize well from dissident movements. NGOs faced many issues in their developmental journey because of their unfamiliar organizational form. However, some activists understood that one way to begin might be to look back at the Soviet times—not for the experience gained in the systemic organizations, but for that from the dissident movements. One respondent stated that “the engagement with the various problems of society also came from the Soviet era: all those [underground] activities were educational” (Interview 8).

The findings above indicate that Soviet imprinters cannot be taken only as interfering with NGO development but also as a means of bringing attention to possible positive outcomes.

In the table below, we provide citations and codes that emerged from Soviet characteristics stemming from the absence of the NGO as a legal organizational form (see Table 9).

Table 9. Citations with codes (absence of the NGO as a legal organizational form)

Citations	1 st order codes (the negative/positive imprints)	2 nd order codes (specific characteristics of the imprints)
<p>In 1997, if we remember correctly, there was a sociological study—What is an NGO? That was the one with the most responses: NGOs are UFOs. It is an unidentified flying object. There was an official survey, and there was official data. It was that nobody understood these things. (Interview 24)</p> <p>And then nobody understood us: - "What communities?" - "local communities", - "Is this some kind of sexual or religious community?", "Who are you working with?" - "Community leaders, initiators", - "You are working with nobody; they are nobody." (Interview 1)</p>	<p>People lacked awareness of NGOs</p>	<p>The absence of NGOs under the Soviet regime</p>
<p>Back then, there was enthusiasm and an idea; money was nothing here. (Interview 12)</p> <p>At that time, people were enthusiastic about creating these NGOs. (Interview 19)</p>	<p>The enthusiasm to create something new</p>	
<p>The Department of Narcotics Control became because we [NGOs] insisted on creating such an institution. But two directors change and say again: "You are under us." We say: "No, kid, we are not under you." Moreover, he says, "How come? we am with the government!" "So what? And we am with nothing. we am an NGO, you know?" He says: "No." Well, what can you tell him? (Interview 26)</p> <p>The current administration, I am talking about [our] municipality, needs to understand that an NGO - an NGO - is, therefore, an NGO, not a municipal company. (Interview 29)</p>	<p>State and municipal institutions did not understand what type of organizations NGOs were</p>	
<p>Why were they working without pay? Because some of them did not fit in anywhere else, they could not do anything else. (Interview 13)</p> <p>Public image: we realize that some madmen have nothing to do. If they do not realize themselves, they go to NGOs. (Interview 4)</p>	<p>The newly created NGOs attracted personalities who felt they did not fit in the Soviet system</p>	
<p>Nobody knew what such organizations could work or look like. (Interview 26)</p> <p>Usually, all the organizations that had been set up used to meet until dawn because nobody knew how to work constructively; they did not know that there was a need for an agenda or to save time rationally. (Interview 6)</p>	<p>Uncertainty about how NGOs should operate</p>	
<p>So, we are saying that probably the conclusion could have been that youth activities, the so-called informal youth education, were utterly unknown to the Soviet system; everything was new, so somehow it was easier to get through, like in the social field, like in the field of the disabled, but in the social field because there was no social policy. (Interview 3)</p>	<p>No Soviet influence—easier to implement initiatives</p>	

Citations	1 st order codes (the negative/positive imprints)	2 nd order codes (specific characteristics of the imprinters)
<p>Because bureaucratic bolts have not shackled them [NGOs]. They decided their structure, their people, and even their salaries. People who worked could be evaluated. It was... You could change the field of activity. If you see a problem somewhere else, you can change it quickly. There was no bureaucratic red tape. Something that did not exist in Lithuania. We used that experience, both organizational and operational... It was precisely the Western democracies. (Interview 16)</p>		
<p>When the transformation took place, there were collective farms, which had an evident infrastructure - not only productive but also socio-cultural: libraries, schools, etc. When this infrastructure began to crumble and services began to diminish, it was inevitable that women would lose their outlets and disappear unnaturally. So, they quietly got involved in the community movement because they had the know-how, the drive, and the desire, and they were very successful in doing those things. (Interview 11)</p> <p>[...] people from academia. Maybe they were more able to combine their work and that [NGO] activity. And even their areas of research and interest overlapped to some extent. [...] NGOs were not a place where you could make big money. There had to be something that attracted you to work in that area, to do something, and to see change. (Interview 12)</p>	<p>Educated people were eager to unlock their potential and NGOs were an opportunity to do this</p>	
<p>From 1991 onwards, there were manifestations and complaints that we need this, we need that. Complaints that it is not right here, theft... The attack [on NGOs] started. (Interview 30)</p> <p>mistrust [of NGOs] can also be related to the fact that people generally have no one around them who is involved in NGOs. When the network is sparse and still very, very sparse, you do not have an empirical understanding, you do not have a personal first-hand experience, so your opinion hangs from the ceiling. [...]This is one of the consequences of this general social and political alienation. (Interview 17)</p>	<p>People did not trust NGOs</p>	
<p>Around the beginning of the 2000s, in the districts, there was money for these organizations, but then friends of municipal officials started setting up these community organizations to get the money. They set them up and took the money, but they did nothing else; there were cases like that. (Interview 13)</p> <p>If you look, 80% of the NGOs that received support in 2006 are practically nonexistent. It was the principle of "spending" rather than creating lasting action. There have been few of them left since 2006. Not to mention 1998. The orientation was post-Soviet toward the next funding. The orientation was not toward creating a long-term product but toward creating your job. (Interview 24)</p>	<p>NGOs were created just for "today's meal" rather than for the long term</p>	

Citations	1 st order codes (the negative/positive imprints)	2 nd order codes (specific characteristics of the imprinters)
<p>There is a name, a leader, and a meeting, but you need to see them in the later activities or general things. If they have written an application or received a grant, you do not see that activity again. They are so... we assume that the environment was favorable for those who just wanted to get rich. (Interview 9)</p>		
<p>It is one thing that attracts people sometimes, but it is not easy to keep people. When they leave, it is even harder to find a replacement when people go to the non-governmental sector as a job simply. One of the jobs. (Interview 17)</p> <p>This is exactly what remains of Soviet ideology, we think. The NGO sector is perceived as some leisure activity. It is not seen as a necessary part of the state. It does not seem to be perceived today, either. (Interview 16)</p> <p>maintaining stable funding and a stable number of people. The hardest thing. (Interview 14)</p>	<p>Difficulties in retaining long-term employees in NGOs</p>	
<p>We started to feel that there is a different way of being of young people with young people [NGOs]. We have already started to sit, talk, read, share, and sing in a slightly different way. (Interview 3)</p> <p>The NGO sector is a nice place to work; you can educate yourself, you can interact, and you do not have much tension. (Interview 8)</p> <p>Then there is something "I want to be": it is cool to be in that. (Interview 9)</p>	<p>NGOs were fun to be a part of and work in</p>	
<p>There was no legislation. Between 1990 and 1994, there was a government decree on registering non-profit companies. All those active organizations between the wars, that is, after the First World War until the Second World War, well, until the occupation, were restored under that decree. That would be the hunting clubs, the fishing clubs, this one, the Chamber of Agriculture, etc. Then, from 1994 onwards, the first law was issued, the Law on Public Organizations. (Interview 24)</p> <p>In general, there was no legal creativity [in Soviet times] in Lithuania at all. (Interview 16)</p>	<p>Absence of laws</p>	<p>No competence for law-making in Lithuania</p>
<p>Through the new mechanisms, they [the old, reconstituted NGOs] could no longer pull themselves together managerially. And the system did not want to recognize them anymore either because they were no longer giving money for such a leaf. So, some of those organizations were so late; they retreated, they withdrew, mainly older people where they were already, then managers. They had fallen out of that overall context. They could not respond to those managerial moments, and there were a lot of conflicts among them about management and other things. (Interview 3)</p> <p>Dictatorial, entirely from the Catholic underground, but very rational and very much so axe-wielding. He used to scare away all the pretty young female students, and they would be horrified and go out of there in a daze, but the meetings of the</p>	<p>Restored idealistic interwar organizations were not ready for democratic processes</p>	<p>Active dissident movements in the Soviet Union</p>

Citations	1 st order codes (the negative/positive imprints)	2 nd order codes (specific characteristics of the imprinters)
Atheists were shorter thanks to him. Because usually, all the organizations being restored would meet until dawn. (Interview 6)		
<p>In one town, an illegal informal church organization has been operating near the church since the 76th year. The exciting thing was that we could see more than our peers. It was a [real] school for me. (Interview 5)</p> <p>Let us keep in mind that in the Soviet era, social networks were. There were folklore circles and heritage preservation groups; not all were formal or legalized, but they were environmental circles and ecologists. (Interview 8)</p>	Early NGO developers learned how to act and organize for good from dissident movements	

2.3. Main Conclusions from Study I and Hypotheses for Study II

Study I aimed to explore the imprints of the Soviet period (1944–1990) and their manifestation in the development and involvement of NGOs in the context of an early post-Soviet environment of a CEE country—Lithuania. The qualitative study involving NGO founders, members, and experts elucidated five main groups of Soviet influence left over from the Soviet period: the authoritarian regime, the stability and security guaranteed by the government, hidden social problems, the absence of donation culture, and the absence of the NGO as a legal, organizational form. For the following Study II, we would like to operationalize those imprinters into several attitudinal norms that might affect modern NGOs.

First, from Study I, we notice that the longer people experienced the Soviet regime, the more imprinted they would be. Studies also confirm that the magnitude of the Soviet imprints might be gathered by the years lived by the Soviet regime (Banalieva et al., 2017). For Study II, we propose that with age people in Lithuania should have more imprints stemming from the Soviet past, and that age would determine the imprint's strength.

However, sociological research suggests that a curvilinear relationship should better explain the relationship between age and volunteering (Wilson, 2000). Scholars generally note that volunteering rates tend to fall during the transition period from adolescence to young adulthood and then rise during middle age (Wilson, 2000). While different theories give different explanations for volunteering in later life, some suggest taking note that free time available during retirement and the need for social and

professional life after work would increase the willingness to volunteer. In contrast, others relate that because of the lack of social resources, people at older ages do not involve themselves in voluntary sector organizations (Wilson, 2000).

2.3.1. Age and Attitudes Toward Formal Volunteering

Our explorative study disclosed that one of the main imprinters that affected early NGOs in Lithuania was “the absence of donation culture” and the development of the NGO sector in post-Soviet Lithuania has been shaped significantly by the country’s historical and cultural context, particularly the legacy of Soviet governance. One of the main factors influencing the early formation of NGOs in Lithuania has been the “absence of donation culture,” both in terms of financial contributions and voluntary engagement, as noted in Study I. It took time for people to learn new habits and attitudes, as Study I states. Since voluntary donation of time or volunteering in formal organizations is considered one of the primary renewable resources worldwide for different kinds of NGOs (Enjolras et al., 2018; Gray et al., 2012), we suggest including *attitudes toward formal volunteering* as the outcome variable (dependent variable) to see whether Soviet attitudinal imprints might still influence what Study I would refer to as “donation culture” in modern Lithuania.

In post-Soviet Lithuania, the absence of a strong culture of donation and volunteering is a critical issue for NGOs. The voluntary donation of time, or volunteering, is a crucial resource for NGOs worldwide (Enjolras et al., 2018). However, in Lithuania, engagement in NGOs through volunteering has developed more slowly compared to the quick rise in the number of NGOs (Žiliukaitė, 2018). While scholars note that in Western European countries, people of older ages are open to volunteering (Devaney et al., 2015), engagement in volunteering among older individuals who may still hold onto Soviet-era attitudes has remained low from the post-Soviet era into modern times (Pranaitytė, 2022).

In general, in Europe, with age, people are keen to volunteer less, which is mainly related to health issues (Principi et al., 2016). However, the literature emphasizes the role of historical and cultural contexts in shaping attitudes toward voluntary activities. Hustinx and Lammertyn (2003) argue that older generations who grew up in a collectivist, state-controlled environment, such as the Soviet Union, are less likely to view volunteering as a positive and meaningful activity than younger generations raised in a more individualistic and market-oriented society. This generational

difference is particularly pronounced in Lithuania, where older individuals may associate voluntary work with the compulsory labor practices of the Soviet era, as is the case for many individuals who have experienced the Soviet regime (Khvorostianov & Remennick, 2018), or even those who have not experienced this themselves but have already acquired the essential societal norms through “secondhand imprinting” (Xu et al., 2021), which refers to a “social transmission of imprints, a process whereby an actor takes on aspects of an imprint borne by another actor” (Marquis & Tilcsik, 2013, p. 226). Thus, we hypothesize that age in Lithuania is negatively related to attitudes toward formal volunteering—not only due to health issues (Principi et al., 2016), but also due to Soviet imprints, which continue to shape contemporary attitudes toward formal volunteering.

H1: Age is negatively related to attitudes toward formal volunteering.

2.3.2. Age, Attitudes toward Non-governmental Organizations and Volunteering

One of the Soviet imprints that may lead to the aforementioned “absence of donation culture” is “the absence of NGOs under the Soviet regime.” Various imprints in Study I show that the image of newly created organizations (NGOs) was poor because neither ordinary people nor governmental institutions trusted NGOs, and they all avoided collaborations. It may be that the more imprints people hold from Soviet times (usually gained with age), the poorer their image or *attitudes toward NGOs* and charitable organizations are, eventually affecting their attitude toward volunteering.

In Soviet times, all resources (including people’s work) were state-owned and used when and where needed, even calling it “voluntary” work. Also, all organizations had to serve the Communist Party’s interests, and participation in voluntarily organized units, which were not in line with the Party’s interests, was illegal and punishable (Grybkaukas et al., 2011; Ramonaitė, 2015). Scholars note that such a regime created legacies that highly affected attitudes toward post-Soviet NGOs (Toepler & Salamon, 2003). This skepticism toward NGOs is expected to be less prevalent among younger generations, who have been socialized in a different socio-political environment. However, scholars provide evidence that even after 20 years in a post-Soviet setting, trust in NGOs remains low, and the younger generation is not that much more eager to join voluntary organizations despite feeling more trusting than the older

generation (Paturyan & Gevorgyan, 2014). From the various notes of different scholars, we may assume that those who have experienced the culture of obliged formal participation in “voluntary” organizations during the Soviet era have gained rather negative attitudes toward formal “voluntary” organizations and later, after the regime became liberal, these attitudes revealed themselves as negative attitudes toward NGOs, which were perceived as similar to the Soviet “voluntary” organizations. People did not trust NGOs (Waniak-Michalak et al., 2020) and did not want to join formal NGOs (Howard, 2003). Scholars believe that the Soviet cultural experience created repercussions in modern post-Soviet society, especially for older ages, so people are still more reluctant to engage in voluntary activities in NGOs (Khvorostianov & Remennick, 2018; Pranaitytė, 2022) when compared to Western cultures (Enjolras, 2021).

H2a: Age is negatively related to the attitudes toward NGOs.

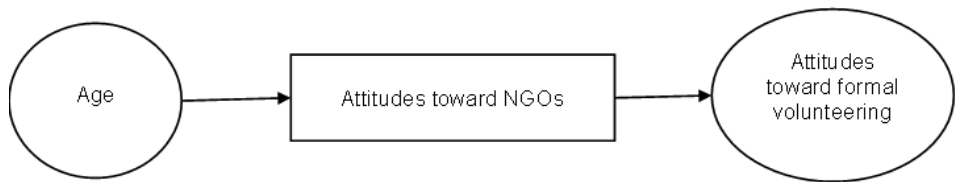
The relationship between positive attitudes toward NGOs and formal volunteering is evident. However, the relationship is bilateral, meaning that positive attitudes toward NGOs might increase attitudes toward volunteering, and volunteering activities may inspire positivity toward NGOs (Bowman, 2004). In this study, we focus on how attitudes toward charitable organizations affect attitudes toward volunteering. We believe that attitudes toward NGOs reveal a more passive approach, whereas attitudes toward volunteering are toward real action and not the organization on its own.

H2b: Attitudes toward NGOs are positively related to attitudes toward formal volunteering.

Overall, the image of NGOs for older potential volunteers is vital (Devaney et al., 2015). Thus, we hypothesize that attitudes toward NGOs mediate the relationship between age and attitudes toward formal volunteering. Specifically, we state that aging in a post-Soviet setting increases the likelihood of negative attitudes toward NGOs and subsequently negatively impacts the attitudes toward formal volunteering (Figure 7).

H2c: Attitudes toward NGOs mediate the relationships between age and attitudes toward formal volunteering.

Figure 7. Hypothesized links between age, attitudes toward NGOs, and attitudes toward formal volunteering



2.3.3. Age, External Power Primacy, and Volunteering

Study I clearly showed that the “stability and security guaranteed by the government” together with the “hidden social problems” in early democratic society created the attitude in society that people themselves were helpless in building society. So, they intended to rely more on external support, which mostly came from the government at that time. The problems of individuals and families fell outside society’s attention and were instead seen as inappropriate. The government was the one to decide what was important, not the people. While imprinting theory suggests that attitudes might persist over time despite environmental change, in Study II, we propose to take a closer look at beliefs that external circumstances rather than own efforts influence outcomes of their life, calling this phenomenon *external power primacy*.

The Soviet times can be associated with a significant reduction in personal responsibility for one’s life and the community’s well-being (Laumenskaitė, 2015). Individual power agencies in post-Soviet CEE countries were also lower due to post-communist politics and political elites using state power to craft and shape rather than serve (Vanhuysse, 2007). Studies comparing early post-Soviet cohorts with more democratic ones in united Germany suggest the differences in bottom-up personal initiative. Those from the post-Soviet environment use less personal initiative (Frese et al., 1996). Another study also compared East Germans (East Germany being a separate country under Soviet rule for more than 40 years) with West Germans and noticed that people from the parts previously occupied by the Soviet regime (East Germany) had less belief in individual initiative and were more willing to approve external (governmental) intervention to take care of society needs (Alesina & Fuchs-Schündeln, 2007). The study showed that the same cohorts in both regions had different attitudes. The older the East Germans were, the more they relied on external sources (government social initiatives), which was the opposite case in West Germany,

as older cohorts tended to rely on individual initiatives even more while aging (Alesina & Fuchs-Schündeln, 2007).

H3a: Age is positively related to external power primacy.

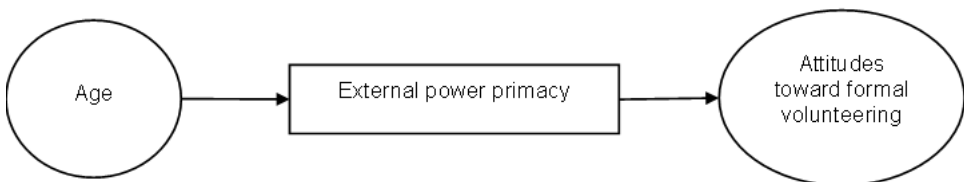
People who do not feel in power tend to be more pessimistic about helping others (Zboja et al., 2020). Especially at older ages, when people assume they are in charge of their lives, they tend to take part in activities that sustain their lives more and enjoy a variety of different activities (Menec & Chipperfield, 1997). Perceived control also signals the perceived control of resources, activating volunteering (Son & Wilson, 2017).

H3b: External power primacy negatively relates to the attitudes toward formal volunteering.

Research suggests that after the Soviet regime, people tended to rely on similar attitudes as in Soviet times, such as giving primacy to external powers instead of self-agency. Such external power primacy might have left traces in modern times that affect attitudes toward volunteering, characterized by a bottom-up initiative approach. We hypothesize that external power primacy mediates the relationship between age and attitudes toward formal volunteering. Specifically, we state that aging in a post-Soviet setting increases the likelihood of external power primacy and subsequently negatively impacts attitudes toward formal volunteering (Figure 8).

H3c: External power primacy mediates the relationship between age and attitude toward formal volunteering.

Figure 8. Hypothesized links between age, external power primacy, and attitudes toward formal volunteering



2.3.4. Age, Authoritarian Outlook, and Volunteering

One of the most influential and noticed by respondents as having legacies in modern times is the authoritarian outlook. As mentioned in the qualitative study, an authoritarian regime left the most significant portion of the negative imprints that hindered early NGOs in Lithuania. If left in society, a preference for hierarchy, instructions, and a top-down approach might hinder people from being positive about being included in NGOs' activities. We believe the authoritarian outlook should be given more attention in further analysis regarding NGO resources, such as volunteering.

Most research suggests that people are stable in their attitudes or become more rigid with age (Peterson et al., 2020). Other research notes that people may change their attitudes to be more tolerant even in their 60s (Danigelis et al., 2007). However, ideological attitudes often stem from a particular social context (Zhao et al., 2020). If, according to imprinting theory, people keep the same attitudes, then this would mean that with age, Lithuanian people would still hold authoritarian attitudes as a top-down approach.

H4a: Age positively relates to the authoritarian outlook.

Scholars indeed know that liberal democracy is positively related to formal volunteering (Parboteeah et al., 2004), and that the country's former political authoritarianism is seen to be an inhibiting factor for NGO activities (Hsu et al., 2017). Scholars find that more authoritarian people have more negative attitudes toward those whom NGOs serve, e.g., asylum seekers and refugees (Cowling et al., 2019). More conservative approaches fire the mechanism of attitudinal prejudice toward unknown people, such as asylum seekers (Mancini et al., 2020)—that NGOs usually serve. Such prejudices, in turn, reflect an unwillingness to join NGO activities (Mancini et al., 2020).

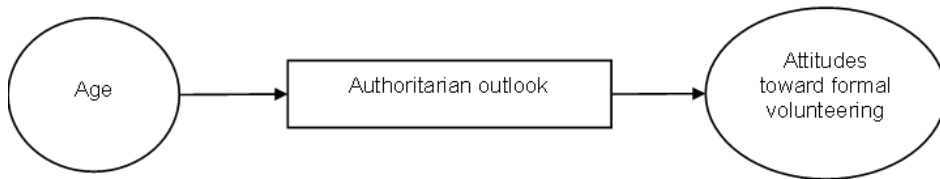
H4b: Authoritarian outlook negatively relates to the attitudes toward formal volunteering.

In this study, we state that the Soviet past strengthened the authoritarian outlook as an imprint that might continue to affect modern times. We hypothesize that an authoritarian outlook mediates the relationship between age and attitudes toward

formal volunteering. Specifically, we state that aging in a post-Soviet setting increases the likelihood of an authoritarian outlook and subsequently negatively impacts attitudes toward formal volunteering (Figure 9).

H4c: Authoritarian outlook mediates the relationship between age and attitudes toward formal volunteering.

Figure 9. Hypothesized links between age, authoritarian outlook, and attitudes toward formal volunteering



To sum up, we transformed the Soviet imprints reflected in Study I into testable variables by following five main Soviet imprinters identified in Study I: the authoritarian regime, the stability and security guaranteed by the government, hidden social problems, the absence of donation culture; and the absence of the NGO as a legal, organizational form. We transformed the imprints caused by the authoritarian regime into the idea of an authoritarian outlook. We transformed the imprints caused by the stability and security guaranteed by the government and hidden social problems into the concept of external power primacy. We transformed the imprints caused by the absence of donation culture into attitudes toward volunteering. Finally, we transformed the imprints caused by the absence of the NGO as a legal, organizational form into attitudes toward NGOs. We suggested that an authoritarian outlook, external locus primacy, and attitudes toward NGOs are mediators, whereas attitudes toward volunteering would be the outcome variable. We suggested that the strength of the imprints would be measured with age.

2.3.5. Sample and Procedure of Study II

To test the proposed hypotheses, we conducted an online survey in Lithuania. We obtained permission for the survey from the university's international review board. We shared a link through the convenient sample in social media and through snowballing the personal contacts used primarily to reach the older generation. First, we shared a link through the personal Facebook page and asked friends and

acquaintances to share the survey link. As older people are using social media less, we asked our friends' parents to call or message several people above 50, as it is common to use this threshold of year in management research (Finsel et al., 2023). We searched especially for older people who lived in rural areas in Lithuania. We asked our familiar agents to ask them whether they could answer the online questionnaire. If they got a positive answer, we also asked them to send the questionnaire link through the appropriate communication tools (e-mail, communication apps: Viber, WhatsApp, etc.).

The online survey was open for 30 days in March–April 2024. Informed consent was obtained before the informants filled out the questionnaire. Informants were also assured of anonymity and confidentiality of their responses and could withdraw from the study at any time. We did not collect the IP addresses of the respondents. For filling out the survey, people could enter a draw to win concert tickets for four people or a 20 EUR coupon for their chosen retailer (out of a selection). They had to fill in their email address to participate in the draw. To maintain complete confidentiality of the survey answers, at the end of the survey, a separate link was forwarded to a separate survey, which contained only options for the prize and the request for their email address if they wished to participate in the draw. The email addresses provided for the draw were not linked to the survey responses. Completing the questionnaire took respondents approximately 8 minutes, and definitions of volunteering activities and NGOs were provided at the beginning of the survey.

We received 421 responses in total. The data was cleaned to ensure a minimum completion rate because the age item was necessary to proceed with the data analysis. A minimum completion rate of 78% of the questions was established as the threshold for use because only a few questionnaires had less than 78%, and only five came close to the threshold: four respondents answered 84% of the questions, and one answered precisely 78%.

Participants. 358 participants were included in the following analysis. The average age of our sample was 46 (SD=12.926), and the median was 44. The youngest participant was 18, and the oldest was 82. 72.9% were women. 72.9% had a university degree. 4.8% reported bad or bad health, 41.9% reported having normal health, 35.5% considered good health, and 17.9% reported great health. Further sociodemographic factors of the survey respondents can be seen in Table 10.

Table 10. Sociodemographic factors of respondents in Study II

Sociodemographic factors	Quality	Count	N%
Age	From 18 to 40	147	41.1
	41 and above	211	58.9
Gender	Men	97	27.1
	Women	261	72.9
Education	Primary	0	0
	Basic (from 8 to 10 grade)	0	0
	Secondary education	29	8.1
	Higher and specialized secondary education	35	9.8
	College degree	32	8.9
	University degree	261	72.9
Health	Great	64	17.9
	Good	127	35.5
	Normal	150	41.9
	Bad	16	4.5
	Very bad	1	0.3
Church attendance	Almost every day	1	0.3
	Once a week	30	8.4
	Once a month	44	12.3
	Once in half a year	116	32.4
	Once a year	102	28.5
	Never	64	17.9

2.3.6. Measures of Variables

The study includes several constructs to be measured: age as the independent variable, attitude toward formal volunteering as the dependent variable, attitude toward charitable organizations, external locus of control, and authoritarian outlook.

In this study, **age** was an independent variable measured by the individual's birth year as a continuous variable ranging between 18 and 82.

Attitude toward formal volunteering was measured using a 10-item scale for older adults to capture their beliefs about volunteering and its value to society (Dana et al., 2021). Higher scores indicate a positive attitude toward volunteering. A sample item is "Volunteering can greatly enhance the community's resources." All items were rated on a 6-point scale ranging from 1 (absolutely not) to 6 (absolutely yes). For this study, the instrument was translated into Lithuanian, revised by two experts in social

sciences, and back-translated into English using the AI translation program DeepL. The items formed a reliable scale ($\alpha = .887$).

Attitude toward NGOs was measured using a 5-item attitude toward charitable organizations scale created to understand how likely people would use charitable organizations as agents to help others (Webb et al., 2000). Higher scores indicate a positive attitude toward charitable organizations. A sample item is “My image of charitable organizations is positive.” All items were rated on a 6-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). One item was reversed. For the purpose of this study, the instrument was translated into Lithuanian, revised by 2 experts in social sciences, and back-translated into English using the AI translation program DeepL. The items formed a reliable scale ($\alpha = .844$).

External power primacy was measured using a 3-item scale of powerful others of the external locus of control scale, adapted from the original scale (Levenson, 1974) to capture the attitudes of older people (Shewchuk et al., 1990). Higher scores indicate a higher locus of external control. A sample item is “I feel like what happens in my life is mostly determined by powerful people.” All items were rated on a 6-point scale ranging from 1 (totally disagree) to 6 (totally agree). The translation of the items in Lithuanian was taken from Balaisis (2004). The items formed a marginally acceptable scale ($\alpha = .671$) as a limited number of items compose the scale (Vaske et al., 2017).

The authoritarian outlook was measured using a subscale called “The Requirement of the Iron Fist,” which was adapted for Lithuania (Mažeikienė & Šulcaitė, 2010) from the authoritarianism scale (Altemeyer, 1981). Higher scores indicate a more authoritarian outlook. All items were rated on a 6-point scale ranging from 1 (absolutely yes) to 6 (absolutely not). The items formed a reliable scale ($\alpha = .891$).

Control variables. We include *health*, which is perceived as one of the critical variables in determining volunteering, especially among older people (Komp et al., 2012). Health was measured from 1 (poor) to 5 (excellent) (van Ingen & Wilson, 2017). *Church attendance* was measured, ranging from 1 (never) to 6 (every day) (van Ingen & Wilson, 2017), as this also plays a crucial role in determining volunteering (Wilson, 2000). Education and religion are essential social norms in forming attitudes toward volunteering (Son & Wilson, 2012). According to the national past and present educational systems, *education* was measured using six categories. *NGO Awareness* (mentioned in Study I as a problem in the early days of NGOs) was measured using a self-developed scale of 5 items with Yes or No answers. The items were: “I can name

some examples of NGO/charities,” “I understand and distinguish which organizations are governmental and which are NGO/charities,” “I can name at least a few differences between governmental and NGOs/charities,” “I have acquaintances who work for an NGO/charity,” “I have acquaintances who volunteer at an NGO/charity.” Higher scores indicate higher knowledge about NGOs. We used the Kuder-Richardson formula 20 (KR-20) to test the scale's reliability with dichotomous data. The given items formed a reliable scale ($\alpha = .810$).

Common Method Bias. We ensured the anonymity of respondents by not collecting IP addresses in the online survey, measured different constructs with different scale formats, and separated similar constructs from unrelated ones to reduce the common method bias (Podsakoff et al., 2003).

2.3.7. Results of Study II

Descriptive Statistics

SPSS Statistics 28 was used to analyze the results of Study II. Means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations are reported in Table 11. From descriptive statistics, we revealed that with age, people were less likely to express a positive attitude toward formal volunteering ($r = -.15, p < .01$), and the effect size was between small and typical in comparison to the size guidelines in individual differences research (Gignac & Szodorai, 2016). With age, people also were more likely to have an external power primacy ($r = .17, p < .01$), expressed a more authoritarian outlook ($r = .25, p < .01$), reported a worse state of health ($r = -.46, p < .01$), were less educated ($r = -.17, p < .01$), and attended church more ($r = .28, p < .01$). People who were more positive about NGOs ($r = .54, p < .01$), healthier ($r = .20, p < .01$), more educated ($r = .15, p < .01$), and more aware of NGOs ($r = .26, p < .01$) were more likely to have a positive attitude toward formal volunteering. However, external power primacy ($r = -.15, p < .01$) and authoritarian outlook ($r = -.21, p < .01$) related negatively to attitudes toward formal volunteering. Church attendance did not correlate with attitudes toward formal volunteering.

Table 11. Descriptive statistics and intercorrelations of study variables

Variables	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Age	46.63	12.93	--							
2. Attitudes toward formal volunteering	4.96	.63	-.15	-						
3. Attitudes toward NGOs	3.72	.54	-.09	.54	-					
4. External power primacy	2.66	.98	.17	-.15	-.17	-				
5. Authoritarian outlook	2.56	.95	.25	-.21	-.25	.48	-			
6. Health	3.66	.83	-.46	.20	.10	-.20	-.21	-		
7. Education	5.46	.98	-.17	.15	.24	-.29	-.32	.22	-	
8. Church attendance	2.66	1.17	.28	.07	.09	.05	.15	-.06	.08	-
9. NGO awareness	.66	.35	-.09	.26	.35	-.23	-.21	.12	.24	.12

Note. N=353-358 (pairwise). Age in years, attitudes toward formal volunteering = mean of total attitudes toward formal volunteering, attitudes toward NGOs = mean of total attitudes toward NGOs, external power primacy= mean of total external power primacy, authoritarian outlook = mean of total authoritarian outlook, NGO awareness = mean of total NGO awareness. Correlations greater than or equal $|.12|$ are significant at $p < 0.05$.

Hypothesis Testing

From the correlation analysis, we notice that with age, people were more likely to have more negative attitudes toward formal volunteering ($r = -.15$, $p < 0.01$). We may confirm our H1 hypothesis that in Lithuania people with age are more negative about volunteering. Further, we will check whether these attitudes are related to Soviet imprints. We put Soviet imprints as separate mediators and checked whether they mediated the relationship between age and attitudes toward formal volunteering through the indirect effect.

This study was interested in understanding the indirect effects of Soviet imprints. The indirect effects are better analyzed using PROCESS macro SPSS mediation analysis (Hayes, 2009). We used PROCESS macro 4.3 version. It uses ordinary least squares path analysis to find mediations. We used mediation analysis (Model 4) to determine the indirect effects. If the covariates would relate to the age and attitudes toward formal volunteering, we put them as additional mediators to better understand their effect on the relationship between age and attitudes towards volunteering as compared to the single mediation effect (Coutts & Hayes, 2023). If the covariates did not relate to age or attitudes toward volunteering, we would include them as covariates.

To test the H2 hypothesis, we performed mediation analysis with the attitudes toward formal NGOs as the main mediator and two covariates (health and education) as additional mediators because, according to the correlation analysis, those covariates were related to age and attitudes toward NGOs. We also added awareness

about NGOs as a covariate. The analysis could not support the relationship between age and attitudes toward NGOs (H2a) ($B = -.003$, $t = -1.21$). However, path b was significant, as it supported hypothesis H2b that attitudes toward NGOs had a significant positive impact on attitudes toward formal volunteering ($B = .58$, $t = 10.52$) (see Table 12).

Table 12. H2a and H2b hypothesis testing report

		Attitudes toward NGOs (M)			Attitudes toward formal volunteering (Y)			
Antecedent		<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>
Age (X)	Path a	-.003	.002	-1.21	Path c'	-.002	.002	-.80
Attitudes toward NGOs (M)		-	-	-	Path b	.58	.06	10.52

Hypothesis H2c stated that attitudes toward NGOs mediate the relationship between age and attitudes toward formal volunteering. The results of simple mediation analysis with covariates failed to confirm H2c, showing that the indirect effect through the attitude toward NGOs was insignificant (-0.002 , 95% CI = -0.004 , 0.001) as the confidence interval included zero (see Table 14). However, we may notice that the total effect was significant ($-.004$, 95% CI = $-.008$, $-.001$), but health was the only significant path ($-.003$, 95% CI = $-.005$, $-.001$), explaining the relationship between age and attitudes toward NGOs in this model.

Table 13. H2C hypothesis testing report

	<i>Effect</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>LLCI</i>	<i>ULCI</i>
Direct effect of age on attitudes toward volunteering	-.002	0.002	-.80	-0.007	0.003
	<i>Effect</i>	<i>Boot SE</i>	<i>BootLLCI</i>	<i>BootULCI</i>	
Total effect	-.004	.002	-.008	-.001	
Indirect effect of age on attitudes toward formal volunteering via attitudes toward NGOs	-.002	.001	-.004	.001	
Indirect effect of age on attitudes toward formal volunteering via health	-.003	.001	-.005	-.001	
Indirect effect of age on attitudes toward formal volunteering via education	.0001	.0004	-.001	.001	

Note. N=358. Awareness about NGOs was added as a covariate. LLCI =lower-limit confidence interval; ULCI = upper-limit confidence interval. The number of bootstrap samples for percentile bootstrap CI is 5000, and the confidence level for all confidence intervals is 95%.

To test the H3 hypothesis, we performed mediation analysis with the external power primacy as the main mediator and two covariates (health and education) as additional mediators because, according to the correlation analysis, those covariates were related to age and attitudes toward NGOs. We also added awareness about NGOs as a covariate. The mediation analysis did support the hypothesis that age has a significant positive effect on external power primacy (H3a) ($B = .01, t = 3.02$) but did not support hypothesis H3b. External power primacy had an insignificant negative effect on attitudes toward formal volunteering (H3b) ($B = -.03, t = -.90$) (see Table 14).

Table 14. H3a and H3b hypothesis testing report

Antecedent		External power primacy (M)				Attitudes toward formal volunteering (Y)		
		<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>
Age (X)	Path a	.01	.004	3.02	Path c'	-.002	.003	-.90
External power primacy (M)		-	-	-	Path b	-.03	.03	-.90

In the analysis of H3c, the statistics showed an insignificant indirect effect of age on attitudes toward formal volunteering through external power primacy (-0.003, 95% CI = -0.001, 0.0004), as the confidence interval included zero (see Table 15). However, we may notice that the total effect was significant (-.004, 95% CI = -0.007, -0.001), but health was the only significant path (-.003, 95% CI = -0.006, -0.0004), explaining the relationship between age and attitudes toward NGOs in this model. The hypothesis that external power primacy mediates the relationship between age and attitudes toward formal volunteering (H3c) could not be confirmed. As the total effect was significant, health was the only significant mediator to explain the relationship between age and attitudes toward volunteering (Table 15).

Table 15. H3c hypothesis testing

	<i>Effect</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>LLCI</i>	<i>ULCI</i>
Direct effect of age on attitudes toward volunteering	-0.002	0.003	-0.88	-0.008	0.003
	<i>Effect</i>	<i>Boot SE</i>	<i>BootLLCI</i>	<i>BootULCI</i>	
Total effect	-0.004	.001	-0.007	-0.001	
Indirect effect of age on attitudes toward formal volunteering via external power primacy	-0.0004	.001	-0.001	.0004	
Indirect effect of age on attitudes toward formal volunteering via health	-0.003	.001	-0.006	-0.0004	
Indirect effect of age on attitudes toward formal volunteering via education	-0.0003	.001	-0.001	.0004	

Note. N=358. Awareness about NGOs was added as a covariate. LLCI =lower-limit confidence interval; ULCI = upper-limit confidence interval. The number of bootstrap samples for percentile bootstrap CI is 5000, and the confidence level for all confidence intervals is 95%.

To test the H4 hypothesis, we performed mediation analysis with the authoritarian outlook as the main mediator and two covariates (health and education) as additional mediators because, according to the correlation analysis, those covariates were related to age and attitudes toward NGOs. We also added church attendance and awareness about NGOs as covariates possible to affect authoritarian outlook or attitudes toward formal volunteering. The mediation analysis supported the hypothesis that age had a significant positive effect on authoritarian outlook (H4a) ($B = .01$, $t = 3.62$) and that authoritarian outlook had a significant negative effect on attitudes toward formal volunteering (H4b) ($B = -.14$, $t = -3.84$) (see Table 16).

Table 16. H4a and H4b hypotheses testing report

		Authoritarian outlook (M)				Attitudes toward formal volunteering (Y)		
		<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>
Antecedent								
Age (X)	Path a	.01	.004	3.62	Path c'	-0.004	.003	-1.20
Authoritarian outlook (M)		-	-	-	Path b	-0.09	.04	-2.42

The H4c hypothesis stated that an authoritarian outlook mediates the relationship between age and attitudes toward volunteering. The statistics showed a significant indirect effect of age on attitudes toward formal volunteering through an authoritarian outlook (-0.003, 95% CI = -0.001, 0.0004), as the confidence interval did not include

zero (see Table 17). We may notice that the total effect was significant (-.004, 95% CI = -0.007, -0.001). Moreover, health also had a significant path (-.003, 95% CI = -0.006, -0.0004), explaining the relationship between age and attitudes toward NGOs in this model. The hypothesis that authoritarian outlook mediates the relationship between age and attitudes toward formal volunteering (H4c) could be confirmed. As the total effect was significant, the authoritarian outlook was a significant mediator in explaining the relationship between age and attitudes toward volunteering (Table 17).

Table 17. H4c hypothesis testing report

	<i>Effect</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>LLCI</i>	<i>ULCI</i>
Direct effect of age on attitudes toward volunteering	-0.004	0.003	-1.20	-0.009	0.002
	<i>Effect</i>	<i>Boot SE</i>	<i>BootLLCI</i>	<i>BootULCI</i>	
Total effect	-.004	.002	-.008	-.002	
Indirect effect of age on attitudes toward formal volunteering via authoritarian outlook	-.001	.001	-.003	-.0001	
Indirect effect of age on attitudes toward formal volunteering via health	-.003	.002	-.006	-.0002	
Indirect effect of age on attitudes toward formal volunteering via education	-.0001	.001	-.001	.001	

Note. N=353. Church attendance and awareness about NGOs were added as covariates. LLCI = lower-limit confidence interval; ULCI = upper-limit confidence interval. The number of bootstrap samples for percentile bootstrap CI is 5000, and the confidence level for all confidence intervals is 95%.

The final hypotheses testing results are presented in Table 18.

Table 18. Hypotheses testing results

Hypothesis	Hypothesis	Result	Justification
H1	Age is negatively related to positive attitudes toward formal volunteering	Confirmed	Correlation analysis showed significant results between variables
H2a	Age is negatively related to the attitudes toward NGOs	Rejected	Multiple mediator analysis showed insignificant results for path a.
H2b	Attitudes toward NGOs are positively related to attitudes toward formal volunteering	Confirmed	Multiple mediator analysis showed significant results for path b.
H2c	Attitudes toward NGOs mediate the relationships between age and attitudes toward formal volunteering	Rejected	Multiple mediator analysis showed no significant indirect effect through attitude toward charitable organizations.

Hypothesis	Hypothesis	Result	Justification
H3a	Age is positively related to the external power primacy	Confirmed	Multiple mediator analysis showed significant results for path a.
H3b	External power primacy is negatively related to the attitudes toward formal volunteering	Rejected	Multiple mediator analysis showed insignificant results for path b
H3c	External power primacy mediates the relationship between age and attitude toward formal volunteering	Rejected	Multiple mediation results showed no significant indirect effect through external power primacy
H4a	Age is positively related to the authoritarian outlook	Confirmed	Multiple mediator analysis showed significant results for path a.
H4b	Authoritarian outlook is negatively related to the attitudes toward formal volunteering	Confirmed	Multiple mediator analysis showed significant results for path b.
H4c	Authoritarian outlook mediates the relationship between age and attitudes toward formal volunteering	Confirmed	Multiple mediation analysis showed a significant indirect effect.

2.3.8. Overview of the Study II Findings

In the quantitative study, hypotheses regarding the influence of age on attitudes toward formal volunteering in post-Soviet countries were derived from imprinting theory and tested, considering the Soviet imprints. The imprinting theory posits that attitudes founded in a specific environment at a particular time tend to persist despite subsequent environmental changes. Following this, we stated that the attitudes acquired in Soviet times persisted after the regime changed into a democratic one and hindered specific democratic institutions—NGOs. From Study I, we summarized the findings on the Soviet imprints into four main attitudes: negative attitude toward volunteering, negative attitudes toward NGOs, external power primacy, and authoritarian outlook. We tested the hypothesis that Soviet imprints would mediate the relationship between age and attitudes toward volunteering, whereas age would be positively related to soviet imprints, which subsequently would affect attitudes toward volunteering.

Our findings demonstrated that age was negatively related to attitude toward formal volunteering, health, and education. Age was positively related to external power primacy, authoritarian outlook, and church attendance.

The hypothesis that an authoritarian outlook mediates the relationship between age and attitudes toward volunteering was confirmed, suggesting the viability of the

authoritarian outlook, which affected volunteering. Health was also a significant factor in the proposed model.

The results showed no significant relationship between age and attitudes towards NGOs and no mediation effect. Moreover, the hypothesis testing report showed that health was the critical factor in the proposed model.

The hypothesis that external power primacy as a Soviet imprint would mediate the relationship between age and attitudes toward volunteering failed to be confirmed. Even though the significant relationship between age and external power primacy (path a) hints that this still might be a viable imprint, it does not affect volunteering. Moreover, the hypothesis testing showed that health was essential to the proposed model.

3. DISCUSSION⁸

With this thesis, our aim was to explore and evaluate the influence of Soviet imprints on NGOs in Lithuania, a post-Soviet country. First, we conceptualized the development of NGOs as a part of the broader development of European civil society. Then, we went deeper into the past of the post-Soviet NGOs, eventually showing that this historical past of the Soviet regime (1944–1990) has influenced the attitudes and behavior of later post-Soviet society and early NGOs (Study I). Furthermore, we showed that the Soviet past influenced NGOs beyond the early period of NGO existence and left traces of the past in later times too (Study II).

The research in Study I explored the features of the Soviet environment, which, after independence from the Soviet Union was achieved in 1990, turned into imprints and affected the early development of democratic NGOs in Lithuania. Interviews with the founders and developers of early Lithuanian NGOs during the first decade of NGO development revealed many negative imprints, which manifested as interference in NGO development, as well as positive imprints, which manifested as early NGO drivers. In general, through the example of Lithuania, a country under democratic rule for the last 30 years, we have illustrated how the imprints of Soviet policies affected the emergence and development of NGOs as a new sector.

Through qualitative research involving founders, members, and experts from NGOs, the study identified five main imprinters as environmental features stemming from the Soviet period: the influence of the authoritarian regime, the stability and security guaranteed by the government, hidden social problems, the absence of donation culture, and the absence of the NGO as a legal, organizational form. These findings align with existing research, which characterizes the Soviet era by three core features: state ownership of all resources, a centrally planned economy, and a dictatorial system in which resource allocation and directives were controlled from the top (Vadi, 2018). The study revealed many imprints reflecting specific Soviet environments, which other researchers have not ignored, acknowledging various issues in societies highly influenced by Soviet rule, such as the tension between NGOs and governmental institutions (Cox, 2020; Olivo, 2011). We elaborated by naming the

⁸ Parts of this section are published in Petreikienė, D., & Bučiūnienė, I. (2024). Unearthing the Legacy: Contrasting Soviet Imprints on Early NGOs in Lithuania. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 1-13.

exact behavior that echoed Soviet culture's continuing practices, such as arbitrary behavior from public authorities and a top-down approach. In line with the research on the strength of Soviet imprints, we used age as the quality indicator for capturing the imprint. Even though we included age in this study as an essential variable showing the strength of imprints, scholars warn us that the age itself should not become an explaining variable about volunteering in later life due to the complexity it holds in itself (Komp et al., 2012). However, we explained this relationship in the current study by introducing a specific history-in-theory approach and showing how age in a post-Soviet setting was related to past imprints. Thus, we explained why aging in post-Soviet society showed a negative attitude toward volunteering. Moreover, this research showed that authoritarian attitudes might limit NGO activities and resources (Hsu et al., 2017). Even though scholars explain that there is an attitudinal prejudice against NGOs, as well as those they help, which is typical for a more conservative outlook (Mancini et al., 2020), my thesis results link this to the Soviet past, which formed in people's minds a distorted perception of what volunteering entails (Khvorostianov & Remennick, 2018; Pranaitytė, 2022), thus preventing older members from forming a more positive attitude toward NGOs and volunteering in organizational settings. Post-Soviet NGO researchers often notice tendencies like this in post-Soviet society, of having negative attitudes toward NGOs and volunteering (Howard, 2003; Regulska, 1999; Silló, 2016; Waniak-Michalak et al., 2020), yet their studies speak about these legacies but leave the mechanism unrevealed.

We also added that Soviet imprints were alive in NGO creators themselves and society in general—people had no personal initiative skills (Butkuvienė, 2005) nor any dialogue creation, and this eventually manifested in the distrust of NGOs (Mikołajczak, 2023; Waniak-Michalak et al., 2020) while having no tradition for actual voluntary action in formal organizations. The finding that NGOs were often seen as suspicious entities or even as fronts for foreign interference can be linked to the Soviet regime's practice of suppressing any form of independent social organization. Mercer (2002) and Howard (2003) emphasized that this distrust was a barrier to NGO development and a significant hindrance to forming a robust civil society. However, the quantitative study did not support the hypothesis that with age, people from Lithuanian society would be more negative toward NGOs, though this affects attitudes toward volunteering. Such findings contradict early and later research related to the trust and attitude toward NGOs, where scholars have noted that the legacy of authoritarianism

in post-Soviet societies has led to a deep-seated distrust of formal institutions in general, including modern NGOs (Pranaitytė, 2022; Regulska, 1999; Waniak-Michalak et al., 2020). This might also question the measurement instruments or show that Lithuanian society already does not hold this imprint related to negative attitudes toward NGOs. This might be explained by the imprints' transformative nature (Simsek et al., 2015).

Study I revealed that the Soviet regime's promise of stability and security left deep imprints on post-Soviet societies. In Lithuania, as in other post-Soviet states, this has manifested through society's expectation that the government should provide all necessary social services, leaving little room for NGOs to operate independently. The specific feeling of stability and security imprinted on people during Soviet times interfered with the development processes of NGOs during the post-Soviet period due to the nostalgia people felt for the former stability and their inability to initiate new processes. This study confirms the statement of historians that individual initiatives and bottom-up initiatives coming from civil society were rarely noticed in Soviet times (Grybkauskas et al., 2011); people rarely recognized issues that the government did not escalate. The Soviet regime pretended to fully comfort people by providing jobs (almost no unemployment in Soviet times) and social services provided by governmental institutions (Bučiūnienė, 2018a). We found that such imprints have made it difficult for NGOs to mobilize resources and engage communities in their work, as people continue to expect that the government should be the primary provider of all social services. For this, it was not a surprise that people saw no reason to create grassroots initiatives and found it better to rely on foreign ideas (Jancar-Webster, 1998), as this study shows the tendencies for external power primacy in society rather than self-initiative. People were more eager to rely on external powers at various decision-making points. This is in line with evidence from Germany, suggesting that people in the East (post-socialistic part) and West differ in attitudes to individual initiative (Frese et al., 1996) and attitudes toward the government's intervention (Alesina & Fuchs-Schündeln, 2007). As in East Germany, people tended to show more positivity toward external powers with age, while West Germans relied more on self-control and self-initiative with age (Alesina & Fuchs-Schündeln, 2007). My findings echo the research of Pop-Eleches and Tucker (2014), who argue that the Soviet regime's emphasis on state-controlled welfare has led to a diminished sense of individual agency in social and community matters (Laumenskaitė, 2015). However,

we could not confirm these findings in my quantitative research on modern NGOs, which suggests either evidence of imprint decay (Simsek et al., 2015) or more robust methodological opportunities, such as developing an actual post-Soviet imprints scale, which could be suggested for further research.

In line with other research, the qualitative findings of this study suggest that government policies were unsupportive and that the tension between NGOs and governmental institutions was a problem (Cox, 2020; Olivo, 2011). A top-down approach was still the norm (Vanhuysse, 2007), while fear of independent action characterized societal behavior. As noted in the qualitative analysis, in the early democratic days, there was much willingness for a strong hand, noting that the same situation might still be present today. Further quantitative research has confirmed these findings, showing that with age, people in Lithuanian society showed a more authoritarian outlook, though affecting attitudes toward volunteering. With this research, we may add to scholars noting that ideological attitudes stem from a particular context (Zhao et al., 2020) by noting that in post-Soviet societies, Soviet times had the opportunity to strengthen more rigid attitudes, especially at older age (Peterson et al., 2020). Moreover, while searching for an answer as to why the authoritarian outlook as an imprint did not turn into a more liberal outlook, several reasons might be noticed. Older people have experienced many transitions, such as economic downturns (Butkuvienė, 2005), leaving them in survival mode with more rigid attitudes. Looking from another point of view, older cohorts, which tend to have stronger Soviet imprints, have witnessed how younger generations seemed to have lost their values and obligations when adopting the liberal rule, bringing many risks for these youth, such as a “loss of norms” and an “identity crisis” (Walker & Stephenson, 2010, p. 523).

Nonetheless, despite the many challenges NGOs experienced in the early and later days of independence because of their Soviet heritage, they found the way through because they were eager for change and motivated to participate in innovative NGO activities, contributing to a more conducive environment for NGO growth. In an environment where many social issues were neglected for a long time and even help receivers were not ready to improve their lives, informants stated that foreign initiatives were essential even though they created a developmental distance to local grassroots organizations (Jancar-Webster, 1998). Most of us, when thinking about the Soviet legacy of NGOs, think of a negative influence. Many scholars in post-Soviet NGO

research state that the Soviet regime mainly hindered the promotion of civil activeness. We have also revealed these imprints' positive effects, possibly accelerating Lithuania's NGO sector development (Kamerāde et al., 2016). We revealed that the Soviet past created a specific driving force in the early stages of NGO development, which acted as motivation and opportunity to be involved in the creative processes of exciting activities never seen before independence and to act in a way that had been punishable in Soviet times, including initiating an entity without government control (Butkuvienė, 2005). Moreover, after independence was restored in Lithuania, people who had experienced scarce free-flow of information were highly motivated to address the newly acknowledged problems and share information about previously ignored topics. They were enthusiastic (Stasiukynas, 2014) about building a new country phenomenon (Butkuvienė, 2005) within NGOs in a joyful way (Polanska & Chimiak, 2016). However, in this thesis, we did not address these positive imprints, leaving these positive effects for further research to address.

Moreover, in line with other researchers, this research noted that NGOs stemmed from the previous knowledge of many secret organizations (Kavaliauskaitė & Ramonaitė, 2011; Ramonaitė, 2015) and even interwar organizations, which helped lay the foundations of the NGO sector in Lithuania. As research showed, many underground movements were alive in Soviet times (Ramonaitė, 2015) could show the others how to act and organize later bottom-up initiatives. They acted as a learning space for future NGO developers. However, many NGO creators noticed that only a few people understood how NGOs could be managed during the first decade of their existence (Stasiukynas, 2014). Building on previous experience and grabbing opportunities from the new liberal environment also released substantial potential in the form of human resources not only from intellectuals but also from many active people who did seek change and new organizations, as NGOs were the only entities they could freely build on without the previous red tape related to building democracy in Lithuania (Kamerāde et al., 2016).

Overall, the quantitative research of this study revealed that historical imprints from authoritarian regimes shaped present-day civic engagement, especially among the elderly in post-Soviet contexts. These findings enrich imprinting theory, which posits that formative experiences during critical developmental periods impact attitudes and behaviors (Marquis & Tilcsik, 2013), which may last for decades (Xu et al., 2021) in societies affected by the Soviet regime (Albu et al., 2021; Kriauciunas &

Kale, 2006; Shinkle & Kriauciunas, 2012) and affect developing NGOs in the early days of democracy and after three decades.

In this thesis, we showed that legacies from Soviet times may still influence modern society; we also noticed the interaction between historical imprints and the contemporary environment. The thesis findings suggest that this interaction is a complex (old-to-modern) replacement process. As in modern Lithuania, old imprints were thought to be discarded in favor of new ones, such as the liberal environment, which should have replaced the authoritarian one. Instead, the interaction of old and new imprints involves a complex negotiation in which organizations must integrate and balance these influences without neglecting past issues. This insight has important implications for understanding how imprints evolve and how organizations can strategically manage their historical legacies in a changing environment. As scholars note, and in line with my research, organizational change is often constrained by the inertia created by historical imprints (Hannan et al., 2004). However, this study suggests that understanding and managing these imprints can be critical to successful adaptation.

Most of the literature on imprints is based on business organizational settings (Albu et al., 2021; Banalieva et al., 2017; Kriauciunas & Kale, 2006). By exploring the Soviet imprinters that created their legacies in the early and modern context of NGOs, we broadened the research on imprinting theory (Marquis & Tilcsik, 2013) performed in the post-Soviet environment (Albu et al., 2021; Banalieva et al., 2017; Kriauciunas & Kale, 2006) and specifically in the NGO sector, which is scarce. By recognizing the exact Soviet imprinters, we also broadened the research on the sources of imprints (Mathias et al., 2015) as well as showed the long-lasting effect of attitudes forming environment, which persists despite significant changes in the subsequent environment (Xu et al., 2021). Moreover, by showing how imprints manifest themselves through each other, we broadened the notes on the manifestation of imprints (Simsek et al., 2015) in the sector of voluntary action.

Finally, by applying imprinting theory throughout this thesis, we generally broaden the means for the social origins theory, suggesting that imprinting theory can reveal more about NGO development in broader socio-political contexts (Salamon & Anheier, 1998). We suggest further NGO research to reveal the national (Luria et al., 2015) and regional (Enjolras, 2021) aspects in forming NGO development trajectories, adopting imprinting or similar theories to reveal more accurate sources of developmental forces.

3.1. Limitations of this Thesis and Suggestions for Future Research⁹

Imprints from Soviet times nowadays may depend on the age of respondents, and the initially proposed period of the study—the first decade of the post-Soviet democracy period—may act as a limitation here. Even though we noticed that respondents shared their experiences beyond the first decade of independence and spoke about nowadays (interviews were carried out in 2020–2021), for further qualitative research on finding the Soviet imprints, we would suggest including young organizations too, so the living or decaying effects of the Soviet era could be analyzed more in the younger generation of both humans and NGOs too.

There is much evidence that European post-socialistic countries have many developmental similarities (Cox, 2020; Pape et al., 2020; Toepler & Salamon, 2003). In this thesis, we concluded from the evidence of one post-Soviet country without claiming that the same findings would be found in most post-Soviet and CEE countries, which were highly influenced by Soviet rule. We suggest that similar research be done in other post-Soviet and CEE countries.

This study took the Soviet imprints as static formed attitudes echoing the previous culture and does not delve into imprinting as a process (Simsek et al., 2015). This suggests the need for a more detailed exploration of how socio-political contexts, particularly those marked by authoritarianism, create imprints that persist across multiple levels—organizational, individual, and societal, though examining the process of imprinting in post-Soviet culture. Future research could explore how these imprints interact both with each other and with new environmental conditions to shape organizational behavior in transitional and modern societies.

My study focused on formal organizations within a formal organizational setting. It tried to understand the Soviet imprints on NGOs as organizations and less on civil society as a broader space, in which imprints might reveal themselves differently.

This study did not seek to understand the precise nuances that may have led to the full emergence of the identified imprints but rather to reflect those conditions from the Soviet era that may have served only to reinforce the early narrative of NGOs.

⁹ Parts of this chapter were published in Petreikienė, D., & Bučiūnienė, I. (2024). Unearthing the Legacy: Contrasting Soviet Imprints on Early NGOs in Lithuania. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 1-13.

The cross-sectional design of Study II limits causal inference, and the reliance on self-reported data may introduce response biases. Further exploration into the mechanisms through which Soviet imprints influence volunteering attitudes could enrich our understanding of this phenomenon.

Moreover, additional studies should benefit from larger samples to have more accurate results in confirming or rejecting hypotheses because in the current study, the results were marginally accepted. The mediating effects are minor, and the significance ranges are marginal.

Finally, some biases might be noticed in the measurement instruments, as they were not created to reveal the Soviet imprints but primarily to reveal certain phenomena in other cultures. Creating measurement instruments and scales specifically for tracing Soviet imprints would benefit further research.

3.2. Practical Implications

Given NGOs' unique historical and cultural context in post-Soviet countries, governmental institutions, agencies, and international donors should look closer at understanding the context in which NGOs exist to help them form an authentic identity and maintain resources. Moreover, the state's leaders should note the findings of this thesis, which relate to the persistence of an authoritarian outlook that affects democratic values and NGOs. They should adopt policies to promote a more democratic approach.

NGO leaders might also note my findings and address the vulnerabilities stemming from Soviet-related attitudes when communicating with external stakeholders, such as governmental institutions, and recruiting and devoting jobs to senior volunteers.

Furthermore, governments and NGO agencies should work toward creating a legal and regulatory environment that encourages the participation of the younger generations and older volunteers. This might be achieved by first providing information about the benefits of volunteering, but only after considering the local older generations' sensitive past experiences. Moreover, as self-enforced motivation might be low for older generations in Lithuania, a post-Soviet country, there may be a need for actual incentives to join NGOs. This could include offering incentives for NGOs that engage older adults, such as tax benefits or grants. This might affect not only this target group of older people but also their descendants.

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis provided a complex understanding of NGO development in post-Soviet early and modern environments. By applying imprinting theory, we showed how people building post-Soviet environments have inherited attitudes and behavior patterns aligned with the Soviet past, lasting until modern times in effect on modern NGOs.

1. Our study elucidated five main groups of Soviet attitudes and behaviors that have persisted in later people's attitudes and behavior, creating specific Soviet imprints and affecting the development of post-Soviet NGOs: the authoritarian regime, the stability and security guaranteed by the government, hidden social problems, the absence of donation culture, and the absence of the NGO as a legal, organizational form. The revealed Soviet imprints fundamentally opposed the meaning and purpose of NGOs, characterized as formal or informal private self-governed organizations based on non-compulsory activity, limiting surplus distribution:
 - a. The Soviet authoritarian regime banned all formal and informal initiatives and organizations except the Communist Party and its satellites and youth organizations, later leaving the imprints of a top-down, one-organization approach and the absence of dialogue as a form of social communication.
 - b. The stability and security guaranteed by the government of the Soviet authorities formed the attitude that the government should take care of people's lives, which inhibited bottom-up NGO activities and initiatives.
 - c. An egalitarian society became a circumstance for the inability to recognize and solve individual unstigmatized problems.
 - d. There were no non-compulsory activities and a donation culture that represented the foundation of NGOs, leaving them without various resources and taking decades to develop that culture.
 - e. The preconditions for NGO emergence in post-Soviet countries were absent, and the Soviet regime's imprints mainly interfered with NGO development, leaving them untrusted and unable to perform well.

2. We also found imprints stemming from the Soviet past that accumulated the potential of NGOs. The Soviet past created a specific driving force in the early stages of NGO development, which acted as motivation and opportunity to be involved in the creative processes of exciting activities never seen before independence and to act in a way that had been punishable in Soviet times, including:
 - a. A possibility to create initiatives without government control.
 - b. People were highly motivated to escape from the Iron Curtain and enthusiastic about building a new country phenomenon within NGOs in a joyful way.
 - c. People who had experienced a scarce free flow of information were highly motivated to address the newly acknowledged problems and share information about previously ignored topics.
 - d. Building on previous experience and grabbing opportunities from the new liberal environment also released substantial potential in human resources, not only from intellectuals but also from many active people who sought change. New organizations have become opportunities for new ideas and have released human energy.
3. The imprinting theory posits that attitudes founded in a specific environment at a particular time tend to persist despite subsequent environmental changes. Following this, we stated that the attitudes acquired in Soviet times persisted after the regime changed into a democratic one and hindered specific democratic institutions—NGOs and their main resource – volunteering:
 - a. Our quantitative findings demonstrated that age was negatively related to attitudes toward formal volunteering, though suggesting that in Lithuania, with age, people have more negative attitudes toward volunteering.
 - b. In Lithuania, people with age were more into external power primacy and had more of an authoritarian outlook.
 - c. Authoritarian outlook has a viable effect in Lithuania, affecting attitudes toward formal volunteering.

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ISM VADYBOS IR EKONOMIKOS UNIVERSITETAS

Dovilė Petreikienė

SOVIETINIŲ ĮSPAUDŲ ĮTAKA NEVYRIAUSYBINIŲ ORGANIZACIJŲ PLĖTRAI
POSOVIETINIAME KONTEKSTE

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Vilnius, 2024

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IVADAS¹⁰

Pasaulio ekonomika susiduria su įvairiais iššūkiais, susijusiais su skurdu, neteisybe ir kitomis žmonių kančios formomis. Šioje ekonominėje aplinkoje nevyriausybinių organizacijų (NVO) apibrėžiamos kaip „organizacijos, kurios rūpinasi socialinių, politinių ar ekonominių pokyčių skatinimu“ (Lewis ir kt., 2020, p. 7). Jos teikia papildomus išteklius ir skatina vystymąsi (Lewis ir Kanji, 2009). NVO, koordinuojančios pačių žmonių keliamas iniciatyvas ir veiklas, kurios skiriasi nuo valdžios bei verslo ir yra daugiau nei šeiminės iniciatyvos (Viterna ir kt., 2015), dažnai laikomos „gelbėtojomis“ (Carapico, 2000, p. 12). Be to, jų egzistavimas šalies sistemoje yra vienas iš pagrindinių demokratinės kultūros požymių (Kamerāde ir kt., 2016). Žmonių iniciatyva įsteigtos NVO yra vertingas šiuolaikinės ekonomikos išteklius, sparčiai augantis visame pasaulyje tiek subjektų skaičiumi, tiek formų įvairove (Salamon, 1999). Europos NVO dirba apie 29 mln. žmonių, tad pagal dydį jos galėtų būti trečioji didžiausia „industrija“ Europoje (Enjolras ir kt., 2018, p. 54). Vidurio ir Rytų Europos (VRE) šalyse šis sektorius vystėsi lėčiau ir, palyginti su labiau ekonomiškai išsivysčiusiomis Europos šalimis, tebėra ankstyvojoje raidos stadijoje (Enjolras, 2021; Enjolras ir kt., 2018). Tai galima paaiškinti istorine VRE šalių praeitimi (Toepler & Salamon, 2003).

Nuo Antrojo pasaulinio karo iki Berlyno sienos griuvimo 1989 m. VRE šalys buvo okupuotos Rusijos ir įtrauktos į sovietinę sistemą. Sovietinis režimas rėmėsi planine ekonomika su vyraujančia valstybine nuosavybe, centralizuota socialinės apsaugos sistema, teikiančia nemokamą sveikatos priežiūrą ir švietimą visiems piliečiams, ir centralizuotai suplanuota darbo jėgos paskirstymo sistema, kuri sukūrė visišką užimtumą, be skurdo ir nedarbo (Bučiūnienė, 2018; Ciszewska-Mlinaric ir kt., 2018; Vadi, 2018). Tai buvo egalitarinė visuomenė be rinkos konkurencijos, kuriai, be kita ko, buvo būdinga vienoda darbo užmokesčio struktūra, gana didelės senatvės pensijos (palyginti su darbo užmokesčiu) ir nemokamas socialinių paslaugų teikimas (Bučiūnienė, 2018; Grybkauskas ir kt., 2011). Buvusiose VRE šalyse viešpatavo komunistų partija, o bet kokios liberalios iniciatyvos ir judėjimai buvo draudžiami (Grybkauskas ir kt., 2011). Savanorystė, kaip laisvas žmogaus pasirinkimas dirbti organizacijoje neatlygintinai, sovietmečiu neegzistavo. Visuose gyvenimo aspektuose

¹⁰ Dalis teksto buvo publikuota Petreikienė, D., & Bučiūnienė, I. (2024). Unearthing the Legacy: Contrasting Soviet Imprints on Early NGOs in Lithuania. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 1–13.

vyravo itin autoritarinis valdymo principas ir hierarchinės valdžios struktūros. Oficialiose organizacijose nebuvo vietos laisvoms darbuotojų iniciatyvoms. Visos organizacijos turėjo atitikti valdžios darbotvarkę, todėl „vieno žmogaus valdymas“ buvo vienintelis teisėtas valdymo būdas sovietinėse institucijose (Yanowitch, 1984, p. 96). Sovietinio režimo laikais NVO sektorius neegzistavo ir VRE šalyse atsirado tik joms atkūrus nepriklausomybę XX a. 10-ajame dešimtmetyje, kartu su demokratiniiais procesais.

Išsilaisvinus iš sovietinės okupacijos, buvo pastebėta daug panašumų tarp Vidurio ir Rytų Europos šalių NVO plėtros srityje (Rozbicka ir kt., 2021). Mokslininkai pažymi, kad nors posocialistinė piliečių viešąjį interesą apimanti sfera (įskaitant NVO) buvo reikšminga, nors ir nedidelė (Olivo, 2011). Įvairios viešos iniciatyvos skatino visuomenės atvirumą įvairiems judėjimams, skirtingoms nuomonėms (Foa ir Ekiert, 2017) ir prisidėjo prie demokratijos plėtros (Kamerāde ir kt., 2016). Tačiau kalbant apie formalias organizacijas, pilietiškos NVO buvo ignoruojamos vyriausybių (Cox, 2020; Olivo, 2011; Regulska, 1999) ir negalėjo įgyti ar susikurti nepriklausomo vaidmens (Cox, 2020). Be to, jos buvo mažiau atsparios politiniams pokyčiams nei Vakarų šalių NVO (Pape ir kt., 2020), o socialinės normos daugelyje VRE šalių vis dar nebuvo palankios NVO (Waniak-Michalak ir kt., 2020). Pastebima, kad palyginti su Vakarų šalimis, ankstyvuojū posovietinio laikotarpiu NVO nebuvo organizacinės struktūros vientisumo, joms trūko bendros logikos ir finansų, be to vyravo silpna infrastruktūra (Žiliukaitė ir kt., 2006). Neigiamas požiūris į NVO buvo stebimas ne tik demokratijos kūrimo pradžioje (Regulska, 1999), bet ir praėjus trims dešimtmečiams (Waniak-Michalak ir kt., 2020). ES turėjo įtakos spartesniam NVO kūrimuisi VRE šalyse (Meyer ir kt., 2020), įskaitant Lietuvą, tačiau pilietinių iniciatyvų vis dar trūksta (Enjolras, 2021; Žiliukaitė, 2018).

Mokslininkai pripažįsta pilietinių iniciatyvų arba savanorystės, kaip neįkainojamo žmogiškojo išteklių trūkumą VRE šalyse, palyginti su Vakarų Europa (Enjolras, 2021; Enjolras ir kt., 2018). Posovietinėse šalyse savanoriška veikla paprastai nesulaukia didelio visuomenės dėmesio, nes žmonės nejaučia pasididžiavimo savanoriaudami ir dirbdami neatlygintinai (Silló, 2016). Tarptautiniame kontekste posovietinės šalys pagal savanorių ir NVO darbuotojų skaičių šalies mastu paprastai užima žemą vietą (Principi ir kt., 2012). Nors labiau išsivysčiusiose demokratinėse visuomenėse žmonės linkę pripažinti savanoriškos veiklos vertę vyresniame amžiuje (Gray ir kt., 2012), posovietinėse visuomenėse vyresnio amžiaus piliečiai

savanorystės ypatingai nevertina (Ehlers ir kt., 2011; Pranaitytė, 2022). Posovietinėse šalyse savanoriškose veiklose dažniausiai dalyvauja jaunosios kartos žmonės, kurie nepatyrė sovietinės sistemos realijų (Raišienė ir Vilkė, 2014).

Norint geriau suprasti NVO, reikėtų ištirti šalies kontekstą (Carapico, 2000), nes skirtingose šalyse savanorystės išteklių skiriasi dėl socialinio kapitalo skirtumų (Putnam, 2000) ir dėl skirtingos šalių „socialinės kilmės“, kurią lemia istoriniai veiksniai (Salamon ir Anheier, 1998). Nacionalinio konteksto įtaka savanoriškos veiklos elgsenai sulaukia vis daugiau mokslininkų dėmesio (Liu ir Jia, 2022; Luria ir kt., 2015), teigiant, kad istoriškai paveldėtos institucinės charakteristikos yra esminės formuojant individo gebėjimą įsitraukti į savanorišką veiklą skirtingose Europos tautose (Enjolras, 2021, p. 1204).

Jei norime suprasti, kodėl posovietinėse šalyse NVO yra mažiau išvystytos ir kodėl jose mažiau savanorių, turime atidžiau pažvelgti į NVO kontekstą (Enjolras, 2021; Mercer, 2002) ir posovietinį kultūrinį bei istorinį paveldą (Howard, 2003; Toepler ir Salamon, 2003). Ankstesni tyrimai parodė, kad penki sovietinio režimo dešimtmečiai padarė didelę įtaką VRE visuomenių mąstysenai ir elgsenai (Banalieva ir kt., 2017; Toepler ir Salamon, 2003; Žiliukaitė ir kt., 2006) ir paliko tam tikrų įspaudų (Regulska, 1999), tačiau tyrimų, analizuojančių sovietinių įspaudų įtaką posovietinėms visuomenėms, nėra daug (Albu ir kt., 2020; Banalieva ir kt., 2017).

Šį mokslinį darbą grindžiame įspaudų teorija (Marquis & Tilcsik, 2013), teigiančia, kad tam tikroje aplinkoje tam tikru praeities laikotarpiu perimtos specifinės nuostatos ir elgsena gali ilgam išlikti organizacijos aplinkoje (Stinchcombe, 1965) ir individuose (Higgins, 2005). Tokias nuostatas ir elgesį ar savybes, atspindinčias konkretų istorijos laikotarpį, galima vadinti įspaudais (Lyle ir kt., 2022). Šie įspaudai, kaip praeities atspindžiai, gali daryti įtaką asmenų, organizacijų ir visuomenės elgesiui dešimtmečiais po pradinio jautraus laikotarpio pabaigos ir istorinio konteksto pasikeitimo (Xu ir kt., 2021). Sovietinių įspaudų posovietinėse šalyse įrodymai vis dar yra riboti ir buvo sutelkti į verslo organizacijų gebėjimus prisitaikyti prie pokyčių ir vykdyti veiklą atsižvelgiant į naują verslo praktiką (Albu ir kt., 2021; Kriaučiūnas ir Kale, 2006) ir naują organizacinę elgseną (Banalieva ir kt., 2017). Žinios apie sovietinius įspaudus NVO raidai ir savanorystei VRE šalyse yra ribotos ir paprastai atkreipiamas dėmesys į NVO vystymąsi, kaip indėlį į šalies demokratizaciją (Foa ir Ekiert, 2017; Kamerāde ir kt., 2016) arba NVO raida kritikuojama (Howard, 2003). Nors daugelyje tyrimų pripažįstama sovietinės praeities įtaka NVO vystymuisi (Howard, 2003;

Regulska, 1999; Toepler ir Salamon, 2003; Waniak-Michalak ir kt., 2020), nėra nagrinėjami tikslūs sovietinės praeities įspaudai, galėję lemti NVO vystymosi sunkumus VRE šalyse.

Tyrimo klausimas, tikslas ir uždaviniai. Šioje disertacijoje norime atsakyti į tyrimo klausimą, kas yra sovietiniai įspaudai ir kaip jie paveikė nevyriausybinių organizacijų plėtrą bei požiūrį į savanorystę posovietinėje šalyje. Disertacijoje siekiama iširti sovietinio laikotarpio įspaudus ir jų pasireiškimą NVO raidoje Lietuvoje.

Tyrimo uždaviniai:

1. Konceptualizuoti NVO, kaip pilietinės visuomenės dalies, raidą ir jų vystymąsi posovietinėse šalyse.
2. Atskleisti sovietinės aplinkos bruožus, kurie tapo įspaudais, darančiais įtaką ankstyvajai NVO raidai Lietuvoje po nepriklausomybės atgavimo.
3. Iširti sovietinių įspaudų įtaką požiūriui į formaliąją savanorystę – pagrindinį NVO išteklių Lietuvoje.
4. Pateikti rekomendacijas NVO stiprinimui posovietinėse šalyse.

Disertacijos mokslinis naujumas. Šis disertacija papildo jau egzistuojančią mokslinę literatūrą keliais pagrindiniais aspektais. Pirma, tiriamas sovietinių įspaudų pasireiškimas VRE šalyje, t. y. Lietuvoje, kuri yra „vis dar perspektyvus tyrimų kontekstas“ (Bučiūnienė, 2018, p. 698). Ištyrę ir patikrinę sovietmečio įspaudų išraišką vėlesniu NVO vystymosi laikotarpiu, pateikėme naują požiūrio tašką posovietiniuose NVO ir savanorystės tyrimuose (Plagnol ir Huppert, 2010; Silló, 2016; Voicu ir Voicu, 2009). Didžioji dalis esamų NVO tyrimų yra linkę priimti NVO iškilimą kaip demokratizacijos požymį (Foa ir Ekiert, 2017; Kamerāde ir kt., 2016) arba kritikuoti skirtingus NVO vystymosi kelius (Howard, 2003), tačiau juose nenagrinėjami konkretūs istoriniai socioekonominiai veiksniai, kurie ir toliau galimai daro įtaką NVO vystymuisi. Ši daktaro disertacija užpildo šią spragą tyrinėdama, kaip sovietiniai įspaudai – įsisišakniję požiūrio ir elgesio modeliai, susiformavę sovietinio režimo sąlygomis, – lėmė NVO raidą Lietuvoje. Disertacijos tyrime nagrinėjamos sovietmečio sąlygos, leidžiančios atskleisti tam tikrus sovietmečio įspaudus, turėjusius įtakos NVO, ir atskleidžiamas įspaudų poveikis vėlesnei NVO raidai posovietinėje šalyje, taip prisidedant prie posovietinių NVO tyrimų (Regulska, 1999; Waniak-Michalak ir kt., 2020).

Antra, pasitelkdami įspaudų teoriją (Marquis ir Tilcsik, 2013), kuri yra pagrindinė priemonė tyrinėjant istorinius veiksnius, darančius įtaką NVO raidai, įgaliname įvairių

šalių NVO tyrimus, kuriais siekiama suprasti NVO raidą iš istorinės perspektyvos (Salamon ir Anheier, 1998; Toepler ir Salamon, 2003).

Be to, disertacijoje nagrinėjami įspaudus, darančius įtaką NVO kontekstui, prisidedame prie platesnės organizacinių įspaudų tyrimų literatūros, kurioje iki šiol dominavo verslo organizacijų tyrimai (Albu ir kt., 2020; Banalieva ir kt., 2017; Kriauciūnas ir Kale, 2006; Liu ir Luo, 2022).

Taip pat nagrinėjami, kaip sovietiniai įspaudai veikia požiūrį į savanorystę, kaip pilietinę iniciatyvą ir pagrindinį NVO šaltinį, papildome savanorystės tyrimus posovietinėse šalyse (Khvorostianov ir Remennick, 2018; Pranaitytė, 2022; Silló, 2016; Žiliukaitė, 2018).

Praktinė tyrimo nauda. Tyrimų rezultatai apie sovietmečio įspaudus NVO gali būti naudingi įvairioms suinteresuotosioms šalims:

- valdžios institucijos, supratusios specifinius posovietinių NVO plėtros problemų dėsningumus, gali sustiprinti NVO politiką, formuodamos NVO tapatybę ir stiprindamos įvairius organizacinius gebėjimus;
- NVO vadovai ir lyderiai, supratę NVO pažeidžiamumą, kylantį iš su sovietmečiu susijusių nuostatų, gali užtikrinti sklandesnį bendradarbiavimą su įvairiomis suinteresuotosiomis šalimis (pvz., vyriausybinėmis organizacijomis) ir atsižvelgti į šias žinias įtraukdami, motyvuodami ar skirstydami įvairius darbus savanoriams, ypač vyresnio amžiaus asmenims.
- NVO atstovai turėtų siekti sukurti teisinę ir reguliavimo aplinką, kuri skatintų ne tik jaunosios kartos, bet ir vyresnio amžiaus savanorių dalyvavimą.

PAGRINDINĖS PUBLIKACIJOS IR MOKSLINIAI TYRIMAI RENGIANČIAI DAKTARO DISERTACIJAI

Dovilė Petreikienė, vykdydama doktorantūros studijas, savo tiriamuosius gebėjimus realizavo publikuodama kokybinį tyrimą AJG 2 lygio žurnale. Ji skaitė pranešimus ir dalyvavo 7 tarptautinėse mokslinėse konferencijose. Doktorantūros laikotarpiu doktorantė taip pat dalyvavo Lietuvos mokslo tarybos finansuotame mokslo projekte, kaip jaunesnioji tyrėja.

Publikacijos recenzuojamuose žurnaluose:

1. Petreikienė, D., & Bučiūnienė, I. (2024). Unearthing the Legacy: Contrasting Soviet Imprints on Early NGOs in Lithuania. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 1–13
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3. Petreikienė, D., & Bučiūnienė, I. (2024). Unearthing the Legacy: Contrasting Soviet Imprints on Early NGOs in Lithuania. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 1–13.

Pranešimai tarptautinėse mokslinėse konferencijose:

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6. Irina Liubertė; Dovilė Petreikienė; Bernadeta Goštautaitė; Margarita Pilkienė. The methodological struggles of studying silence: a review and recommendations for research practice. Academy of Management Proceedings, 1, August 2023.
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TEORINĖ APŽVALGA

Posovietinių nevyriausybinų organizacijų konceptualizacija

Mokslininkai konceptualizavo trečiojo sektoriaus objektus į „formalias ar neformalias, privačias, autonomiškas, teisiškai neprivalomas, visiškai ar dalinai apribotas nuo bet kokio pelno paskirstymo investuotojams, nariams ar kitoms suinteresuotosioms šalims organizacijas“ (Salamon ir Sokolowski, 2018, p. 33). Terminas „nevyriausybines organizacijas“ arba „NVO“, vartojamas Vidurio ir Rytų Europos regione ir Pietų Amerikoje, daugiausia kilęs iš numanomos priešpriešos tarp vyriausybinių organizacijų ir pilietinės visuomenės poreikių. Tačiau įvairaus pobūdžio literatūroje terminas „NVO“ vartojamas kaip sinonimas „ne pelno siekiančioms organizacijoms“, „savanoriškoms organizacijoms“ ir net „trečiojo sektoriaus organizacijoms“. Nepriklausomai nuo to, kaip NVO vadinamos skirtingose šalyse (ne pelno siekianti organizacija, savanoriška organizacija ir t. t.), jos dažniausiai kuriamos siekiant suteikti žmonėms reikiamus išteklius (pvz., sveikatos priežiūrą, mikrofinansus, žmogaus teises ir t. t.); skatinti pokyčius visuomenėje / aplinkoje / ekonomikoje (pvz., advokacija), ir (arba) stiprinti visuomenę bendradarbiaujant su vyriausybe, verslo organizacijomis ar bendruomenėmis (Lewis ir Kanji, 2009). Nevyriausybines organizacijas tarnauja žmonėms pasitelkdamos pagrindinį savo išteklių – savanorystę, „ilgalaikį, suplanuotą, visuomenišką elgesį, kuris teikia naudą nepažįstamiems žmonėms ir vyksta organizacijos aplinkoje“ (Penner, 2002: p. 448).

Posovietinė savanorystė ir nevyriausybines organizacijos

Siekdami atsakyti į klausimą, kodėl žmonės renkasi savanorystę, mokslininkai išskiria skirtingus motyvacinus veiksnius (Clary ir Snyder, 1999). Nepaisant individualių motyvų, kurie taip pat gali priklausyti nuo aplinkybių, patirtų skirtinguose amžiaus tarpsniuose, šalies kultūra turi didelę reikšmę priimant sprendimus dėl įsitraukimo į savanorystės veiklas (Voicu ir Voicu, 2009). Kaip bebūtų, visos šalys yra skirtingų istorinės ir kultūrinės raidos trajektorijų rezultatas (Salamon ir Anheier, 1998), kurios ilgainiui suformuoja skirtingas tradicijas, palankias arba nepalankias savanorystei (Principi ir kt., 2014).

Posovietiniame regione dažnai susiduriama su žemiausiu savanorystės lygiu, ypač vyresniame amžiuje (Principi ir kt., 2014). Pavyzdžiui, Lietuvoje – šalyje, kuri beveik pusę amžiaus priklausė Sovietų Sąjungai, – vyresnio amžiaus žmonės (66

metų ir vyresni) yra tarp tų, kurie „mažiausiai linkę savanoriauti“ (Ehlers ir kt., p. 18). Mokslininkai daro prielaidą, kad 1991 m. žlugus Sovietų Sąjungai ir iširus priverstinės savanorystės kultūrai, neigiamas socialistinės patirties poveikis liko ir savanorystės nepripažino nei visuomenė, nei organizacijos (Silló, 2016; Voicu ir Voicu, 2009). Tokie pastebėjimai rodo, kad jei norime atsakyti į klausimą, kodėl posovietinėse šalyse savanorystė yra mažiau populiari, turime atidžiau išnagrinėti posovietinio istorinio konteksto realijas.

Istorinis sovietmečio kontekstas rodo, kad NVO ir savanorystės plėtrai svarbūs du pagrindiniai bruožai:

1. socialistinė sovietinio režimo ideologija buvo grindžiama hierarchiniu planavimo principu siekiant skleisti egalitarinės visuomenės idėją ir užtikrinti žmonių tikslų, interesų bei veiklos homogeniškumą (Grybkaukas ir kt., 2011), todėl ji negalėjo leisti jokių privačių ar savarankiškų iniciatyvų (Brazaitis, 1990, p. 285). Autonomiškos NVO oficialiai egzistuoti negalėjo, nes visos kultūrinės, aplinkosaugos ir visuomeninės organizacijos priklausė valdžiai ir buvo naudojamos jos ideologijai skleisti;
2. darbas buvo visiškai suplanuotas ir nebuvo grindžiamas paklausos ir pasiūlos principais (Brown, 1957). Kadangi valstybiniai planai buvo netobuli, kai kuriuose sektoriuose reikėjo privalomo paprastų piliečių „savanoriškumo“, kad būtų įgyvendinti vietiniai ar regioniniai planai. Toks darbo rinkos neefektyvumas sukūrė valdžios planus savanoriams, pagrįstus tiksliais nurodymais, kas, kada ir kaip turi dirbti neapmokamą („savanorišką“) darbą (Brown, 1957). Privalomas įsitraukimas į darbą, vadinant tai „savanoryste“, ilgainiui išderino tikrąją savanorystės reikšmę organizacinėje aplinkoje (Khorostianov ir Remennick, 2018).

Sovietų Sąjungai iširus 1991 m., daugumoje posocialistinių šalių, taip pat ir Lietuvoje, buvo inicijuota liberali politinė sistema, pagrįsta rinkos ekonomika, o kartu kūrėsi ir demokratiniai procesai bei autonomiškos NVO. Atsirado privačių iniciatyvų, tačiau jos iš karto susidūrė su įvairiomis kliūtimis. Trys pagrindinės išorinės kliūtys kuriant NVO sektorių Lietuvoje buvo šios: palankios teisinės sistemos trūkumas, valdžios pritarimo stoka ir pilietinės visuomenės sąmoningumo nebuvimas (Žalimienė ir Rimšaitė, 2007). Pirmąjį dešimtmetį NVO posovietinėse šalyse buvo silpnos, joms trūko organizacinių įgūdžių, jos negalėjo gauti finansavimo, nenoriai bendradarbiavo, joms buvo sunku pritraukti savanorių (Regulska, 1999, p. 63), nes žmonės (ypač

vyresnioji karta) bėgo nuo bet kokio užsiminimo apie „savanorystę“ ar „savanoriškas“ organizacijas, net ir praėjus daugeliui metų po sovietmečio (Khvorostianov ir Remennick, 2018; Pranaitytė, 2022). Nors NVO skaičius augo, savanorių organizacijose trūko (Žiliukaitė, 2012, 2018). Nepaisant NVO sektoriaus augimo, mokslininkai vis dar pastebi, kad posovietinio regiono NVO buvo mažiau atsparios politiniams pokyčiams, palyginti su Vakarų šalimis (Pape ir kt., 2020). Tokie sovietinės praeities gyvastį atkartojantys įrodymai po daugelio metų verčia kelti klausimą, kokie posovietinių šalių istoriniai įspaudai vis dar veikia tiek asmeninius pasirinkimus, tiek organizacinius sprendimus. Siekiant geriau suprasti mechanizmą, kaip praeities nuostatos ir elgesys gali įsiskverbti į vėlesnes visuomenės nuostatas ir elgesį, mokslininkai siūlo taikyti istorijos teorijoje požiūrį (Kipping ir Üsdiken, 2014) ir įspaudų teoriją (Marquis ir Tilcsik, 2013).

Įspaudų teorija ir tolesnių tyrimų poreikis

Įspaudų teorija kompleksiniu požiūriu apibrėžiama trimis aspektais: jautriais mokymosi laikotarpiais, jautraus laikotarpio metu esančios aplinkos sąlygų refleksyviu atspindėjimu ir išmoktos patirties nuolatiniu kartojimu (Marquis ir Tilcsik, 2013). Ji suponuoja, kad tam tikroje praeities aplinkoje priimtoms nuostatos ir elgesys ilgai išlieka organizacijose (Stinchcombe, 1965) ir asmenyse (Higgins, 2005). Tokias nuostatas ir elgesį ar savybes, atspindinčias konkretų istorijos laikotarpį, galima vadinti įspaudais (Lyle ir kt., 2022), o veiksnius ir aplinkybes, sudarančias tą egzistavusią specifinę aplinką – įspaudų šaltiniais (Simsek ir kt., 2015). Posovietinių šalių tyrimų įrodymai atskleidė, kad sovietinis laikotarpis neabejotinai paliko įspaudus, darančius įtaką tolesnei verslo plėtrai (Shinkle ir Kriauciūnas, 2012) ar atskirų asmenų darbo praktikai posovietinėse organizacijose (Banalieva ir kt., 2017). Sovietinėse darbo vietose įgytos individualios nuostatos išliko ir suformavo posovietines darbo nuostatas (Banalieva ir kt., 2017), taip pat socialines normas, besiremiančias priklausomybe nuo vyriausybės ir valstybės valdžios (Alesina ir Fuchs-Schündeln, 2007).

Nors nuo nepriklausomybės atkūrimo praėjo daug metų, įvairių sričių tyrėjai nemato ypatingų kokybinių pokyčių NVO, susijusių su požiūriu į savanorystę (Žiliukaitė, 2018). Esama situacija vis dar reikalauja dėmesio, nes NVO susiduria su įvairiomis kliūtimis ir iššūkiais, susijusiais su žmogiškųjų išteklių pritraukimu bei tvarumu (Tuzaitė, 2016). NVO sektoriaus neapibrėžtumas kelia sunkumų tapatybės, įsitvirtinimo bei įsiskaidymo klausimuose (Kėrytė, 2015) ir rodo mažesnę atsparumą

įvairioms krizėms (Pape ir kt., 2020). Taigi, sovietinių įspaudų, jų įtakos NVO plėtrai posovietinėje šalyje ir požiūriui į savanorystę posovietinės šalies kontekste tyrimų poreikis išlieka.

TYRIMO METODIKA

Siekiant ištirti sovietinių įspaudų poveikį NVO vystymuisi, disertacijoje taikomas mišrus tyrimų metodas, derinant kokybinius ir kiekybinius tyrimus. Nors kokybinis tyrimas yra pagrindinis tyrimo metodas, jo derinimas su kiekybiniais metodais sudaro sąlygas visapusiškai išnagrinėti tyrimo klausimą ir suteikia sovietinių įspaudų ir jų poveikio NVO posovietinėje šalyje analizei gilumo ir platumo.

Literatūros, aiškinančios, kaip sovietiniai įspaudai paveikė NVO posovietinėse Vidurio ir Rytų Europos šalyse, mūsų žiniomis, nėra. Tokių tyrimų trūkumas suponavo poreikį šią temą nagrinėti nuodugniau, naudojant kokybinius duomenis, kurie padėjo geriau suprasti reiškinius, kurie iki šiol nebuvo tiriami (Edmondson ir McManus, 2007).

Pirmasis tyrimas – retrospektyvinis kokybinis tyrimas. Jį sudarė 30 pusiau struktūruotų interviu su ankstyvų demokratinių NVO kūrėjais ir vystytojais Lietuvoje. Tyrimu buvo siekiama atsakyti į du klausimus: kokie sovietinės aplinkos bruožai pirmiausia pastebimi ankstyvosiose liberaliose nevyriausybinėse organizacijose ir kokius įspaudus šie sovietiniai bruožai suformavo? Nagrinėjome sovietinius įspaudus, kurie išliko skirtingų asmenų sąmonėje ir darė įtaką jų nuostatoms bei elgesiui dėl dalyvavimo NVO veikloje pereinamuoju laikotarpiu po Lietuvos demokratinės respublikos atkūrimo, t. y. 1990–1999 m.

Unikalių kokybinių duomenų panaudojimas padėjo atskleisti sovietmečio požiūrį ir elgseną atspindinčius įspaudų šaltinius bei pačius įspaudus, paveikusius NVO vystymąsi posovietiniu laikotarpiu. Atlikome antrąjį tyrimą – kiekybinę 351 respondento apklausą, kurioje tikrinome pirmojo tyrimo išvadas ir vertinome sovietinių įspaudų įtaką požiūriui į savanorystę NVO Lietuvoje praėjus 33 metams po sovietmečio.

TYRIMO REZULTATŲ APŽVALGA

I-ojo tyrimo rezultatų apžvalga

Kokybinis tyrimas atskleidė penkias pagrindines sovietinių įspaudų grupes, kurios išliko žmonių nuostatose ir elgsenoje, sukurdamos specifinius sovietinius įspaudus ir darydamos įtaką posovietinių NVO raidai: autoritarinis režimas, valdžios garantuotas stabilumas ir saugumas, paslėptos socialinės problemos, donorystės kultūros nebuvimas ir NVO, kaip teisinės, organizacinės formos, nebuvimas. Atskleisti sovietiniai įspaudai iš esmės prieštaravo NVO, kaip formalių ar neformalių organizacijų, pagrįstų privačia autonomiška neprivaloma veikla, ribojančia pelno paskirstymą, prasmei ir tikslui.

- Sovietinis autoritarinis režimas uždraudė visas formalias ir neformalias iniciatyvas ir organizacijas, išskyrus komunistų partiją ir jos satelitus bei jaunimo organizacijas, vėliau palikdamas iš viršaus nuleisto, vienos organizacijos požiūrio ir dialogo, kaip socialinės komunikacijos formos, nebuvimo įspaudus.
- Sovietų valdžios užtikrintas stabilumas ir saugumas suformavo požiūrį, kad valdžia turi rūpintis žmonių gyvenimu, o tai stabdė NVO veiklą ir iniciatyvas nukreiptas „iš apačios į viršų“.
- Egalitarinė visuomenė tapo aplinkybe, lemiančia nesugebėjimą atpažinti ir spręsti individualias nestigmatizuotas problemas.
- Nebuvo neprivalomų veiklų ir aukojimo kultūros, sudarančios NVO pagrindą, todėl NVO neturėjo įvairių išteklių, o šiai kultūrai išvystyti prireikė dešimtmečių.
- Posovietinėse šalyse NVO iškilti nebuvo sąlygų, o sovietinio režimo įspaudai lėmė nepasitikėjimą NVO ir jos negalėjo tinkamai veikti lemiant neigiamą poveikį NVO plėtrai.

Taip pat aptikome iš sovietinės praeities likusių įspaudų, kurie sukaupė NVO potencialą. Sovietinė praeitis ankstyvuosiuose NVO raidos etapuose sukūrė specifinę varomąją jėgą, kuri veikė kaip motyvacija ir galimybė įsitraukti į kūrybinius procesus, susijusius su įdomia, iki tol nematyta nepriklausomybės veikla, ir veikti taip, kaip sovietmečiu buvo draudžiama, įskaitant šiuos veiksnius:

- atsirado galimybė kurti iniciatyvas, kurių nekontroliavo valdžia;

- žmonės buvo itin motyvuoti ištrūkti iš geležinės uždangos ir su dideliu entuziazmu bei džiaugsmu nevyriausybinėse organizacijose kūrė naują šalies fenomeną;
- žmonės, nepatyrę laisvos informacijos tėkmės, buvo labai motyvuoti spręsti naujai įvardytas problemas ir dalytis informacija anksčiau ignoruotomis temomis;
- pasinaudojant ankstesne patirtimi ir naujos liberalios aplinkos teikiamomis galimybėmis taip pat atsilaisvino didelis žmoniškųjų išteklių potencialas, kurį sudarė ne tik intelektualai, bet ir įvairūs aktyvūs piliečiai, kurie siekė pokyčių. Naujos organizacijos tapo naujų idėjų platformomis ir išlaisvino šią žmogiškąją energiją.

II-ojo tyrimo rezultatų apžvalga

II-jame tyrime operacionalizavome sovietinius įspaudus į kelis kintamuosius, susijusius su žmonių požiūriu, kuris galėjo paveikti vėlesnes NVO. Pirma, remdamiesi I-uoju tyrimu ir literatūra apie sovietinius įspaudus (Banalieva ir kt., 2017), pastebėjome, kad kuo ilgiau žmonės gyveno veikiami sovietinį režimo, tuo daugiau įspaudų jie turėjo. Atlikdami II-ąjį tyrimą iškėlėme hipotezę, kad su amžiumi Lietuvos žmonės turėtų turėti stipresnius įspaudus, kylančius iš sovietinės praeities, taigi amžius turėtų lemti įspaudo stiprumą. Mūsų kokybinis tyrimas atskleidė, kad vienas pagrindinių įspaudų šaltinių, paveikusių ankstyvasias NVO Lietuvoje, buvo aukojimo kultūros nebuvimas sovietmečiu, tiek kalbant apie finansines aukas, tiek apie savanorystę paremtą įsitraukimą. Savanoriškas laiko aukojimas ar savanoriška veikla formaliose organizacijose visame pasaulyje laikoma vienu pagrindinių NVO atsinaujinančiuoju ištekliu (Enjolras ir kt., 2018; Gray ir kt., 2012). Pastebėta, kad vyresnės kartos, užaugusios kolektyvinėje, valstybės kontroliuojamoje aplinkoje, pavyzdžiui, Sovietų Sąjungoje, yra mažiau linkusios vertinti savanorystę kaip teigiamą ir prasmingą veiklą (Hustinx ir Lammertyn, 2003). Siūlome įtraukti *požiūrį į oficialią savanorystę*, kaip priklausomąjį kintamąjį, kad pamatytume, ar sovietmečio nuostatų įspaudai vis dar gali turėti įtakos tam, ką tyrime I-ajame vadiname „aukojimo kultūra“, t. y. požiūriui į savanorystę. Taigi, keliamo hipotezę, kad amžius Lietuvoje yra neigiamai susijęs su požiūriu į formalią savanorystę, ne tik dėl sveikatos problemų (Principi ir kt., 2016), bet ir dėl sovietmečio įspaudų, kurie ir toliau formuoja šiuolaikinį požiūrį į formalią savanorystę.

Vienas iš sovietmečio įspaudų šaltinių, galinčių lemti minėtus savanorystės išteklius, yra „nevyriausybinių organizacijų nebuvimas sovietinio režimo laikais“. Įvairūs I-ojo tyrimo įspaudai rodo, kad naujai sukurtų organizacijų (NVO) įvaizdis buvo neigiamas, nes nei paprasti žmonės, nei valstybinės institucijos nepasitikėjo NVO ir visi vengė su jomis bendradarbiauti. Žmonės nepasitikėjo NVO (Waniak-Michalak ir kt., 2020) ir nenorėjo įsitraukti į oficialių NVO veiklas (Howard, 2003). Gali būti, kad kuo stipresnius sovietmečio įspaudus žmonės turi, tuo labiau neigiamas turi neigiamą nusistatymą ar *požiūrį į NVO* ir labdaros organizacijas, o tai galiausiai gali turėti įtakos jų požiūriui į savanorystę.

I-asis tyrimas aiškiai parodė, kad valdžios garantuotas stabilumas bei saugumas ir paslėptos „socialinės problemos“ ankstyvojoje demokratinėje visuomenėje formavo nuostatas, kad žmonės patys yra bejėgiai kurti visuomenę. Žmonės buvo labiau priklausomi nuo išorinės paramos šaltinių, dažniausiai valdžios. Ilgainiui sumažėjo asmeninė atsakomybė už savo gyvenimą ir bendruomenės gerovę (Laumenskaitė, 2015). Kadangi įspaudų teorija rodo, kad nuostatos gali išlikti ir po daugelio metų, nepaisant pokyčių aplinkoje, II-ame tyrime siūlome atidžiau pažvelgti į įsitikinimus, kad žmonių gyvenimui didesnės įtakos turi išoriniai veiksniai, o ne individualios pastangos, apskritai šį įspaudą įvardijant kaip *išorinės galios sureikšminimas*.

Kaip minėta kokybiniame tyrime, autoritarinis režimas paliko didžiausią dalį neigiamų įspaudų, kurie trukdė ankstyvosios Lietuvos NVO. Jei visuomenėje lieka hierarchija pagrįsto, nurodymų ir iš viršaus nuleidimo, t. y. *autoritarinių požiūrių* palaikymas gali trukdyti žmonėms pozityviai vertinti įsitraukimą į NVO veiklą, nes politinis autoritarizmas laikomas NVO veiklą stabdančiu veiksmu (Hsu ir kt., 2017).

Iškeltų hipotezių tikrinimo rezultatai pateikiami lentelėje (1 lentelė).

1 Lentelė. Hipotezių tikrinimo rezultatai

Hipotezė	Hipotezė	Rezultatas	Pagrindimas
H1	Amžius neigiamai susijęs su teigiamu požiūriu į oficialią savanorystę	Patvirtinta	Koreliacijos analizė parodė reikšmingus rezultatus nustatant ryšį tarp kintamųjų
H2a	Amžius neigiamai susijęs su požiūriu į NVO	Atmesta	Daugybinės mediacijos analizė neparodė reikšmingų rezultatų nustatant ryšį tarp kintamųjų.
H2b	Požiūris į NVO yra teigiamai susijęs su požiūriu į oficialią savanorystę	Patvirtinta	Daugybinės mediacijos analizė parodė reikšmingus rezultatus nustatant ryšį tarp kintamųjų.

Hipotezė	Hipotezė	Rezultatas	Pagrindimas
H2c	Požiūris į NVO medijuoja ryšį tarp amžiaus ir požiūrio į oficialią savanorystę	Atmesta	Daugybinės mediacijos analizė neparodė reikšmingo mediacijos efekto.
H3a	Amžius yra teigiamai susijęs su išorinės galios sureikšminimu	Patvirtinta	Daugybinės mediacijos analizė parodė reikšmingus rezultatus nustatant ryšį tarp kintamųjų.
H3b	Išorinės galios sureikšminimas neigiamai susijęs su požiūriu į oficialią savanorystę	Atmesta	Daugybinės mediacijos analizė neparodė reikšmingų rezultatų ryšiui nustatyti.
H3c	Išorinės galios sureikšminimas medijuoja ryšį tarp amžiaus ir požiūrio į oficialią savanorystę	Atmesta	Daugybinės mediacijos analizė neparodė reikšmingo mediacijos efekto.
H4a	Amžius teigiamai susijęs su autoritarinėmis pažiūromis	Patvirtinta	Daugybinės mediacijos analizė parodė reikšmingus rezultatus nustatant ryšį tarp kintamųjų.
H4b	Autoritarinės pažiūros neigiamai susijusios su požiūriu į oficialią savanorystę	Patvirtinta	Daugybinės mediacijos analizė parodė reikšmingus rezultatus nustatant ryšį tarp kintamųjų.
H4c	Autoritarinės pažiūros medijuoja ryšį tarp amžiaus ir požiūrio į oficialią savanorystę	Patvirtinta	Daugybinės mediacijos analizė parodė reikšmingą mediacijos efektą.

Mūsų kiekybiniai rezultatai parodė, kad amžius neigiamai veikia požiūrį į formalią savanorystę, sveikatą ir išsilavinimą. Amžius buvo teigiamai susijęs su išorinės valdžios pirmenybe, autoritarinėmis pažiūromis ir lankymusi bažnyčioje.

Buvo patvirtinta hipotezė, kad autoritarinė pasaulėžiūra medijuoja ryšį tarp amžiaus ir požiūrio į savanorystę, o tai rodo autoritarinės pasaulėžiūros, darančios įtaką savanorystei, gyvybingumą. Sveikata taip pat buvo reikšmingas veiksnys šiame modelyje.

Rezultatai taip pat atskleidė, kad tarp amžiaus ir požiūrio į NVO nėra reikšmingo ryšio ir mediacijos efekto. Be to, išsikeltų hipotezių tikrinimas atskleidė, kad sveikata buvo lemiamas medijuojantis veiksnys pasiūlytame modelyje.

Hipotezė, kad išorinės galios pirmenybė, kaip sovietinis įspaudas, tarpininkaus tarp amžiaus ir požiūrio į savanorystę, nepasitvirtino. Nors reikšmingas ryšys tarp amžiaus ir išorinės galios pirmenybės rodo, kad tai vis dar gali būti potencialus įspaudas, jis neturi įtakos savanorystei. Sveikata buvo svarbus mediatorius pasiūlytame modelyje.

TYRIMO IŠVADOS

Šiame darbe siekėme ištirti ir įvertinti sovietinių įspaudų įtaką NVO Lietuvoje, posovietinėje šalyje. Šio disertacinio tyrimo rezultatai suteikė kompleksiską NVO plėtros posovietinėje ankstyvojoje ir šiuolaikinėje aplinkoje suvokimą. Taikydami įspaudų teoriją, parodėme, kaip žmonės, kuriantys posovietinę aplinką, paveldėjo sovietinės praeities nulemtą požiūrį ir elgsenos modelius, kurie išliko iki šių dienų laikų ir daro įtaką vėlesnėms NVO.

I-jame tyrime buvo nagrinėjami sovietinės aplinkos bruožai, kurie, 1990 m. atgavus nepriklausomybę, virto įspaudais ir paveikė ankstyvąją demokratinių NVO raidą Lietuvoje. Interviu su ankstyvųjų Lietuvos NVO steigėjais ir kūrėjais apie ankstyvųjų NVO raidą pirmuoju nepriklausomybės dešimtmečiu atskleidė daug neigiamų įspaudų, kurie pasireiškė kaip kišimasis į NVO plėtrą, ir teigiamų įspaudų, kurie pasireiškė kaip ankstyvųjų NVO varomoji jėga.

Apskritai, remdamiesi Lietuvos, pastaruosius 30 metų demokratiškai valdomos šalies, pavyzdžiu, iliustravome, kaip sovietinės politikos įspaudai paveikė NVO atsiradimą bei vystymąsi ir jų ilgalaikį poveikį požiūriui į savanorystę.

ISM UNIVERSITY OF MANAGEMENT AND ECONOMICS

Dovilė Petreikienė

THE INFLUENCE OF SOVIET IMPRINTS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF
NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS IN A POST-SOVIET CONTEXT

Summary of the Doctoral Dissertation

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The public defence of the doctoral dissertation will be held at 11:00 A.M. on 20th of January 2025, room 209, at ISM University of Management and Economics—address: Gedimino av. 7, Vilnius, Lithuania.

The dissertation is available at Martynas Mažvydas National Library and the library of ISM University of Management and Economics.

INTRODUCTION¹¹

World economies face many challenges associated with poverty, injustice, and other forms of people's suffering. In such context, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are defined as "organizations concerned with the promotion of social, political or economic change" (Lewis et al., 2020, p. 7) that provide additional resources and promote development (Lewis & Kanji, 2009). NGOs organizing bottom-up human actions that differ from government and business and are beyond families' efforts (Viterna et al., 2015) are often seen as 'saviours' (Carapico, 2000, p. 12) as well as one of the main attributes of democratic culture (Kamerāde et al., 2016). NGOs, established through the people's initiative, are a valuable resource in contemporary economies and have proliferated worldwide regarding the number of entities and various forms (Salamon, 1999). In Europe, NGO sectors account for 29 million employees, making it Europe's third "industry" (Enjolras et al., 2018, p. 54). The development of this sector in Central and Eastern European countries (CEE) has been slower and continues to exist in an early development state compared to more economically developed European countries (Enjolras, 2021; Enjolras et al., 2018). This may be explained by the historical past of CEE countries (Toepler & Salamon, 2003).

From World War II until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, CEE countries had been occupied by Russia and incorporated in the Soviet system. The Soviet regime relied on a planned economy with predominant state ownership, a centralized social security system providing free health care and education for all citizens, and a centrally planned labor force distribution system, creating total employment and the absence of poverty and unemployment (Bučiūnienė, 2018b; Ciszewska-Mlinaric et al., 2018; Vadi, 2018). It was an egalitarian society without market competition characterized, among others, by equal pay structures, relatively high retirement pensions (compared to salaries), and free provision of social services (Bučiūnienė, 2018b; Grybkauskas et al., 2011). The Communist Party reigned in the former CEE countries, and all liberal initiatives and movements were forbidden (Grybkauskas et al., 2011). Volunteering as a free will

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to devote oneself to work in unpaid organizational settings did not exist in Soviet times. There was a highly authoritarian management rule with a top-down approach in every aspect of life. There was no place for free bottom-up initiatives to be recognized in official organizations. All organizations had to align with the government's agenda, so 'one-man management' was the only legitimate way in Soviet institutions (Yanowitch, 1984, p. 96). The NGO sector did not exist under the Soviet regime and emerged in CEE countries only after the restoration of independence in the 1990s, along with subsequent liberation and democratization processes.

After liberalization from Soviet occupation, CEE countries have shared many similarities in NGO development (Rozbicka et al., 2021). Scholars note that the post-socialist public sphere may be small but may contribute enough to some extent (Olivo, 2011). It also may help instill openness to different opinions and movements (Foa & Ekiert, 2017) as well as contribute to the development of democracy (Kamerāde et al., 2016). However, when it comes to formal organizing, governments neglect NGOs (Cox, 2020; Olivo, 2011; Regulska, 1999) and cannot create an independent role (Cox, 2020). Moreover, they are less resilient to political changes than in Western countries (Pape et al., 2020), and social norms still do not favor NGOs in many CEE countries (Waniak-Michalak et al., 2020). NGOs in the context of early post-Soviet countries are noticed to have a wide variation in organizational structure, an absence of common logic, a lack of finances, and a weak infrastructure compared to those in Western countries (Žiliukaitė et al., 2006). Negative attitudes toward NGOs were already noticed in the early days of democracy (Regulska, 1999) and after three decades of its development (Waniak-Michalak et al., 2020). The EU has influenced the acceleration of NGOs in CEE countries (Meyer et al., 2020), including Lithuania, but there still exists a lack of citizen initiative (Enjolras, 2021; Žiliukaitė, 2018).

Scholars acknowledge the scarcity of citizen initiatives (as invaluable volunteering resources) in CEE countries compared to Western Europe (Enjolras, 2021; Enjolras et al., 2018). Volunteering is usually socially unrecognized in post-Soviet countries, where people do not feel pride in volunteering and working for free (Silló, 2016). Post-Soviet countries generally rank low in volunteer numbers and NGO workers (Principi et al., 2012). In older democratic societies, people tend to recognize the value of volunteering in later adulthood (Gray et al., 2012). In post-Soviet societies, older citizens especially neglect volunteering (Ehlers et al., 2011; Pranaitytė, 2022). In post-Soviet countries, voluntary services usually have to rely on people from the

younger generation who have never experienced the Soviet system (Raišienė & Vilké, 2014).

Investigating the country context would be necessary to understand NGOs better (Carapico, 2000) because of the differences in social capital (Putnam, 2000) and different 'social origin' approaches caused by historical factors (Salamon & Anheier, 1998). The influence of the national context on volunteering behaviors has garnered increasing attention among scholars (Liu & Jia, 2022; Luria et al., 2015), overall suggesting that historically inherited institutional characteristics are pivotal in shaping an individual's capacity to engage in volunteer activities throughout the European nations (Enjolras, 2021, p. 1204).

Previous research indicated that five decades of the Soviet regime had had a significant impact on the minds and behaviors of CEE societies (Banalieva et al., 2017; Toepler & Salamon, 2003; Žiliukaitė et al., 2006), leaving specific imprints (Regulska, 1999). However, the research on Soviet imprints affecting post-Soviet societies is scarce (Albu et al., 2020; Banalieva et al., 2017). If we wish to have insights into why post-Soviet countries have less developed NGOs and lower volunteering rates, we need to take a closer look at the context of NGOs (Enjolras, 2021; Mercer, 2002) and the reality of the post-Soviet cultural and historical heritage (Howard, 2003; Toepler & Salamon, 2003).

We base our research on the imprinting theory (Marquis & Tilcsik, 2013), which suggests that specific attitudes and behaviors adopted in a certain environment during a particular period in the past may persist for a long time in organizational settings (Stinchcombe, 1965) and individuals (Higgins, 2005). Such attitudes, behaviors, or attributes that reflect a specific historical period may be called imprints (Lyle et al., 2022). These imprints as past reflections may affect the behaviors of individuals, organizations, and society decades after the initial sensitive period ends and the historical context changes (Xu et al., 2021). Evidence on Soviet imprints in post-Soviet countries is still limited and was concentrated on the abilities of business organizations to adapt to changes and perform concerning the demands of new practices (Albu et al., 2021; Kriauciunas & Kale, 2006) and new organizational behavior (Banalieva et al., 2017). The knowledge about the Soviet imprints on NGO developments and volunteering in CEE countries is limited, only mentioning the Soviet influence on later NGO development issues (Howard, 2003; Regulska, 1999; Toepler & Salamon, 2003; Waniak-Michalak et al., 2020). However, the research has not examined the exact

issues of Soviet imprints that might have interfered with NGO development in CEE countries.

The research question, aims, and objectives. In this dissertation, we want to answer the research question of what the Soviet imprints are and how they have affected the development of NGOs in a post-Soviet country and attitudes towards volunteering. This thesis explores the imprints of the Soviet period and their manifestation in the development of NGOs in Lithuania, a post-Soviet country.

Research objectives:

1. To conceptualize the development of NGOs as a part of civil society and their development in post-Soviet countries.
2. To reveal the features of the Soviet environment that became the imprints affecting the early development of NGOs in Lithuania after its independence.
3. To examine the influence of Soviet imprints on the attitudes toward formal volunteering, the primary resource of NGOs in Lithuania.
4. To provide recommendations for strengthening NGOs in post-Soviet countries.

Scientific novelty and contribution. This doctoral dissertation contributes to research in several ways. First, we explore the manifestation of Soviet imprints in a CEE country, i.e., Lithuania, that offers “still a promising research context” (Bučiūnienė, 2018b, p. 698). By researching and testing the Soviet imprints’ installment for later NGO development, we offer a new lens for post-Soviet NGO and volunteering research (Plagnol & Huppert, 2010; Silló, 2016; Voicu & Voicu, 2009). As much of the existing NGO research tends to either celebrate the rise of NGO development as a marker of democratization (Foa & Ekiert, 2017; Kamerāde et al., 2016) or critique their struggles in different developmental trajectories (Howard, 2003), it does not sufficiently address the specific historical legacies that continue to influence their development. This dissertation fills this gap by exploring how Soviet imprints—ingrained attitudinal patterns and behavior formed under the Soviet regime—have shaped NGO development in Lithuania, a post-Soviet country. We refer to a specific Soviet environment to identify Soviet imprints influencing NGOs and show their exact impact on the later development of NGOs in a post-Soviet country, thus contributing to the post-Soviet NGO research (Regulska, 1999; Waniak-Michalak et al., 2020).

Second, by using imprinting theory (Marquis & Tilcsik, 2013) as a primary tool in the search for historical factors that might affect NGO development, we enable worldwide NGO research seeking to understand the development of NGOs from the

perspective of a historical viewpoint (Salamon & Anheier, 1998; Toepler & Salamon, 2003).

Furthermore, we contribute to the research on organizational imprinting, which has hitherto been dominated by studies focusing on business organizations (Albu et al., 2020; Banalieva et al., 2017; Kriauciunas & Kale, 2006; Liu & Luo, 2022) by identifying imprints that influence the organizational landscape of NGOs.

We also examine how soviet imprints affect attitudes toward volunteering as a citizen initiative and primary source of NGOs and add to the post-Soviet volunteering research studies (Khvorostianov & Remennick, 2018; Pranaitytė, 2022; Silló, 2016; Žiliukaitė, 2018).

Research relevance to practice. Studying Soviet imprints on NGOs opens new insight and application opportunities for different stakeholders:

- Government institutions might benefit from acknowledging the specific patterns of post-Soviet NGO development issues and using this knowledge to create NGO policies, such as forming the NGO identity and building more robust capacity in the NGO sector.
- NGO leaders might also note these findings and address the vulnerabilities stemming from Soviet-related attitudes when communicating with external stakeholders, such as governmental institutions, and when recruiting, motivating, and devoting jobs to volunteers, especially seniors.
- NGO agencies should work toward creating a legal and regulatory environment that encourages the participation of both younger and older volunteers.

PUBLICATION OF DISSERTATION RESULTS AND CONFERENCES

During her doctoral period, Dovilė Petreikienė pursued her research abilities by publishing her qualitative research in the AJG level 2 journal. She has presented and participated in 7 international research conferences. Moreover, during her doctoral period, she participated as a junior researcher in a project financed by the Lithuanian Research Council.

Publications in peer-reviewed journals:

1. Petreikienė, D., & Bučiūnienė, I. (2024). Unearthing the Legacy: Contrasting Soviet Imprints on Early NGOs in Lithuania. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 1-13.
2. Petreikienė, D. (2024). Still post-Soviet? What Is Left from Soviet Attitudes to Form the Modern Attitudes Toward Volunteering? *Tiltai*. 93(2).

Presentation of the research findings at international conferences:

1. Bernadeta Goštautaitė; Heike Schroder; Margarita Pilkienė; Dovilė Petreikienė; Irina Liubertė. Career imprints of older workers and proactive behaviors at work in Germany and Lithuania. 6th Age in The Workplace Small Group Meeting, October 2021.
2. Irina Liubertė; Dovilė Petreikienė; Bernadeta Goštautaitė; Margarita Pilkienė. Methodological challenges to studying silence in organizations. *Academy of Management Proceedings*, 1, August 2021.
3. Bernadeta Goštautaitė; Margarita Pilkienė; Dovilė Petreikienė; Irina Liubertė. Career imprints of Lithuanian schoolteachers: the “silenced generation” in changed times. 38th EGOS Colloquium, July 2022.
4. Dovilė Petreikienė; Ilona Bučiūnienė. Soviet imprints as inhibitors and inducers in post-soviet non-governmental organizations’ development. *European Academy of Management Conference*, June 2022.
5. Dovilė Petreikienė; Ilona Bučiūnienė. Soviet imprints on NGOs’ development in a CEE country context. *Fifteenth International Conference of the International Society for Third Sector Research*, July 2022.
6. Irina Liubertė; Dovilė Petreikienė; Bernadeta Goštautaitė; Margarita Pilkienė. The methodological struggles of studying silence: a review and

recommendations for research practice. Academy of Management Proceedings, 1, August 2023.

7. Dovilė Petreikienė. From past regimes to present attitudes: assessing Soviet influence on attitudes toward volunteering. Voluntary Sector and Volunteering Research, September 2024.

THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

Conceptualization of the Post-Soviet Non-Governmental Organizations

Scholars conceptualized third-sector units into “organizations, whether formal or informal; private; self-governed; non-compulsory; and totally or significantly limited from distributing any surplus to investors, members or other stakeholders” (Salamon & Sokolowski, 2018, p. 33). The term “non-governmental organizations” is used in the CEE region and South America, mainly originating from the intended opposition between governmental organizations and the needs of civil society. However, in various types of literature, the term “NGO” is used synonymously with ‘nonprofit organization’, ‘voluntary organization’, and even ‘third-sector organization’. Regardless of how an NGO is referred to in different countries (nonprofit, voluntary organization, etc.), they are mainly created to provide resources to people in need (e.g., healthcare, microfinance, human rights, etc.), to promote change in society/the environment/the economy (e.g., advocacy); and/or to work in partnerships with the government, business organizations, or communities to strengthen society (Lewis & Kanji, 2009). NGOs serve people through their primary resource – volunteering, a “long-term, planned, prosocial behavior that benefits strangers and occurs within an organizational setting” (Penner, 2002: p. 448).

Post-Soviet Non-Governmental Organizations and Volunteering

Different kinds of motives act in answering the question of why people choose to volunteer (Clary & Snyder, 1999). Despite individual motives, which may also rely on the circumstances experienced at different ages, the country’s culture greatly matters in volunteering decision-making (Voicu & Voicu, 2009). Countries are all the result of different historical and cultural development trajectories (Salamon & Anheier, 1998), which eventually form different traditions that either favor the promotion of volunteering or not (Principi et al., 2014).

Regions like the post-Soviet one often rely on the lowest levels of volunteering, especially at older ages (Principi et al., 2014). For example, in Lithuania, a country that was in the Soviet Union for almost half a century, older people are among those who are “least likely to volunteer” (Ehlers et al., 2011, p. 18). Scholars assume that when the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991 and the forced volunteering culture was dissolved, the negative impact of the socialistic experience remained, leaving voluntary work

unrecognized in society and organizational settings (Silló, 2016; Voicu & Voicu, 2009). Such notes suggest that if we wish to answer why post-Soviet countries have lower volunteering rates, we need to examine the reality of the post-Soviet historical context more closely.

The historical context from Soviet times suggests two main attributes important for NGO and volunteering development:

1. The socialist ideology of the Soviet regime was based on a top-down planned approach with the idea of an egalitarian society and the homogeneity of people's goals, interests, and activities (Grybkaukas et al., 2011), so it could not allow any private or autonomous initiatives (Brazaitis, 1990, p. 285). Officially, no free NGOs could exist because all cultural, environmental, and social organizations belonged to the government to spread their ideology.
2. Labor was extensively planned and not based on the principles of demand and supply (Brown, 1957). As state plans were imperfect, some sectors needed obligatory 'volunteering' from casual citizens to catch the local or regional plans. This ineffectiveness of the labor market created the government's plans for volunteers based on exact directions of who, when, and how to work the non-paid ("volunteer") work (Brown, 1957). Mandatory involvement in work, calling it 'volunteering', eventually eroded the true meaning of volunteering in organizational settings (Khvorostianov & Remennick, 2018).

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, most post-socialist countries, including Lithuania, initiated a liberal political system based on a market economy, together with the democratic processes and inspiration of autonomous NGOs. Private initiatives arose but immediately faced different types of obstacles. Three external things were common pitfalls in creating the NGO sector in Lithuania: lack of a supportive legal system, lack of government approval, and lack of civil society awareness (Žalimienė & Rimšaitė, 2007). During the first decade, NGOs in post-Soviet countries were weak, lacked organizational skills, could not obtain funding, and were unwilling to collaborate or attract volunteers (Regulska, 1999, p. 63) because people (especially older generations), even though many years have passed from the Soviet times, run from any mention of "volunteerism" or "voluntary" organizations (Khvorostianov & Remennick, 2018; Pranaitytė, 2022). The number of NGOs could be noticed, but not the rise of volunteers in organizations (Žiliukaitė, 2012, 2018). Despite

the amount of growth in the sector, scholars still notice that NGOs in the European post-Soviet region are less resilient to political changes when compared to Western countries (Pape et al., 2020). Such evidence echoing the Soviet past's liveliness, after many years, leads us to the question of what historical imprints we still cannot resist in making organizational and individual decisions. Scholars suggest a history-in-theory approach (Kipping & Üsdiken, 2014) and apply the imprinting theory (Marquis & Tilcsik, 2013) to understand better the mechanism of how past attitudes and behaviors can penetrate the later society's attitudes and behaviors.

Imprinting Theory and the Need for Further Research

Imprinting, as a very complex theory, consists of a three-part definition consisting of sensitive learning periods, moments of reflection of the environment during the sensitive period, and repetition of that learned experience (Marquis & Tilcsik, 2013). It suggests that specific attitudes and behaviors adopted in a certain environment during a particular period in the past may persist for a long time in organizational settings (Stinchcombe, 1965) and individuals (Higgins, 2005). Such attitudes and behaviors or attributes reflecting a specific period in history may be called imprints (Lyle et al., 2022) and “preexisting forces and characteristics that constitute the environment” – the imprinters (Simsek et al., 2015, p. 293). Evidence from the post-Soviet countries showed that the Soviet period certainly left imprints affecting further business development (Shinkle & Kriauciunas, 2012) or individual working practices in post-Soviet organizations (Banalieva et al., 2017). Individual attitudes acquired in Soviet workplaces persisted and shaped post-Soviet working attitudes (Banalieva et al., 2017) and social norms relying on dependence on the government and state power (Alesina & Fuchs-Schündeln, 2007).

Even though many years have passed since independence, researchers do not see a substantial qualitative change in NGOs and attitudes toward volunteering (Žiliukaitė, 2018). The situation still needs attention because NGOs still encounter various obstacles and face the challenges of attraction and sustainability of human resources (Tuzaitė, 2016). The uncertainty of the NGO sector poses difficulties for identity, assertion, and embeddedness (Kérytė, 2015) and lower resistance to various crises (Pape et al., 2020). Thus, research is needed on Soviet imprints, how they have affected the development of NGOs in a post-Soviet country, and attitudes towards volunteering in this context.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The dissertation employs a mixed-methods approach, combining qualitative and quantitative research to explore the influence of Soviet imprints on NGO development. Even though qualitative study is the primary research method, combining it with quantitative methods allows for a comprehensive exploration of the research question, providing depth and breadth to analyzing Soviet imprints and their impact on NGOs in a post-Soviet country.

Following the logic discovered in the literature analysis, we understand that the literature explaining how Soviet imprints have affected the NGOs in post-Soviet CEE countries is scarce. The state of the literature suggested the need to explore the topic in greater depth with open qualitative data, which helped better understand the phenomena that have not yet been the subject of much research (Edmondson & McManus, 2007).

We did Study I—a retrospective qualitative study. We did 30 semi-structured interviews with creators and developers of early democratic NGOs in Lithuania to answer two questions: What features of the Soviet environment could be primarily noticed in early liberal NGOs, and what kind of imprints have these Soviet features formed? We looked at Soviet imprints, which remained in different individuals' minds and affected their attitudes and behavior regarding involvement in NGO activities during the transition period after the democratic republic of Lithuania was restored—between 1990 and 1999.

Using unique qualitative data helped to reveal the exact Soviet imprints echoing Soviet attitudes and behaviors and imprints affecting post-Soviet NGOs. Moreover, we intended to use quantitative data to create the model and test the findings from the qualitative study in the next step. We conducted Study II - a quantitative survey of 351 respondents testing the findings from Study I and assessing the influence of Soviet imprints on attitudes toward volunteering in NGOs in Lithuania 33 years after the Soviet collapse.

OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

The Overview of Findings in Study I

Our qualitative study elucidated five main groups of Soviet attitudes and behaviors that have persisted in later people's attitudes and behavior, creating specific Soviet imprints and affecting the development of post-Soviet NGOs: the authoritarian regime, the stability and security guaranteed by the government, hidden social problems, the absence of donation culture, and the absence of the NGO as a legal, organizational form. The revealed Soviet imprints fundamentally opposed the meaning and purpose of NGOs, characterized as formal or informal private self-governed organizations based on non-compulsory activity, limiting surplus distribution:

- The Soviet authoritarian regime banned all formal and informal initiatives and organizations except the Communist Party, its satellites, and youth organizations. It later left the imprints of a top-down, one-organization approach and the absence of dialogue as a form of social communication.
- The stability and security guaranteed by the government of the Soviet authorities formed the attitude that the government should take care of people's lives, which inhibited bottom-up NGO activities and initiatives.
- An egalitarian society became a circumstance for the inability to recognize and solve individual unstigmatized problems.
- There were no non-compulsory activities and a donation culture that represented the foundation of NGOs, leaving them without various resources and taking decades to develop that culture.
- The preconditions for NGO emergence in post-Soviet countries were absent, and the Soviet regime's imprints mainly interfered with NGO development, leaving them untrusted and unable to perform well.

We also found imprints stemming from the Soviet past that accumulated the potential of NGOs. The Soviet past created a specific driving force in the early stages of NGO development, which acted as motivation and opportunity to be involved in the creative processes of exciting activities never seen before independence and to act in a way that had been punishable in Soviet times, including the following:

- A possibility to create initiatives without government control.
- People were motivated to escape from the Iron Curtain and enthusiastic about building a new country, a phenomenon within NGOs, in a joyful way.

- People who had experienced a scarce free flow of information were highly motivated to address the newly acknowledged problems and share information about previously ignored topics.
- Building on previous experience and grabbing opportunities from the new liberal environment also released substantial potential in human resources, not only from intellectuals but also from many active people who sought change. New organizations have become opportunities for new ideas and have released human energy.

The Overview of Study II Findings

For the following Study II, we operationalized those Soviet imprints into several attitudinal variables that might have affected later NGOs. First, from Study I and the literature on Soviet imprints (Banalieva et al., 2017), we noticed that the longer people experienced the Soviet regime, the more imprinted they would be. For Study II, we hypothesized that with age, people in Lithuania should have more imprints stemming from the Soviet past and that age would determine the imprint's strength. Our explorative study disclosed that one of the main imprinters that affected early NGOs in Lithuania was "the absence of donation culture" regarding financial contributions and voluntary engagement. Voluntary donation of time or volunteering in formal organizations is considered one of the primary renewable resources worldwide for different kinds of NGOs (Enjolras et al., 2018; Gray et al., 2012). However, older generations who grew up in a collectivist, state-controlled environment, such as the Soviet Union, are noticed to be less likely to view volunteering as a positive and meaningful activity (Hustinx & Lammertyn, 2003). We suggest including *attitudes toward formal volunteering* as the outcome variable (dependent variable) to see whether Soviet attitudinal imprints might still influence what Study I would refer to as "donation culture" or attitudes toward volunteering. Thus, we hypothesize that age in Lithuania is negatively related to attitudes toward formal volunteering—not only due to health issues (Principi et al., 2016) but also due to Soviet imprints, which continue to shape contemporary attitudes toward formal volunteering.

One of the Soviet imprinters that may lead to volunteering, as mentioned earlier, is "the absence of NGOs under the Soviet regime." Various imprints in Study I show that the image of newly created organizations (NGOs) was poor because neither ordinary people nor governmental institutions trusted NGOs, and they all avoided

collaborations. People did not trust NGOs (Waniak-Michalak et al., 2020) and did not want to join formal NGOs (Howard, 2003). It may be that the more imprints people hold from Soviet times, the poorer their image or *attitudes toward* NGOs and charitable organizations are, eventually affecting their attitude toward volunteering.

Study I clearly also showed that the “stability and security guaranteed by the government” together with the “hidden social problems” in early democratic society created the attitude in society that people themselves were helpless in building society. Instead, they intended to rely more on external support, mainly from the government. There was a significant reduction in personal responsibility for one’s life and the community’s well-being (Laumenskaitė, 2015). While imprinting theory suggests that attitudes might persist over time despite environmental change, in Study II, we propose to take a closer look at beliefs that external circumstances rather than own efforts influence outcomes of their life, in general calling this imprint *external power primacy*.

As mentioned in the qualitative study, an authoritarian regime left the most significant portion of the negative imprints that hindered early NGOs in Lithuania. If left in society, a preference for hierarchy, instructions, and a top-down approach, i.e., an *authoritarian outlook*, might hinder people from being optimistic about being included in NGOs’ activities, as political authoritarianism is seen to be an inhibiting factor for NGO activities (Hsu et al., 2017).

The final hypotheses testing results are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Hypotheses testing results

Hypothesis	Hypothesis	Result	Justification
H1	Age is negatively related to positive attitudes toward formal volunteering	Confirmed	Correlation analysis showed significant results between variables
H2a	Age is negatively related to the attitudes toward NGOs	Rejected	Multiple mediator analysis showed insignificant results for the path a.
H2b	Attitudes toward NGOs are positively related to attitudes toward formal volunteering	Confirmed	Multiple mediator analysis showed significant results for path b.
H2c	Attitudes toward NGOs mediate the relationships between age and attitudes toward formal volunteering	Rejected	Multiple mediator analysis showed no significant indirect effect through attitude toward charitable organizations.
H3a	Age is positively related to the external locus of control.	Confirmed	Multiple mediator analysis showed significant results for the path a.

Hypothesis	Hypothesis	Result	Justification
H3b	External power primacy is negatively related to the attitudes toward formal volunteering	Rejected	Multiple mediator analysis showed insignificant results for the path b
H3c	External power primacy mediates the relationship between age and attitude toward formal volunteering	Rejected	Multiple mediation results showed no significant indirect effect through external power primacy
H4a	Age is positively related to the authoritarian outlook	Confirmed	Multiple mediator analysis showed significant results for the path a.
H4b	Authoritarian outlook is negatively related to the attitudes toward formal volunteering	Confirmed	Multiple mediator analysis showed significant results for path b.
H4c	Authoritarian outlook mediates the relationship between age and attitudes toward formal volunteering	Confirmed	Multiple mediation analysis showed a significant indirect effect.

Our quantitative findings demonstrated that age was negatively related to attitude toward formal volunteering, health, and education. Age was positively related to external power primacy, authoritarian outlook, and church attendance.

The hypothesis that an authoritarian outlook mediates the relationship between age and attitudes toward volunteering was confirmed, suggesting the viability of the authoritarian outlook, which affected volunteering. Health was also a significant factor in the proposed model.

The results showed no significant relationship between age and attitudes towards NGOs and no mediation effect. Moreover, the hypothesis testing report showed that health was the critical factor in the proposed model.

The hypothesis that external power primacy as a Soviet imprint would mediate the relationship between age and attitudes toward volunteering failed to be confirmed. Even though the significant relationship between age and external power primacy (path a) hints that this still might be a viable imprint, it does not affect volunteering. Moreover, the hypothesis testing showed that health was essential to the proposed model.

MAIN RESEARCH CONCLUSIONS

With this thesis, we aimed to explore and evaluate the influence of Soviet imprints on NGOs in Lithuania, a post-Soviet country. This thesis provided a complex understanding of NGO development in post-Soviet early and modern environments. By applying imprinting theory, we showed how people building post-Soviet environments had inherited attitudes and behavior patterns aligned with the Soviet past, lasting until modern times to affect later NGOs.

The research in Study I explored the features of the Soviet environment, which, after independence from the Soviet Union was achieved in 1990, turned into imprints and affected the early development of democratic NGOs in Lithuania. Interviews with the founders and developers of early Lithuanian NGOs focusing on the first decade of NGO development revealed many negative imprints, which manifested as interference in NGO development, and positive imprints, which manifested as early NGO drivers.

Furthermore, through the example of Lithuania, a country under democratic rule for the last 30 years, we have illustrated how the imprints of Soviet policies affected the later NGOs by evidencing imprints' lasting effect on attitudes toward volunteering (Study II).

SHORT BIO



Dovilė Petreikienė graduated with a Master's in Investment Management from Vilnius Gediminas Technical University. Before her Ph.D. studies, she worked on various social, environmental, infrastructure, and research projects for over ten years in non-governmental organizations, governmental organizations, businesses, and universities. During her Ph.D. studies, Dovilė has visited BI Norwegian Business School (Oslo, Norway), published two articles, and participated in 7 international research conferences. At ISM University of Management and Economics, Dovilė has supervised six bachelor theses and served on theses' defense board. She also worked as a junior researcher on a project funded by the Research Council of Lithuania. Moreover, as Dovilė's interests also seek social investment management, she teaches "Analysis of the Investment into Social Projects" (lit. "Investicijų į socialinius projektus analizė").

ANNEXES

Annex 1

Interview guide (Lithuanian version)

Interviu klausimai trečiojo sektoriaus kūrimosi Lietuvoje (atgavus nepriklausomybę 1990 m.) ekspertams

Interviuotojas užpildo

Eksperto vardas, pavardė

Interviu data _____ Laikas _____

Interviuotojo pavardė, vardas

Interviuotojas turėtų konspektuoti, pasižymėdamas pastebėtus aplinkos, interviu davėjo balso, nuotaikos ir kitus aspektus.

Interviuotojo prisistatymas

Ačiū, kad sutikote pasikalbėti su manimi ir duoti interviu. Mane domina, nevyriausybinų organizacijų kūrimasis Lietuvoje atgavus nepriklausomybę, t. y. po 1990 m. ir būtent šiuo atveju įdomiausia yra Jūsų asmeninė patirtis. Čia svarbiausia tik Jūsų nuomonė, nėra teisingų ar neteisingų atsakymų, todėl prašau kalbėti atvirai ir nuoširdžiai. Jūsų atsakymai bus visiškai konfidencialūs, t. y. nebus niekam pateikiami ir informacija bus naudojama tik apibendrintai.

Taip pat noriu paprašyti Jūsų leidimo įrašyti pokalbį, kad pokalbio metu man nereikėtų visko užsirašinėti, o galėčiau klausytis jūsų. Patikinu Jus, kad įrašas reikalingas tik techniniams tikslams, o pasibaigus tyrimui yra sunaikinamas.

Klausimai užduodami asmeniui kaip pirmosios trečiojo sektoriaus organizacijos kūrėjui:

Pradžioje gal galėtumėte papasakoti, apie save, kuo užsiimate šiuo metu?

Prašau papasakokite Ką veikėte iki nepriklausomybės?

Kokias studijas baigėte?

Kur dirbote?

Kas vyko jūsų gyvenime tik atgavus nepriklausomybę?

Papasakokite, kaip Jūsų gyvenime atsirado nevyriausybinės organizacijos (NVO)

Papasakokite kaip jūs kūrėte nevyriausybines organizacijas (NVO)

Patikslinantys klausimai:

Kodėl įkūrėte NVO? /Ko siekė jūsų NVO?

Kas padėjo kuriantis NVO?

Kas kėlė sunkumų kuriant NVO? Kodėl?

Kaip vyko darbas to meto NVO organizacijoje?

Kokios kitos NVO organizacijos kūrėsi 9-ajame dešimtmetyje?

Gal galite įvardykite jas kūrusius asmenis?

Kaip jos atsirado?

Kaip joms sekėsi?/ Ar ilgai išsilaikė? –

Kodėl? Ką jos darė

Ką žmonės bendrai manė apie nevyriausybinės organizacijas 9-ajame dešimtm.?

Kodėl?

Kaip sekėsi pritraukti žmones į NVO sektorių? (kokia idėja, kokios org.? O už kokias idėjas žmonės vėliau ėjo?)

Kokie žmonės jose dirbo/ savanoriavo?

Kuo skyrėsi NVO organizacijos Lietuvoje nuo kitų šalių panašių organizacijų?

Klausimai kaip trečiojo sektoriaus Lietuvoje kūrimosi ekspertui, įvykių stebėtojai ar iniciatoriui:

Kaip Lietuvoje prasidėjo NVO judėjimas?

Kaip keitėsi trečiasis sektorius (arba NVO) nuo 9-ojo dešimtmečio iki dabar?

Kas lėmė pokyčius?

Jūsų nuomone, kokie buvo įtakingiausi žmonės šitam sektoriuje? Norėčiau su jais pasikalbėti, kaip jūs manote būtų galima su jais susisiekti?

Gal yra dar kažkas svarbaus, ko aš jūsų nepaklausiau?

Dėkoju už atsakymus.

Annex 2

Scales

Attitudes toward Volunteering scale (Dana et al., 2021) (translated into Lithuanian by the author):

1. Visuomenėje yra žmonių, kuriems reikia pagalbos
2. Savanorystės veiklos padeda spręsti socialines problemas
3. Savanoriai daro pokytį
4. Savanorystės veiklos gali labai praturtinti visuomenę
5. Visuomenei reikia gerų savanorių
6. Savanorystės veiklos yra būtinos, kad mūsų visuomenė taptų geresnė
7. Aš galiu daryti pokytį visuomenėje
8. Mano pareiga imtis realių priemonių, kad padėčiau tiems, kuriems reikia pagalbos
9. Man svarbu prisidėti prie visuomeniškos veiklos
10. Kiti žmonės nusipelno mano pagalbos

Attitudes toward charitable organizations (ACO) scale (Webb et al., 2000) (translated into Lithuanian by the author):

1. Labdarai skirti pinigai yra panaudojami geriems tikslams
2. Didelė dalis labdarai paaukotų pinigų yra iššvaistoma
3. Mano nuomonė apie labdaros organizacijas yra teigiama
4. Labdaros organizacijos gana sėkmingai padeda vargstantiems
5. Labdaros organizacijos atlieka visuomenei naudingą veiklą

The 3-item scale of powerful others of the external locus of control scale, adapted from the original scale (Levenson, 1974) to capture the attitudes of older people (Shewchuk et al., 1990) (translated into Lithuanian by the author):

1. Dažnai jaučiu, kad įtakingi žmonės kontroliuoja mano gyvenimą
2. Iš esmės mano gyvenimą valdo kiti
3. Jeigu nepatikčiau svarbiems žmonėms, greičiausiai nesusirasčiau daug draugų

“The Requirement of the Iron Fist,” which was adapted for Lithuania (Mažeikienė & Šulcaitė, 2010) from the authoritarianism scale (Altemeyer, 1981):

1. Kadangi padėtis mūsų visuomenėje darosi rimtesnė, tai stipresnių priemonių taikymas, šalinant ar pažabojant trukdančius asmenis, grupes ar veiksnius ir grąžinant mus į teisingą kelią, būtų visai pateisinamas.
2. Augantis nusikalstamumas, seksualinis amoralumas, viešoji netvarka – visa tai rodo, kad jei norime išsaugoti tvarką, įstatymus ir mūsų moralę, turime negailestingai susidoroti ne tik su nusikaltėliais, narkomanais, bet ir su asocialiais asmenimis, kitais ramybės drumstėjais.
3. Jeigu valdžia, kurią aš laikyčiau kompetentinga, nurodytų kovoti su žmonėmis ar veiksniais, kurie kelia pavojų mūsų visuomenėje, kiekvienas turėtų su ja sutikti.
4. Tik paklusnumas, drausmė ir tiesmukumas nuties kelią į gerą žmogaus gyvenimą.
5. Priežastis dėl kurios mes turime tiek daug sunkumų mūsų visuomenėje yra ta, kad tėvai šeimoje ir autoritetai valstybėje pamiršo, jog senosios gerosios fizinės bausmės vis dar yra puikiausia priemonė žmones nukreipti į teisingą kelią.
6. Ko reikia mūsų šaliai – tai stipraus griežto ir ryžtingo vadovavimo, kuris pažabotų blogį ir sugrąžintų mus į teisingą kelią.
7. Mūsų šalyje viešpatautų tvarka, jeigu laikytumėmės senų tradicijų, darytume taip, kaip mums sako šalies autoritetai, ir atsikratytume kitaip manančių, nepasitenkinimą išreiškiančių grupių.

Dovilė Petreikienė

The influence of Soviet imprints on the development of non-governmental organizations in a post-Soviet context [Sovietinių įspaudų įtaka nevyriausybinių organizacijų plėtrai posovietiniame kontekste]

Daktaro disertacija

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