

A Bridge Too Far?
Volunteering, Voluntary Associations, and Social Cohesion

Thesis submitted for the degree of *Doctor of Philosophy* in Sociology

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Thesis abstract

In this thesis, I seek to advance our knowledge about the factors that make people start and stop volunteer work, thus shedding light on the capacity of volunteering and voluntary associations to foster social cohesion. In particular, my goal is twofold: first, to reveal to what extent voluntary associations function as meeting places for people from different social backgrounds, and second, to assess the resilience of civic participation in the face of labor market experiences that might undermine such engagement.

I make three core contributions to the literature on voluntary association involvement. First, I pay special attention to the organizational contexts in which volunteers are embedded. Second, I adopt a dynamic approach, analyzing decisions to start and stop volunteering. Third, I attempt to disentangle alternative mechanisms that could drive the associations observed between volunteering and its potential determinants. Analyzing data from The Netherlands and the United States, my findings expose limits to the integrative capacity of voluntary association involvement.

As it turns out, the civic landscape is strongly segregated. People tend to sort into voluntary associations where they mostly meet people with similar characteristics as themselves. Such sorting occurs along multiple social dimensions, including educational attainment, religiosity, gender, and ethnicity. This constrains the opportunities for building relationships that cut across existing social boundaries. Indeed, these sorting processes can reproduce in the civic domain fault lines that dominate other spheres of life.

Furthermore, civic engagement and participation in the labor market are shown to be strongly intertwined, with the former breaking down when labor force exits occur. Voluntary association involvement is, therefore, of limited value for drawing labor force outsiders into public life. However, this chain of events does not necessarily unfold, as long as labor force outsiders retain aspirations to participate in social life.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This thesis aims to inform public debates on the value of volunteering and voluntary associations for social cohesion, by advancing our understanding of the factors that explain voluntary association involvement patterns.

Notwithstanding several scholars pointing to the potential ‘dark’ sides of voluntary association involvement and social capital (Portes 1998; Durlauf 1999), there is a general consensus that volunteering has positive payoffs for society as a whole (Putnam 2000). The most obvious channel through which this occurs is via the goods and services that volunteers produce, the benefits of which not solely accrue to themselves but also to others, whether those beneficiaries are members of the same voluntary association or members of society at large. On top of that, volunteers stand to receive additional value from their activities in the form of enhanced well-being, a richer social network, and an improved skills set, which could amongst others translate into greater success on the labor market. Finally, associational involvement carries the promise of nurturing the social fabric that ties together communities, by fostering values like solidarity and tolerance, and by stimulating contact between people who are unlikely to meet outside their voluntary associations.

Especially these social cohesion gains and the benefits of volunteering to volunteers themselves are often brought up in public debates about the value of volunteering and voluntary associations. This partly reflects the wide-ranging appeal of

such arguments across the political spectrum: the ‘left’ sees in these benefits of volunteering an avenue to lift up and integrate vulnerable groups in society, whereas the ‘right’ considers them as points in support of their case for a smaller government and leaving more social tasks to private initiatives. However, I argue that the conditions that need to be satisfied for the realization of such fruitful outcomes are often not spelled out very clearly, let alone submitted to critical empirical scrutiny to determine whether they are met in reality.

This is where my thesis steps in. Throughout the thesis I attempt to answer questions that are crucial for assessing the extent to which volunteering and voluntary associations can live up to their promise of promoting social cohesion and solidifying the social fabric underpinning our societies. In particular, the research that I present is inspired by two guiding questions, related to the inclusiveness or social integration potential of voluntary association involvement:

- 1. To what extent do voluntary associations provide a platform where people from different social backgrounds mingle, and social boundaries are overcome?*
- 2. Does volunteering play a role in keeping people at risk of social exclusion involved in social life, or is volunteering itself subject to erosion when circumstances are tough?*

In addressing these questions, I make a number of contributions to the scientific literature about the factors explaining voluntary association involvement, which help to advance our understanding of civic participation patterns.

1.1. Terms and definitions

Below I first provide some background to each of the aforementioned questions, followed by a description of the contributions that my study intends to make to the literature. Subsequently, I lay out the conceptual framework of the market for volunteering, which underlies many of the hypotheses presented throughout this thesis, and finally I introduce the three chapters that form the core of the dissertation. Yet, before elaborating on all these things, it is worthwhile to first share a few definitions. I do not do this with the purpose of giving any explicit judgment on what does and does not ‘count’ as volunteering or voluntary associations, but mainly to ensure that it is clear from the beginning what I am broadly thinking about when using these terms in the remainder of the thesis.

For the concept of volunteering, I consider the definition given by the International Labour Organization (ILO 2011:13) both concise and comprehensive. They define volunteer work as: “Unpaid non-compulsory work; that is, time individuals give without pay to activities performed either through an organization or directly for others outside their own household.” Accordingly, in order to be classified as volunteering, an activity should contribute in some way to the production of a good or service beyond one’s own personal enjoyment (it is work), while the volunteer has some choice regarding whether or not to take up the activity (it is non-compulsory), and does not directly stand to gain from it financially (it is unpaid). Although the definition does not impose any general restrictions on the beneficiaries of the volunteer work, it precludes activities directed towards members of one’s own household.

As pointed out, two types of volunteering can be distinguished, depending on whether it is done through an organization or on a more informal and individualistic basis for friends, acquaintances, neighbors, etc. My dissertation concentrates exclusively on formal volunteering, i.e. volunteering that is done through voluntary associations. The rationale behind this decision is that any social cohesion payoffs of volunteering are mainly attributed to this type of volunteering. Formal volunteer work is believed to offer more opportunities for bringing different social groups closer to each other, because the organized structure of voluntary associations tends to entail a wider social network, with more contact opportunities and sustained interaction among fellow volunteers (Putnam 2000). Nevertheless, research demonstrates that people engaged in informal volunteering often also volunteer for voluntary associations, and vice versa (Wilson and Musick 1997). Voluntary associations can in turn be shortly defined as ‘groups of people who share a common goal, which can be achieved through cooperation in repeated activities, and who are guided by established rules of membership’ (Van Ingen 2009:9). Examples include sports clubs, school organizations, neighbourhood associations, but also religious associations, political parties, and organizations oriented towards nature or the environment.

1.2. Political interest in volunteering and social mixing across associations

Volunteering and voluntary associations have received much attention in political circles since the turn of the century. Although this may sound somewhat paradoxical, given that the civic sphere is traditionally thought to fall outside the realm of the market and the state (Eliasoph 2013), many present-day policymakers do take an interest in these

forms of civic involvement, since they consider them an effective means in responding to several contemporary societal challenges.

One of the countries where this argument has been pursued most vigorously is the United Kingdom, under the reign of David Cameron and his Tory-LibDem government. In the campaign leading up to his election Cameron already made a big point of emphasizing the role of voluntary associations and civic initiatives for improving and empowering communities, coining the term ‘Big Society’ to describe his ideal. In a speech in March 2010, he presented his vision as follows: “It is about enabling and encouraging people to come together to solve their problems and make life better. (...) It is not the big state that will tackle our social [issues, ed.] and increase wellbeing. It is the Big Society.”, subsequently arguing that he wants every adult to be a member of an active neighbourhood association (Cameron 2010). In Cameron’s words one can clearly hear the echo of traditional liberalist arguments favouring private initiative over the welfare state for tackling social problems. At the same time, however, Cameron goes out of his way to clarify that he is not just advocating the Big Society for the sake of reducing government size, but that he firmly believes that increased civic engagement can contribute to more prosperous and vibrant communities, bringing community members closer to each other and instilling a sense of common identity and solidarity.

Whereas the notion of a Big Society was reasonably soon after its introduction in Britain denounced as ‘public relations guff’ when the Great Recession and the government’s austerity policies started to dominate the news (Telegraph 2015), the current Dutch coalition government of liberals and social democrats has more recently presented a very similar vision. Captured under the label of ‘Participation Society’, the policy aim is also here to foster active citizenship, with citizens and communities uniting

to solve problems in the public sphere. In the central briefing report outlining these ideas the government stresses that it considers increased civic participation a solution to both the inevitable downsizing of the welfare state – given budget constraints and limits to administrative capacities – as well as concerns about diminishing solidarity and social cohesion in an increasingly fragmented society. Once again, the policymakers rush to emphasize that it is not just all about spending cuts: “Honesty requires admitting that resource deficits are an important reason for the government to relinquish some of its activities and create opportunities for civic initiatives. Albeit this is a difficult process, it becomes much more bearable once we acknowledge the value of what we gain in return.” (Dutch Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations 2013:18).

The common thread across the British and Dutch examples is that there appears to be a strong belief among policymakers that civic engagement can improve social cohesion, and thus contribute to the prosperity of communities and the well-being of individuals. These effects are expected to manifest themselves via increased inter-group contact that results from rising levels of civic participation. If this reasoning is correct, policies promoting voluntary association involvement and other forms of participation could provide a counterweight to supposed threats to social cohesion such as increasing ethnic diversity and rising income inequality (Putnam 2007; Lancee and Van de Werfhorst 2012).

However, there are reasons to question the rosy image of voluntary associations as meeting places for people from all sorts of different social backgrounds. It is namely well-known that many types of social network ties – such as friendships and marriages, but for instance also advice relations at work – are structured according to the principle of homophily, which in its most general conception refers to individuals’ tendency to

associate with similar others (McPherson et al. 2001). It is not immediately evident why voluntary associations would be an exception to this rule. Indeed, even if it turns out that people from all sorts of different backgrounds get involved in volunteering, it still seems highly plausible that people more easily join associations of which the current members and volunteers have similar backgrounds as themselves. Moreover, volunteers may also be more likely to stay involved in such organizations, while they may be more inclined to leave organizations in which they share less common ground with their fellow volunteers.

Such sorting patterns could among other things be driven by people explicitly seeking voluntary associations that comprise many fellow volunteers like themselves, or result from the fact that people are more aware of such associations, or more likely to be asked to join them. Anyhow, regardless of the precise underlying mechanisms, social sorting across voluntary associations implies that the ‘bridging capacity’ of associations may be more limited than what the earlier mentioned policymakers presuppose. What is more, if volunteers from different social groups do indeed sort across different voluntary associations, it is even possible that stimulating more people to take up volunteer work could have the unintended consequence of reinforcing existing social boundaries, rather than breaking them down (cf. Verba, Brady, and Schlozman 1995; Lim 2010; DiMaggio and Garip 2011). Commentators in the UK have pointed at a similar phenomenon, arguing that the government’s Big Society efforts were especially successful in drawing people from more advantaged backgrounds into civic life, while failing to ‘target those in society who benefit least from society’, giving rise to a widening ‘Big Society gap’ (Civil Exchange 2015:64).

Previous research gives little empirical foundation for favouring the optimistic claims that civic engagement boosts inter-group contact over these more skeptical claims. In fact, the optimistic portrayals of voluntary association involvement as a pathway to increased social cohesion seem to derive their popularity most and for all from their rhetoric appeal. To be fair, though, more or less the same can be said for the reverse argument, as the more skeptical claims have neither been subjected to systematic empirical scrutiny. Hence, in the absence of systematic tests, both sides of the debate can offer convincing anecdotal evidence, but it remains difficult to come to a better overall understanding. Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis attempt to improve upon this state of affairs by utilizing large-scale survey data to explicitly test to what degree different social groups mix with each other in voluntary associations. The answer to this question determines the scope for inter-group contact and the formation of inter-group ties through volunteering.

1.3. Voluntary association involvement in the face of economic turmoil

As mentioned above, the economic austerity following the financial crisis of 2008-2009 played an important part in the public dismissal of David Cameron's Big Society plans. People felt these plans were political cheap talk, which did not deliver any true benefits, while the recession lingered on and unemployment rates remained high. In the midst of this hardship there was little excitement – to say the least – about the visions that the cabinet was sketching on the horizon about the empowerment of communities and thriving civic initiatives (Independent 2011). That said, and despite the Big Society now generally being regarded as a failure (e.g. Civil Exchange 2015), there is an argument

to be made that a strong associational infrastructure and an active social life may actually become more important under adverse economic circumstances.

Sampson (2012), for example, discusses in his study of Chicago neighborhoods how areas with a high density of voluntary organizations have fared relatively better during the Great Recession. They have been more resilient in terms of maintaining a vibrant social life and a sense of collective efficacy, as well as averting rises in housing foreclosures and violence as large as in the rest of the city. Importantly, it is their organizational infrastructure that sets these communities apart, rather than factors like racial segregation, economic deprivation, residential stability, or population density. As Sampson (2012:398) notes: “There may be no great wealth to transmit in Chatham and Avalon Park, but by cultivating a sense of ownership and cultural commitment to the neighbourhood, residents produce a social resource that feeds on itself and serves as a kind of independent protective factor and durable character that encourages action in the face of adversity.” This is a powerful illustration of how voluntary associations can help communities to brave rough economic weather.

Also from an individual point of view, volunteering and other civic activities can act as a buffer to social exclusion for people experiencing events of economic hardship. When losing a job, such activities offer social interaction that could compensate for the disappearance of work-related contacts, as well as opportunities for maintaining one’s skills level, which improve the chances of returning to a job in the future. Moreover, involvement in voluntary associations could reduce the psychological losses incurred upon experiencing job loss, by providing an alternative source from which one can derive a sense of meaning and purpose. In this context, Jahoda, Lazarsfeld, and Zeisel’s (2002[1933]) seminal study of the Austrian town of Marienthal during the 1930s

describes how women were psychologically better able than men to cope with the influence of unemployment. Women's sense of time and purpose was namely less strongly affected, since they still had childrearing responsibilities that structured their days. In a similar vein, civic engagement could be a channel through which socially vulnerable groups can be kept involved in social life.

In summary, after my earlier discussion of how voluntary association involvement might strengthen social cohesion by stimulating inter-group contact, we see here another but related potential gain for social cohesion. That is, if civic involvement indeed happens to dampen the disruptive impact of economic adversity on people's lives, it can help keeping individuals at risk of social exclusion actively involved in society. Nevertheless, it is also possible that civic participation itself is harmed by adverse economic events, which would undermine its capacity to cushion the disruptive impact of such events.

Jahoda et al.'s (2002[1933]) study presents evidence pointing in this direction. They observe that people's motivation to actively take part in civic organizations diminishes when confronted with economic hardship, which thus has a subversive influence on the vitality of civic life. More recently, Lim and Laurence (2015) have found that volunteering across England and Wales declined after the onset of the Great Recession, in spite of popular news media hailing the 'joys of old-fashioned neighbourliness' (Telegraph 2009) and a 'burst of neighboring' (Washington Post 2009) that allegedly surfaced during the recession. This evidence calls into question whether voluntary association involvement can fulfil its promise of providing social protection to communities and individuals struck by economic turmoil, or whether voluntary association involvement itself is eroded by economic adversity.

Just like for the capacity of voluntary organizations to contribute to the mingling of different social groups, however, the empirical basis for any claims about the associations between economic adversity and civic engagement is thin, or at least not without weaknesses. Chapter 4 of this thesis aims to illuminate some of these associations, by examining more comprehensively than has been done before how a range of labor market transitions are related to changes in civic participation, and which mechanisms could account for these relations. Longer-term trends of declining labor force participation (Aaronson et al. 2014), diminishing employment stability (Hollister 2011), and a rise in precarious employment (Kalleberg 2011) all add to the relevance of such an investigation.

1.4. Contributions of this thesis

In view of the potential consequences – positive and negative – that voluntary association involvement could have for social cohesion and social inequality, as well as the general lack of systematic empirical evidence to substantiate any claims in this regard, my thesis takes a step back by examining more closely who gets involved in volunteering to begin with, who stays involved, and for what sort of associations. More insights into the dynamics behind these selection processes can inform us about the potential of voluntary associations to be the ‘cure for nearly all social problems’ (Eliasoph 2013:9), or whether delivering all of their alleged benefits is a bridge too far.

With this mission in mind, my thesis makes three key contributions to the literature on civic participation, with a special focus on voluntary association involvement. Without wanting to overgeneralize, it is fair to state that most previous

research in this area has traditionally been concerned with cross-sectional analyses of the relationship between a wide array of individual-level characteristics (e.g. religiosity, educational attainment, gender, age, race and ethnicity, marital status, etc.) and whether or not someone does any kind of volunteer work at a single point in time (Musick and Wilson 2008). Notwithstanding the insights that this research has yielded, it also leaves a number of issues unaddressed; issues that are especially important when thinking about the potential consequences of voluntary association involvement for social cohesion and social inequality.

This thesis improves upon this situation by: first, paying more attention to the organizational contexts in which volunteers are embedded, in particular the social composition of their voluntary associations; second, adopting a more dynamic approach, analyzing decisions to start and stop volunteering instead of snapshots of involvement in voluntary work at a given point in time; and third, making an effort to disentangle alternative mechanisms that could underlie any of the patterns that we observe.

Making a distinction between the organizational contexts in which volunteers are embedded is of vital importance for advancing our understanding of the determinants as well as the potential consequences of voluntary association involvement. After all, as argued above, claims about the integration effects of civic involvement generally hinge on the assumption that voluntary associations are meeting places for people of different social backgrounds. Yet, earlier research that simply looks at volunteering for any type of organization is not able to comment on this assumption. For instance, even if research shows that people of different ethnicity are in general equally likely to be volunteers, this by no means implies that these people will also be involved in similar associations and thus be able to meet each other while volunteering. Therefore, if we want to learn more

about civic meeting opportunities, we have to investigate in more detail for which associations people volunteer.

This is exactly what I do in this thesis. More specifically, Chapter 2 investigates whether several established socio-demographic correlates of volunteering are differentially linked to volunteering for different types of organizations (e.g. organizations concerned with politics, work, religion, sports, etc.). Furthermore, Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 consider whether the social composition of different voluntary associations (in relation to one's own characteristics) matters for explaining volunteering decisions. The distinction between different types of organizations is not an entirely new addition to the literature. Especially the distinction between religious versus non-religious volunteering has often been acknowledged (e.g. Ruiter and De Graaf 2006; Borgonovi 2008; Lim and MacGregor 2012). In contrast, earlier work that distinguishes organizations by their social composition is virtually non-existent. There are only a few studies that address this issue (Popielarz and McPherson 1995; McPherson and Rotolo 1996), but those still leave room for further improvements.

My second core contribution is consistently applied throughout all empirical chapters, by examining *transitions* in people's volunteering status rather than *snapshots*, as is common across the vast majority of previous work in this area (see amongst others Rotolo (2000) and Lancee and Radl (2014) for exceptions). My dynamic perspective provides richer insights into the processes that drive variation in volunteering between social groups. For example, it enables us to determine whether religious people are more likely to be active as volunteers at any point in time because they are more likely to take up volunteering, or because they are less likely to quit after getting involved, or due to a combination of both processes. Since it is plausible that decisions to start and stop

volunteering are driven by distinct forces, each chapter of this thesis presents separate analyses for these two types of transitions.

This point is especially relevant for Chapter 4, in which the relationships between labor market transitions and changes in civic participation are addressed. It is indeed very well possible that the experience of specific labor market events (e.g. job loss) affects starting and stopping volunteering in contrasting ways. Recall in this context my earlier argument that volunteering could potentially act as a buffer against social exclusion, which might otherwise follow after adverse labor market events. If this reasoning is legitimate, an adverse labor market experience like job loss may diminish the probability of starting volunteering for individuals who are not yet civically active before experiencing this shock, while it may have no influence on the probability of quitting volunteering for those who are already embedded in civic life.

Looking at stopping decisions also tells us something about the duration of people's involvement in different organizations. Such information sheds further light on the bridging capacity of voluntary associations, since the opportunities for new contacts and the scope for building new relationships while volunteering are constrained by whether or not volunteers stay involved for a sustained period of time. It is, for example, unlikely that new inter-ethnic ties will be formed if an ethnic majority member does some one-off volunteering for an organization comprising many ethnic minority members. On the other hand, the chances that such ties materialize grow considerably if this ethnic majority member is involved in regular volunteering for that same organization over a span of two years.

The final benefit of focusing on changes in volunteering instead of static snapshots is that it offers more solid ground for testing causal hypotheses concerning the

determinants of volunteering. Although my analyses are generally still not fully able to rule out non-causal interpretations of the observed relationships, they are more useful than simple cross-sectional analyses, since they can at least identify the joint occurrence of changes in the dependent and independent variables. Such joint occurrence is often not a sufficient, but at least a necessary condition for a causal pathway between two variables.

On top of the abovementioned limitations, previous studies on voluntary association involvement have often struggled to put their finger on the explanatory mechanisms that drive the associations that are observed between volunteering and many other factors. The relationship between educational attainment and volunteering can be taken as an illustration. Even though the former is over and over again earmarked as the single most powerful predictor of volunteering (Musick and Wilson 2008), it still remains largely unclear what is behind this association (Hauser 2000; Campbell 2009; Brand 2010). Does it reflect that higher-educated individuals are more motivated to volunteer, possessing stronger civic values? Is the association explained by the higher-educated having richer stocks of skills and resources that facilitate them to get involved? Or is it due to the fact that voluntary associations are more eager to approach higher-educated individuals with recruitment requests? Similar ambiguities occur for other variables that could potentially explain volunteering patterns, including the role of ethnicity and labor market status.

Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 strive to go beyond this state of affairs, attempting to disentangle alternative mechanisms that could underlie, respectively, ethnic sorting across voluntary associations and the connection between labor market transitions and changes in volunteering. Coming to grips with these mechanisms helps to advance our understanding regarding the bridging capacity of voluntary associations as well as the

cushioning potential of voluntary association involvement following experiences of economic hardship.

All of my research goals impose stringent demands on the data that can be used for this study. In fact, data constraints are probably an important reason why previous research has not yet taken up several of these challenges. Trying to make progress as compared with previous research, I exploit in each empirical chapter a different data source: the Family Survey Dutch Population (FSDP; Chapter 2), the Netherlands Longitudinal Lifecourse Study (NELLS; Chapter 3), and the Current Population Survey (CPS). Each of these sources has its own strengths and weaknesses, which enable particular contributions while impeding others. Therefore, while none of the chapters can simultaneously implement all of the contributions I propose, they do complement each other, and jointly draw a rich picture of some of the selection processes into volunteering. The evidence that I present is thus valuable input for informing public debates about the impact of volunteering and voluntary associations on social cohesion.

In terms of geographic orientation, this thesis combines two studies on The Netherlands (Chapters 2 and 3) with one on the United States (Chapter 4). While it does not automatically follow that my findings can be generalized to other countries, I note that the general type of dynamics and mechanisms that I consider are certainly geographically transportable and likely to apply in other Western countries as well. Notwithstanding that the availability of appropriate data is an important consideration for focusing on these two countries, these countries are also interesting points of focus for more substantive reasons. For one thing, both of them have traditionally been known for their high rates of civic participation, particularly as far as volunteering through organizations is concerned (Putnam 2000; Pichler and Wallace 2007).

1.5. Conceptual framework: the market for volunteering

Before specifying the structure of the remainder of this thesis, it is useful to foreshadow the conceptual framework that functions as theoretical guide line throughout all chapters. In the absence of a dominant theoretical model that is consistently applied across the literature on volunteering, I propose here the market for volunteering as a framework for structuring our thoughts on people's decisions to start and stop volunteering for different voluntary associations. This framework selectively draws from various models of civic participation, as discussed by amongst others Verba et al. (1995) and Wilson (2000), and shares similarities with market models in the fields of social movements (Klandermans 2004), religion (Sherkat and Wilson 1995), and marriage (Kalmijn 1998).

The core idea is that on the market for volunteering matches are made between potential volunteers and voluntary associations. The former have voluntary labor to offer, while the latter supply volunteering opportunities. The behavior of potential volunteers as well as voluntary associations is governed by their preferences, their resources, and the external constraints they are confronted with. Matches between individuals and organizations result from the interplay of these forces. Although this market framework may not be the only lens through which involvement in voluntary associations can be examined, it is especially suitable for analyzing starting and stopping volunteering, as it provides clear and coherent predictions about the mechanisms that could be driving volunteering transitions.

The preferences of potential volunteers relate to their motives for getting and staying involved, based on desires to express certain values, to strengthen social

relationships, to improve career opportunities, etc. (Hwang, Grabb, and Curtis 2005). Their valuation of voluntary association involvement in relation to competing time uses such as paid work, household tasks, and involvement in more informal networks matters as well. The resources of potential participants comprise the amount of time and money they have at their disposal, but also less tangible assets like communication skills, and even psychological resources like efficacy perceptions. Social networks represent another important resource, providing support and advice, channeling information, reinforcing norms, and imposing group sanctions (Kalmijn 1998; Wilson and Musick 1997). The most prominent external constraint faced by potential participants concerns the menu of involvement opportunities available to them. The breadth and depth of this supply are heavily influenced by the local presence of voluntary associations. In this context, Rotolo and Wilson (2014) show that the density of non-profit organizations at the metropolitan level helps to explain volunteering rates across the US.

Ultimately, the aims of voluntary associations often boil down to the expansion, improvement, and/or continuity of their service provision. These goals are reflected in the numbers of volunteers and members that they are looking for, as well as the desired characteristics of prospective participants. Some organizations strive to enter new segments of the social spectrum, increasing their legitimacy across society, while others focus on strengthening the ‘niches’ they occupy (cf. Brady, Schlozman, and Verba 1999; McPherson and Rotolo 1996). One of the most important resources of voluntary organizations is their stock of current participants, who form a bridge via which associations can reach out to prospective participants. Indeed, Lim (2010) shows that political activists disproportionately target people who are easily reachable through the social networks of existing activists. Finally, the main external constraint faced by voluntary associations arises from the limited availability of (suitable) potential

participants, and competition from other associations for attracting and retaining those individuals (McPherson and Rotolo 1996; Sandell 2001).

1.6. *Structure of this thesis*

This thesis is structured around a collection of three journal-style articles, which form the core of the dissertation, and are labelled as Chapters 2 to 4. All chapters possess their own strengths and accordingly complement each other in contributing to the overall mission of this study to inform public debates on the potential role of volunteering and voluntary associations for enhancing social cohesion. Since the chapters are written in the format of journal-style article, they are all readable on their own, independently of each other. However, the flip side of the coin is that there is some unavoidable repetition across the different chapters.

My assessment of the bridging capacity of voluntary associations starts with Chapter 2 ('Volunteering Trajectories in The Netherlands 1980-2009; Starting and Quitting for Different Types of Associations'). Using retrospective life course data for the Netherlands, this chapter sheds light on the extent to which people from different social backgrounds mix with each other while volunteering, or to what extent social sorting across voluntary associations occurs. I focus in this context on the influence of educational attainment, religiosity, and gender. I examine whether these characteristics have different effects on starting and stopping volunteering for different organization types, and whether the strength of these effects has amplified or weakened across birth cohorts. Moreover, this chapter calls our attention to the role of the educational, religious, and gender composition of different association types for explaining people's decisions

to start and stop volunteering. As argued above, such social composition effects could exacerbate any pre-existing sorting of individuals with different characteristics into different associations.

Chapter 3 ('Segregation in Civic Life: Ethnic Sorting and Mixing across Voluntary Associations in The Netherlands') builds on the previous chapter. While examining voluntary association membership in addition to volunteering, this chapter zooms in on the ethnic dimension, by investigating decisions to join and leave associations of different ethnic composition, among individuals of Turkish, Moroccan, and native Dutch origin. As compared with Chapter 2, this chapter measures the social composition of voluntary associations at a more precise scale, i.e. at the level of individual organizations rather than aggregated by association type. On top of that, it goes much further in confronting alternative mechanisms that could be driving any social sorting across voluntary associations against each other.

Subsequently, there is a shift of geographic and substantive focus in Chapter 4 ('Out of the Labor Force, Out of Civic Life; Labor Market Transitions and Civic Participation in the United States 2002-2014'), when I turn to an investigation of the relationships between various labor market transitions and changes in civic participation, and especially volunteering. This analysis sheds light on the question whether economic hardship erodes civic engagement, or whether the latter is resilient to the influence of adverse labor market experiences, and might even represent a buffer to social exclusion following certain labor market transitions. In contrast to most previous work in this area, Chapter 4 adopts a dynamic approach, pays ample attention to the vast amount of heterogeneity that exists among the jobless population, and explores the influence of

several mechanisms through which participation in the labor market and participation in civic life may be connected.

Chapter 5 concludes this thesis. It summarizes my main findings and contributions, and gives an overview of what we have learned with respect to the public debates that I have referred to in the current chapter. Finally, it also presents recommendations and suggestions for future research on volunteering and voluntary associations.

Chapter 2

Volunteering Trajectories in The Netherlands 1980-2009:

Starting and Quitting for Different Types of Associations

Abstract

Voluntary association involvement is often claimed to foster social cohesion by bringing together people from different social backgrounds. Despite the popularity of such assertions, both in academic and public policy circles, the underlying assumption that people from different backgrounds mix with each other in voluntary associations has hardly been submitted to critical empirical scrutiny. In response to this, our study uses longitudinal data for The Netherlands on individuals' decisions to start and quit volunteering to investigate to what extent such mixing occurs, or to what extent sorting is taking place. First, we examine whether individuals' educational attainment, religiosity, and gender have different effects on starting and quitting decisions for different organization types, and whether there have been trends across birth cohorts in this regard. We find that especially the influence of gender and religiosity strongly differs depending on the type of organization under consideration, suggesting that individuals with different characteristics sort into different types of voluntary organizations. Second, building on network-based arguments for explaining volunteering, we analyze whether the social composition of voluntary organizations affects individuals' volunteering decisions. In line with the principle of homophily, we find that individuals are more likely to start volunteering for organizations of which the current volunteers are more similar to

themselves in terms of education level and religious background. Furthermore, volunteers are more likely to quit when there are fewer fellow-volunteers of the same sex. These social composition effects exacerbate the sorting of individuals with different characteristics into different types of associations.

2.1. Introduction

The idea that civic participation promotes social cohesion has a longstanding history (De Toqueville 1994 [1835-40]), and is arguably more popular today than ever before, both in academic (Putnam 2000) as well as public policy circles (Cameron 2010; United Nations 2012). Volunteering for voluntary associations is one of the core constituents of the broader concept of civic participation. It can range from door-to-door fundraising for an environmental association to coaching a junior soccer team, and from assisting on school trips through a parents-teachers organization to organizing community activities for a neighborhood association, but at least occurs on a voluntary, unpaid basis, and goes beyond mere membership of a voluntary association. Such volunteering is traditionally believed to teach people civic skills and values, and to foster social integration and cohesion (Putnam 2000; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995), although some authors have argued that such claims are too bold and need to be qualified (e.g. Eliasoph 2013; Glanville 2004; Park and Subramanian 2012; Skocpol 2003; Stolle and Rochon 1998). Considering the continuing public appeal of the notion that voluntary association involvement serves as a vehicle for improving social cohesion, it is no surprise that recent assertions about declining levels of volunteering have been received with great

concern (Putnam 2000). There is now an abundance of research testing whether volunteering has declined over time or across birth cohorts, yielding mixed findings (Andersen, Curtis, and Grabb 2006; Baer, Curtis, and Grabb 2001), and we have learnt a lot about which individual-level characteristics make people more likely to engage in volunteering in general. However, other questions concerning volunteering have hardly been addressed.

Against this background, the present study aims to acquire more insights into who volunteers for which (type of) association, and how the social composition of associations affects volunteering decisions. By answering these questions, we can gain more insights about the extent to which people with different characteristics mix with each other in voluntary associations, and thus the capacity of volunteering to enhance social cohesion. After all, assertions of the cohesion-breeding consequences of volunteering are founded upon the idea that volunteering promotes the formation and strengthening of bridging ties, by bringing together people that otherwise would not have developed relationships with each other. Yet, this claim remains to be substantiated empirically. This point has been raised before by, amongst others, Glanville (2004), Skocpol (2003), and Stolle and Rochon (1998), but whilst these authors concentrate on associational membership, our study instead focuses on volunteering, which is a higher-cost type of involvement that tends to entail more contact among the individuals involved (Musick and Wilson 2008).

Contrary to most research on volunteering, our study adopts a dynamic approach, and analyses individuals' decisions to start *and* quit volunteering during the life course, instead of simple snapshots of who volunteers at a given point in time. Such a dynamic approach enables us to observe what sort of dynamics are beneath the regularly observed cross-sectional patterns in volunteering (e.g. Are higher-educated people more likely to

volunteer at a given point in time because they are more likely to start, less likely to quit, or a combination of both?). Furthermore, it sheds light on the duration of individuals' involvement, which seems crucial for whether or not new ties may be formed while volunteering.

We start off by addressing the impact of individuals' characteristics on their decisions to start and quit volunteering for different types of organizations. Hence we aim to find out whether individuals with different characteristics sort into different types of voluntary associations or selectively disengage from them. For example, are higher-educated people more likely to start volunteering for political associations but lower-educated people more likely to start volunteering for religious associations? And are women more likely to quit volunteering for labor-related organizations but less likely to quit school organizations? We also examine whether there have been any changes across birth cohorts in this respect.

This part of our analysis builds on earlier work by Rotolo (2000) and Ruiter (2008), who also study the determinants of joining and leaving decisions, focusing on the influence of transitions to marriage and parenthood (Rotolo 2000) and individual-level religiosity and religious contexts (Ruiter 2008). Their findings underscore the value of adopting a dynamic approach and separately studying starting and quitting transitions. While Rotolo (2000) for instance shows that getting married positively affects the chance of joining associations as well as the chance of subsequently staying involved, Ruiter (2008) demonstrates that the positive effect of religiosity on volunteering solely operates by stimulating the chance of joining. Our analysis contributes to this body of literature, zooming in on (partly) different factors than the abovementioned authors, distinguishing

between a wider range of voluntary associations that people can join and leave, and looking at how the influence of various determinants has changed across generations.

Moreover, we address whether the social composition of voluntary organizations, as determined by the characteristics of their current volunteers, plays a role in explaining individuals' volunteering decisions. In this context, scholars have argued that people have homophilous preferences and are more likely to volunteer for organizations to which they are already connected through their personal networks (Brady, Schlozman, and Verba 1999; Clary et al. 1998). Our general expectation is therefore that individuals are more likely to start and less likely to quit volunteering for associations that are more similar to them in terms of social composition. Our study is the first to explicitly scrutinize this implication of the homophily principle in the context of volunteering.

In doing so, we extend work by McPherson and colleagues from the 1990s (Popielarz and McPherson 1995; McPherson and Rotolo 1996). Those authors develop an ecological framework of competition between voluntary associations for attracting and retaining members, with the goal to explain how organizational 'niches' (i.e. their social composition) evolve over time. Our study deviates from this previous work on a couple of vital points. First, we concentrate more on the individual starting and quitting decisions underlying any evolution in organizational niches, as opposed to the organization-based focus of McPherson and colleagues. Moreover, we look at volunteering instead of memberships, the former of which represents a stronger form of commitment that generally requires more personal sacrifices and involves more intense interaction with co-members. Furthermore, we simultaneously assess the impact of the social composition of voluntary associations along multiple dimensions, and control for the individual-level impact of these social characteristics on individuals' starting and quitting decisions.

In our empirical analysis we focus on the impact of individuals' educational attainment, religiosity, and gender as well as the social composition of voluntary organizations along these three dimensions. We concentrate on educational attainment, religiosity, and gender, because those characteristics consistently show up as important determinants of volunteering behavior (Musick and Wilson 2008). In addition, voluntary associations are expected to differ considerably in their social composition along those lines, and there may have been significant changes over time in this respect, fueled by the pronounced trends of educational expansion, gender emancipation, and secularization that have taken place in most Western societies.¹

We analyze data from the 2000 and 2009 waves of the Family Survey Dutch Population – FSDP (De Graaf et al. 2000; Kraaykamp, Wolbers, and Ruiter 2009). The FSDP is a unique data source when it comes to volunteering, containing for more than 4000 individuals retrospective life course information on their involvement in ten different types of voluntary associations, including professional organizations, political parties, religious groups, school organizations, and sports clubs. To our best knowledge, only the Voluntary Associations and Social Networks in Ten Towns in Nebraska survey conducted by McPherson and colleagues in the 1980s comes anywhere close to the FSDP as a longitudinal data source on volunteering in terms of the number of association types and years covered. As such, the FSDP enables us to address questions that cannot be tackled using other data sources. From this perspective, our study should also be of interest to researchers outside The Netherlands.

¹ Ethnicity would be another interesting characteristic to look at, but our data source does not contain enough ethnic minority respondents for such an analysis. Age is omitted from our analysis because it is methodologically complicated to include this factor due to its high correlation with the time at risk and birth cohort variables (see section 2.3.3).

2.2. *Theory and hypotheses*

2.2.1. *Conceptual framework: the market for volunteering*

We can think of individuals' decisions to start and quit volunteering as taking place within the conceptual framework of the market for volunteering, where voluntary labor is traded. Like any other market, the market for volunteering essentially brings together two types of actors, viz. those who supply voluntary labor (i.e. potential volunteers) and those who demand voluntary labor (i.e. voluntary associations). Both types of actors aim to optimally satisfy their preferences given a set of constraints.

The preferences of potential volunteers may include the desire to express or act on certain values, to strengthen social relationships, to improve their career opportunities, or simply to feel better about themselves (Clary et al. 1998). Their constraints are shaped by their individual resources, such as their income, time, and cognitive skills, but also by the range of volunteering opportunities that they can choose from.

The core preference of voluntary associations, on the other hand, is to attract volunteers in order to be able to deliver the products or services that their associations are concerned with. They may have specific preferences for certain types of volunteers, for example for people who are rich in resources (e.g. cognitive skills, time, money, and social networks) or who possess qualities that match or complement those of their current volunteers. Their constraints originate from the limited supply of (suitable) potential volunteers as well as from the extent to which those volunteers can be reached. Voluntary associations compete with each other for volunteers (cf. McPherson and Rotolo 1996; Popielarz and McPherson 1995).

Current volunteers form a bridge between the supply and demand sides of the market for volunteering. Potential volunteers may feel more inclined to volunteer for organizations of which the current volunteers have similar characteristics as themselves. Current volunteers also affect – via their social networks – potential volunteers’ awareness of different volunteering opportunities, and how easily they can be reached by voluntary organizations. We can draw a parallel here with the marriage market, where many partners find each other via common friends or acquaintances.

We distinguish two types of ‘transactions’ that take place on the market for voluntary labor, viz. starting and quitting decisions. The mechanisms that underlie these two types of decisions do not need to be the same. Rotolo (2000) illustrates this point in his study about the influence of shifts in parental and marital status on transitions in voluntary association membership, and Klandermans (1997, 99) makes a similar argument when discussing protest movement dynamics: “Psychologically speaking, it is too simple to assume that disengagement is the opposite of engagement, if only because, in the course of participation, a certain level of commitment develops which interacts with levels of gratification.” Besides, when we analyze who quits volunteering, we are by definition only looking at individuals who have become volunteers at some point in the past, and this is only a select subset of the population that we are looking at when analyzing starting decisions.

2.2.2. The characteristics of volunteers

The general associations between a wide array of individual-level characteristics and being a volunteer at a single point in time are well-established. Focusing on our characteristics of interest, educational attainment is usually found to be the strongest

predictor of doing any voluntary work, followed by church attendance; see for example Musick and Wilson's (2008) extensive review study. The higher one's education and the more frequently one attends church, the higher the likelihood of volunteering. Additionally, there are strong indications that Protestants and to a lesser extent Catholics are generally more likely to volunteer than people who are not religiously affiliated, with the position of people from other denominations in this hierarchy depending on the country under consideration (Bekkers and Schuyt 2008; Lim and MacGregor 2012). The impact of gender also varies across countries, but women are often found to be more likely to volunteer than men (Musick and Wilson 2008).

In line with these findings from cross-sectional research, our initial hypothesis relating to the impact of individuals' own characteristics reads:

H1: (a) Educational attainment, (b) religiosity, and (c) being female are positively associated with starting volunteering, and negatively associated with quitting volunteering.

Nevertheless, there are reasons to believe that the effects of educational attainment, religiosity, and gender on starting versus quitting decisions are not symmetric. On top of that, it is plausible that the relevance of each of these characteristics varies across association types, and has changed over time. Hence, we formulate a number of alternative hypotheses that qualify the general hypothesis as set out under H1.

First, let us consider the contrast between starting and quitting decisions. As far as the effect of educational attainment on starting decisions is concerned, both supply-side and demand-side mechanisms point in the same direction: higher-educated individuals have more civic values and resources, and are more likely targets of recruitment efforts. However, for quitting decisions the story is less coherent. While

higher-educated individuals' larger stock of civic values should make them less likely to quit, they are also geographically more mobile and more likely targets of recruitment efforts by other organizations, making them more likely to quit. Following this train of thought, we expect the positive effect of educational attainment on starting decisions to be stronger than its negative effect on quitting decisions, assuming that educational attainment has any effect on quitting at all. Moreover, while women may be more likely to start volunteering than men, in line with cross-sectional differences observed between men and women, we anticipate them to be more likely to quit as well. This is because we expect the presence of children in the household to have a more disruptive impact on women's voluntary association involvement than on men's – just as it has on women's labor market participation –, since many childrearing tasks are still predominantly carried out by women (Poortman and Van der Lippe 2009). In addition, caring tasks for elderly relatives and friends are concentrated among women as well, further reducing the time that they have left for formal volunteering and increasing their propensity to quit volunteer work. With regard to the influence of religiosity, it is *prima facie* harder to come up with arguments for differential effects on starting and quitting. Nonetheless, it is worthwhile to note that Ruiter (2008) does find a positive effect of religious belonging on joining voluntary associations in The Netherlands, but no effect on leaving.

A second set of qualifications to H1 concerns variation in the impact of educational attainment, religiosity, and gender on volunteering decisions across different types of voluntary associations. We expect that educational attainment has a stronger impact on volunteering transitions for organizations whose activities require relatively many cognitive resources (e.g. political associations and advocacy groups) than for organizations where cognitive skills are less important like sport clubs. Furthermore, we expect the effect of religiosity to be particularly pronounced for religious associations and

more value-based, ideological organizations. Religious people do not have a monopoly on values like solidarity and compassion, but we do assume that, in general, such values act as stronger guiding principles for more religious people. In line with traditional gender role patterns, we additionally expect women to be more likely to start and less likely to quit volunteering for child- and family-related associations as compared with men, while the reverse holds true for volunteering in work-related and political domains.

Finally, we anticipate that the impacts of individuals' characteristics on volunteering decisions are not uniform across birth cohorts. For example, modernization theory would predict the influence of attained characteristics like educational qualifications to have risen across birth cohorts as compared with ascribed characteristics like social class background, reflecting a move towards a more meritocratic society. Secondly, we hypothesize that in times of secularization only the most committed believers stay religious, causing any differences in volunteering between religious and non-religious people to amplify across birth cohorts. Thirdly, any gender imbalances in people's volunteering behavior are expected to have weakened over time as a result of the general societal trend of gender emancipation, expressing itself among other things in increased female labor force participation.

2.2.3. The social composition of voluntary associations

Although organizational characteristics have been demonstrated to affect monetary donations to organizations (Kinsbergen, and Tolsma 2013), and receive a lot of attention among social movement scholars (Corrigall-Brown 2013; Klandermans 1997), they have widely been ignored as potential predictor of donations of time (i.e. volunteering). There have been a few studies that refer to network-related arguments for

explaining volunteering decisions (e.g. Lim and MacGregor 2012; Ruiter and De Graaf 2006), but these studies do not directly address the impact of the social composition of voluntary organizations – or other organizational characteristics – in their empirical analyses. Popielarz and McPherson (1995), on the other hand, do address this impact in their study of membership transitions, and find that individuals are more likely to quit their membership of a particular type of association if their gender and education level is atypical as compared with other members of such associations. Yet, these authors neither consider volunteering nor starting transitions, and do not control for the individual-level effect of gender and education, which might well confound their results.

Nevertheless, our general hypothesis goes in the same direction as the findings of Popielarz and McPherson (1995). On the basis of our sketch of the volunteering market as well as the fact that the principle of homophily (which in its most general conception refers to people's tendency to associate with similar others) is known to structure many kinds of network ties (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001), we hypothesize:

H2: People are more likely to start and less likely to quit volunteering for associations of which the social composition in terms of (a) educational attainment, (b) religiosity, and (c) gender more closely mimics their own characteristics.

Such composition effects could be driven by several mechanisms. From a supply-side perspective, individuals are expected to prefer volunteering for associations that comprise more volunteers with similar socio-demographic characteristics. People will more readily identify with such fellow participants, and find them more trustworthy and easier to communicate with. In turn, if the social distance to other volunteers in one's association increases, one may feel more alienated, thus becoming more likely to quit. Think for example about higher-educated volunteers for a sports club that used to be

dominated by higher-educated volunteers but that is gradually shifting to a lower-educated volunteer base. In a similar vein, social movement scholars find that one of the primary causes of disengagement from protest movements is a lack of (gratifying) interaction with fellow participants, which will be more common as one's fellow participants are more different (Corrigall-Brown 2013; Klandermans 1997).

The hypothesized composition effects could also operate via the constraints faced by potential volunteers. Considering that many network ties (e.g. related to marriage, friendship, work, and the neighborhood) tend to be structured along the same socio-demographic lines (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001), people are probably more aware of volunteering opportunities for associations that contain more volunteers sharing their own characteristics, because they have partners, friends, colleagues or other acquaintances in such associations.

From a demand-side perspective, we expect voluntary associations to be selective in their recruitment strategies, disproportionately targeting – consciously or unconsciously – people with similar characteristics as their current volunteers. In this context, Brady, Schlozman, and Verba (1999) argue that political activists recruit new activists through a process of ‘rational prospecting’. This makes people with characteristics that are already overrepresented in the movement more likely targets of recruitment: as these people are more likely to be part of the personal networks of current participants, they are easier to approach, more likely to respond positively to recruitment requests, and more likely to participate successfully once they get involved. Such selective recruitment arguments apply to voluntary associations as well. The abundant evidence singling out ‘being asked’ as the most important reason for people to start volunteering reinforces these expectations (Wilson and Musick 2008).

Regardless of which of these mechanisms is dominant, our primary goal here is to establish whether the social composition of voluntary associations has any effect on people's volunteering decisions, and if so, along which social dimensions. Again, we also propose a modification to our general hypothesis H2. In particular, we expect the social composition of voluntary associations to have a stronger impact on starting than on quitting decisions. The reason for this is that everyone who has started volunteering for a particular organization has already made some commitment to this organization, and was apparently satisfied about the composition of the organization at the time they started volunteering. If we subsequently take into account that both the composition of the organization and the preferences of individuals are expected to change only gradually, quitting decisions will be less responsive to the social composition of the organization under consideration than starting decisions.

2.3. *Data and methods*

2.3.1. *Data source*

For our empirical analysis we use data from the 2000 and 2009 waves of the Family Survey Dutch Population – FSDP (De Graaf et al. 2000; Kraaykamp, Wolbers, and Ruiter 2009). Each wave contains retrospective life course questions about a variety of issues, including voluntary association involvement, as part of an oral interview. A two-stage sampling procedure is applied, first drawing a sample from all municipalities in The Netherlands, and subsequently a sample of inhabitants aged 18 to 70 years from the selected municipalities, with an oversampling of cohabiting couples. The 2000 and 2009 waves together cover 4343 respondents, with an overall net response rate at the

household level of 45.3 percent. This response rate is well in line with other Dutch surveys. Comparisons of the FSDP data with population data for The Netherlands for 2000 and 2009 indicate that the FSDP samples are largely representative of the Dutch population, after accounting for its intended oversampling of cohabiting couples (De Graaf et al. 2000 and Kraaykamp, Wolbers, and Ruiter 2009).

2.3.2. *Volunteering data*

The FSDP represents a unique data source when it comes to volunteering. It maps involvement histories over the life course, and does so while distinguishing between ten different types of voluntary associations, in the fields of work, politics, religion, community and society, nature and the environment, music and drama, youth, school, sports, and other.

All respondents in the FSDP are asked whether they have ever been a volunteer for each of the aforementioned association types, and if so, when these volunteering episodes started and finished. These data are to some degree subject to censoring: the 2009 wave only records a maximum of two volunteering episodes per person per association type, and for the 2000 wave this number equals only one. However, the small number of individuals who report more than one volunteering episode per association type in the 2009 wave (see Table 2.2) suggests that the number of episodes that we fail to observe is very small.

For our analyses we have examined volunteering episodes over the period 1980 to 2009, for individuals aged 25 to 70. Applying these restrictions, and excluding

immigrant respondents and respondents with missing values on any of the explanatory variables, our sample of analysis covers 3937 respondents.²

2.3.3. *Explanatory variables*

The first set of explanatory variables that we include in our analyses concern respondents' individual-level characteristics. As pointed out already, we focus on educational attainment, gender, and religiosity. These factors are among the strongest determinants of volunteering, while we also expect considerable variation across organizations in their composition along these dimensions, and there may be variation over time in their importance. We additionally include several control variables like parental, marital, and employment status. These variables also consistently show up as predictors of volunteering (Musick and Wilson 2008), and they may be correlated with the abovementioned factors of interest. To ensure that we pick up the true influence of the factors of interest rather than these controls, it is important to include them in the analyses. We measure all individual-level characteristics as follows:

- *Educational attainment*: We have converted respondents' highest level of education attained into a time-invariant, continuous variable measuring years of education, centered on its mean. Although one's highest level of education may still change after the age of 25, we do not consider it problematic to treat educational attainment as time-invariant, as such changes are very rare.³

² There are 71 respondents aged below 25 at the time of the interview, and 252 immigrant respondents; an additional 83 respondents are dropped due to missing values on one or more of the explanatory variables (i.e. 2.1 percent of the remaining sample).

³ Over the two FSDP waves only 128 respondents (about 2.9 percent of the total sample) have at the age of 25 not yet finished or at least enrolled in the educational program that will be their 'final destination' in terms of educational attainment.

- *Religiosity*: For capturing the behavioral dimension of religiosity we include a continuous service attendance variable, measuring how many times per year the respondent approximately visits church. The belonging dimension of religiosity is operationalized by a set of dummy variables for the following denomination categories: Protestant, Catholic, other, no religion but religious before turning 25, and no religion and never religious before. The latter category is the reference category in our analyses. All of the religiosity measures are time-invariant. This is because the FSDP 2009 does not provide any time-varying information on religious affiliations and attendance, but seems a justifiable assumption. Research on secularization in The Netherlands shows that the vast majority of decisions to leave church are taken when people are 15 to 20 years old, and reductions in church attendance usually occur prior to this decision (Need and De Graaf 1996). Amongst people who are still religiously affiliated after the age of 25 attendance tends to remain fairly stable according to this research.⁴
- *Gender*: We include a dummy variable for being female.
- *Marital status* is included via time-varying dummy variables for being married or cohabiting; widowed, divorced, or separated; or single and never having been married or cohabited before. The latter group is the reference category.
- *Parental status* is accounted for by a time-varying continuous variable measuring the number of children of the respondent as well as by two time-varying dummy variables for having, respectively, any children aged 0 to 3 and 4 to 12. In The Netherlands children aged 0 to 3 do not go to school yet, while 4 to 12 is the age range for primary school.

⁴ Amongst all respondents to the 2000 wave of the FSDP, less than 5 percent leaves church after age 25.

- *Employment and occupational status* are combined into one time-varying categorical variable. This indicator divides employed respondents into four classes on the basis of the quartile of the ISEI (International Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status) distribution that they fall into. People who are not employed are classified as being unemployed or disabled, retired, or in another situation (the last group consists for 70 percent of people full-time engaged in household work).
- *Birth year* is included as a continuous variable centered on its mean. For reasons of presentation we have divided this variable by a factor 10, so that its measurement units represent decades.
- *Volunteer for another association type* is a time-varying dummy variable that indicates whether or not the respondent is a volunteer for any other type of association than the one under consideration.
- *Time at risk* measures for each year how many years an individual has been at risk of experiencing a starting or quitting event for each of the association types. By only including this variable for time at risk, we model the effects of time in a simple linear fashion. Our core results do not change if we add quadratic terms or spline variables for modeling the influence of time at risk. See section 2.3.4 for our definitions of being at risk of starting and quitting.

Descriptive statistics for all of these variables except ‘time at risk’ and ‘volunteer for another association type’ are presented in Table 2.1 (calculated for the year in which respondents were interviewed).

Table 2.1 Descriptive statistics for individual-level predictors (N = 3937)

<i>Variables</i>		<i>Mean / %</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Min</i>	<i>Max</i>
Birth year	Raw variable	1957.43	11.53	1929	1984
	Centered and measured in decades	0	1.15	-2.84	2.66
Years of education	Raw variable	10.34	3.43	6	16.5
	Centered	0	3.43	-4.34	6.16
Church attendance (times per year)		8.94	22.54	0	104
Religious denomination	Never religious	29%			
	Religious before	29%			
	Roman Catholic	24%			
	Protestant	14%			
	Other religion	4%			
Female		50%			
Marital status	Single (never married or cohabited)	5%			
	Married or cohabiting	90%			
	Widowed, divorced or separated	5%			
Parental status	Number of children	1.81	1.24	0	10
	Any children aged 0-3	13%			
	Any children aged 4-12	25%			
Employment /	Employed bottom ISEI quartile	13%			
Occupational status	Employed second ISEI quartile	17%			
	Employed third ISEI quartile	14%			
	Employed top ISEI quartile	20%			
	Unemployed / disabled	6%			
	Retired	7%			
	Household and other	23%			

Notes: Descriptive statistics have been calculated for the year in which respondents were interviewed, i.e. 2000 or 2009. Only the centered versions of ‘Years of education’ and ‘Birth year’ are included in regressions; their raw versions are merely presented here for descriptive purposes.

The second set of explanatory variables are time-varying indicators for the degree of similarity between respondents’ educational, religious, and gender characteristics and the average characteristics of volunteers for each type of voluntary association along these dimensions. For this purpose, we first calculate for every association type and every year the average levels of educational attainment and church attendance as well as the gender and religious denomination proportions among current volunteers; we do this using

respondents' involvement reports. These calculations are on average based on 117 volunteers per association type per year, varying from 35 for political associations in 1980 to 392 for sports clubs in 2000.

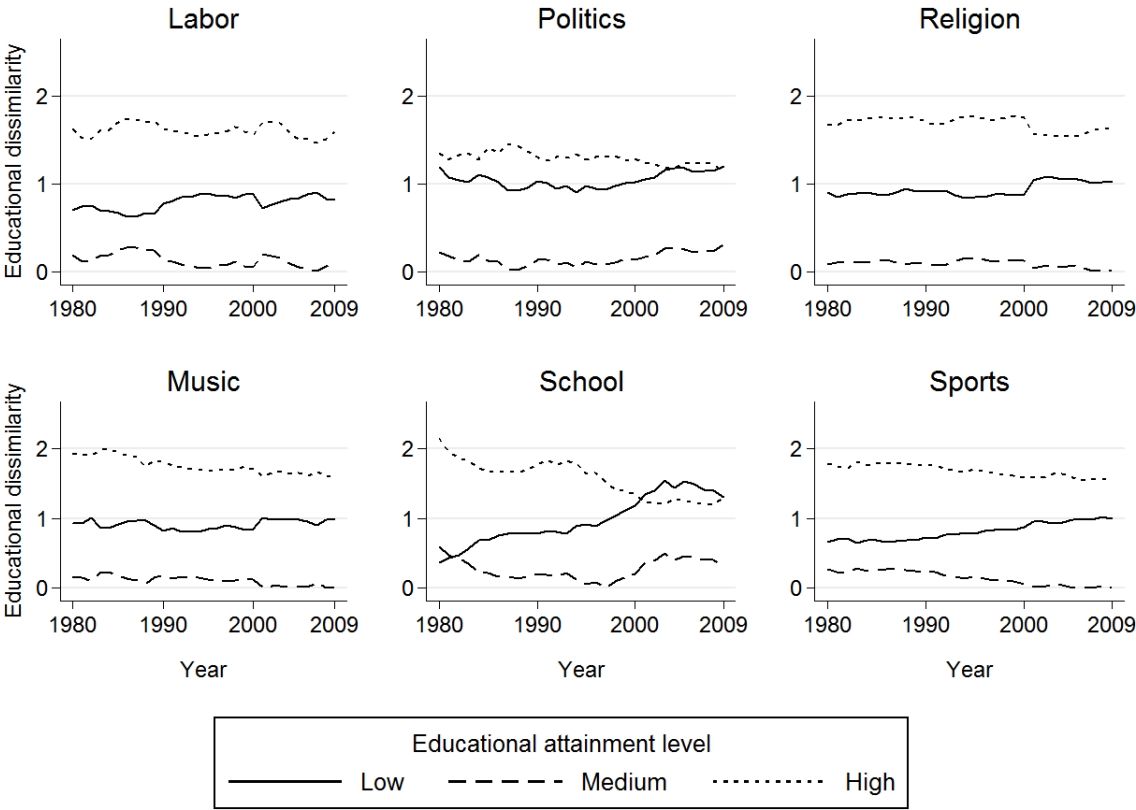
For educational attainment and church attendance we subsequently construct Z-scores for measuring the degree of dissimilarity: we calculate for every year the absolute value of the difference between a respondent's characteristic and the average value of that particular characteristic among volunteers within each association type, and divide this absolute value by the standard deviation of that characteristic within the respective association type. The standardization is introduced to account for the fact that the amount of dissimilarity as perceived by potential volunteers likely depends on the degree of diversity in the social composition of the association types. For the categorical variables religious denomination and gender the dissimilarity indicators measure the proportion of volunteers for each association type that belong to a different denomination or gender category than the respondent.

Our standardized distance measures for educational attainment and church attendance treat positive and negative deviations from the average characteristics among volunteers for a given organization type the same, by taking the absolute value of these deviations. In principle it would be possible to generate hypotheses that predict different effects on volunteering decisions for positive versus negative deviations, but such hypotheses are beyond the scope of this paper. Likewise, our indicator for dissimilarity in terms of religious denomination does not account for the relative share of different denominations in one's religious out-group.

Figures 2.1 to 2.4 depict how the dissimilarity scores vary across organization types, over time, and as a function of respondents' individual-level characteristics. In

section I of the supplement to this chapter we demonstrate the validity of the social composition estimates underlying these dissimilarity measures by comparing them to (1) respondents’ subjective estimates of the educational composition of the organizations they belong to, and (2) social composition estimates constructed on the basis of a different survey with a repeated cross-sectional design (viz. the Amenities and Services Utilization Surveys 1979-2007, administered by the Netherlands Institute for Social Research).

Figure 2.1 Educational dissimilarity across organization types and over time, for individuals with different levels of educational attainment



Note: ‘Low’, ‘Medium’, and ‘High’ categories correspond to 8, 11.25, and 16.5 years of education.

Figure 2.2 Church attendance dissimilarity across organization types and over time, for individuals with different levels of church attendance

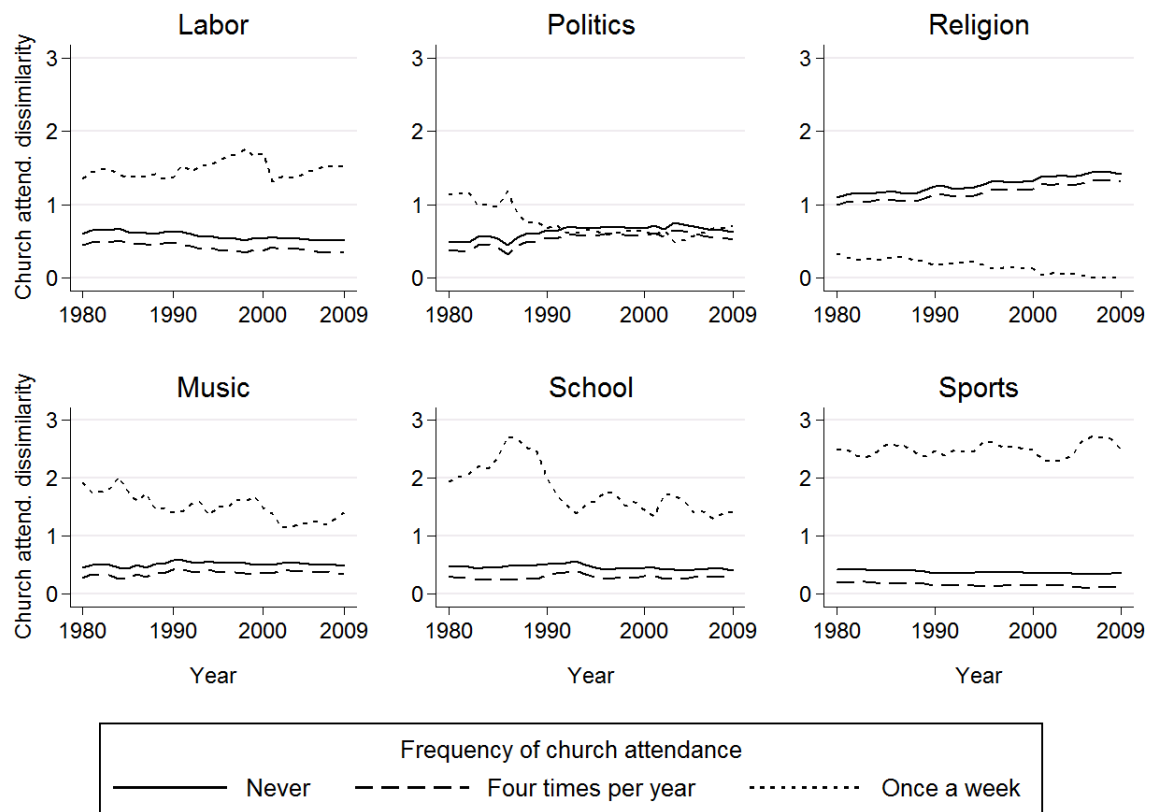
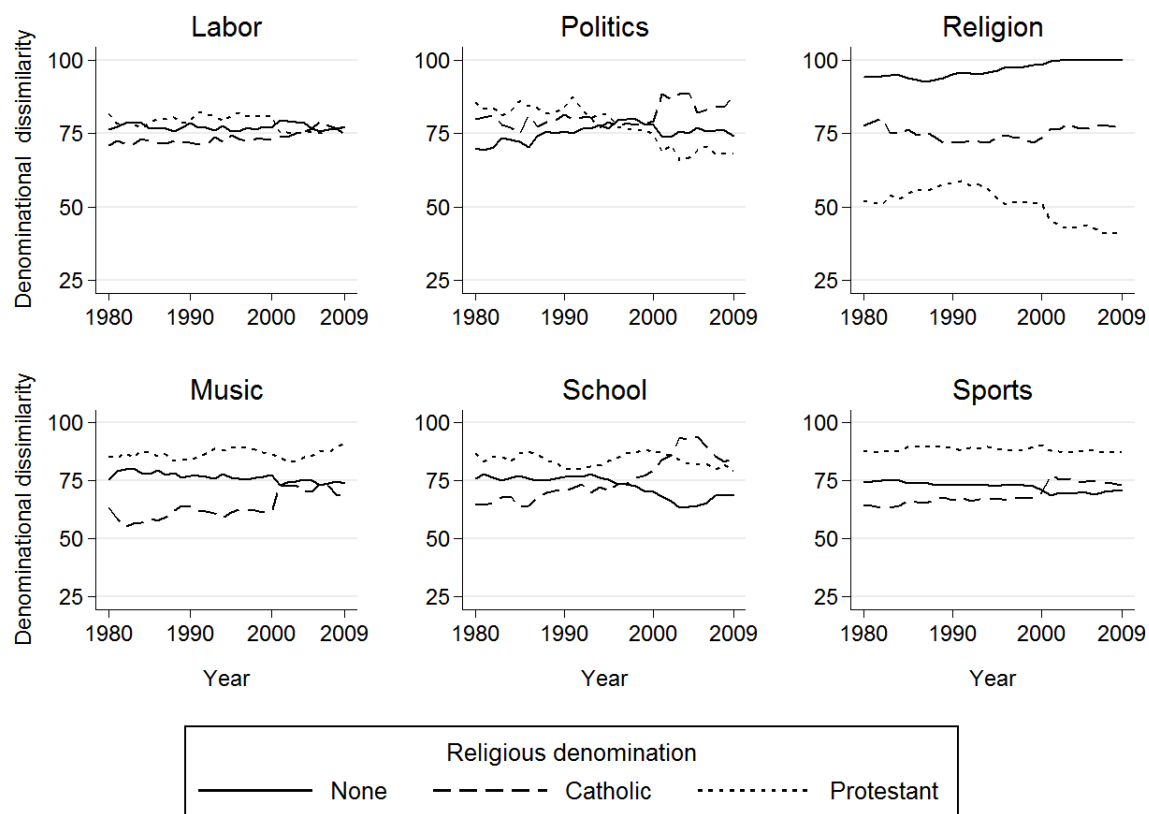
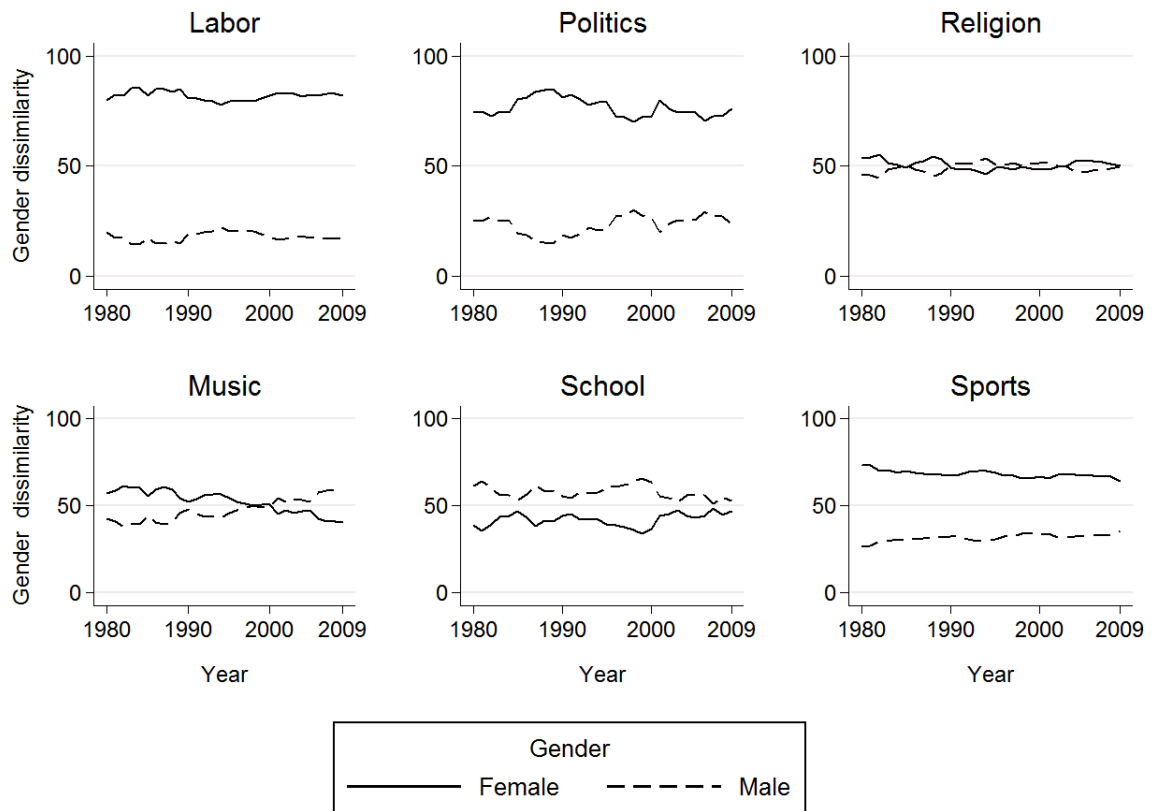


Figure 2.3 Religious denomination dissimilarity across organization types and over time, for individuals of different religious denominations



Note: 'None' category comprises people who have never been religious and those who have left church.

Figure 2.4 Gender dissimilarity across organization types and over time, by gender



2.3.4. Method of analysis

Exploiting the longitudinal design of the FSDP data, we model people's decisions to start and quit volunteering for the different association types by employing multilevel discrete-time event history techniques. More specifically, we estimate recurrent events models, and we do this for starting and quitting decisions separately. These models allow for the fact that individuals may experience these events for multiple types of associations as well as more than once per association type during their life course.

Individuals can be simultaneously at risk of starting or quitting volunteering for multiple types of organizations: one is at risk of starting volunteering for a specific association type as long as one currently does *not* volunteer for such an association, and

one is at risk of quitting volunteering for a specific association type when one currently *does* volunteer for such an association. When a starting or quitting event occurs for one type of organization, individuals could still remain at risk of experiencing a similar event for another organization type. We combine at risks spells for different organization types into one starting and one quitting model. As a consequence, the units of analysis are respondent – year – association type combinations. To correct for the clustering of observations within individuals, all models include an individual-specific random intercept.⁵ In equation form the models read as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{logit}(\text{Start}_{i,a,t+1} \mid \text{Volun}_{i,a,t} = 0) \\ = \beta_{1a}^S \text{Time}_{i,a,t}^S + \beta_{2a}^S \text{IndCh}_{i,t}^S + \beta_{3a}^S \text{IndCh}_i^S + \beta_4^S \text{OrgComp}_{i,a,t}^S + \varepsilon_i^S \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} \text{logit}(\text{Quit}_{i,a,t+1} \mid \text{Volun}_{i,a,t} = 1) \\ = \beta_{1a}^Q \text{Time}_{i,a,t}^Q + \beta_{2a}^Q \text{IndCh}_{i,t}^Q + \beta_{3a}^Q \text{IndCh}_i^Q + \beta_4^Q \text{OrgComp}_{i,a,t}^Q + \varepsilon_i^Q \end{aligned}$$

As depicted by these equations, we model starting and quitting events for individual i at time $t+1$ for association type a (conditional on being at risk of starting or quitting) as a function of: 1) the time spent at risk; 2) his time-variant individual-level characteristics; 3) his time-invariant individual-level characteristics; 4) the social dissimilarity between himself and the composition of the organization type in question; and 5) an individual-specific random intercept. Notice that the independent variables are measured one year before the dependent variable, to ensure that any changes in the independent variables precede the volunteering transitions that we are interested in. The

⁵ Because the FSDP includes partners from within the same households, and indeed oversamples cohabiting couples (see section 2.3.1), some respondents in the data and their volunteering behavior are not independent from each other. While we would ideally correct for this data structure by including an additional random intercept at the household level or estimate cluster-corrected standard errors at this level, we treat respondents here as if they are independent. This facilitates the estimation of our models, but is also a limitation of our analysis.

subscripts of the beta parameters indicate that the effects of all individual-level characteristics could potentially vary across association types. However, while we allow these effects to vary for educational attainment, religiosity, gender, and birth cohort, we restrict the impact of the control variables to be the same across association types to facilitate a smoother convergence of the models. Relaxing this assumption does not alter our main conclusions. The effects of the dissimilarity indicators are also constrained to be constant across association types.

Table 2.2 summarizes for each association type the event-history structure of the data, both for starting and quitting events. As can be seen, the number of spells at risk only marginally exceeds the number of respondents at risk for all types of associations and both types of events. This indicates that the dataset contains very few individuals with multiple at risk spells for the same organization type. Table 2.2 further illustrates that there are only a small number of events for some of the association types. Since the number of events partly determines the reliability of our inferences, we drop the three association types with the fewest events (i.e. societal, nature or environmental, and youth organizations) from our analyses. In addition, we drop the not so informative ‘Other associations’ category.

Given the retrospective design of the FSDP, the accuracy of our life course data may be subject to recall biases, with information about the timing of events becoming less reliable as we go back further in time. Whilst we are unable to rule out such biases, we do not regard this feature of our data as overly problematic. Several recent studies show that variation in people’s accuracy of recall is largely random, without any systematic differences depending on people’s characteristics (Jaspers, Lubbers, and De

Graaf 2009; Manzoni et al. 2010). The existence of such random inaccuracies in recall will translate into conservative estimates of the effects that we are interested in.

In section II of the supplement to this chapter we summarize the results of a range of robustness analyses, inspecting the sensitivity of our estimates to selecting only the last ten years before the interview, restricting our sample to respondents aged 35 to 55, and allowing the impact of the individual-level characteristics of interest to vary by year. These analyses underline the robustness of the findings discussed in the next section.

Table 2.2 Event-history structure of the data

	Number of respondents at risk	Number of spells at risk	Average spell duration (in years)	Number of events
<i>Starting volunteering</i>				
Unions or professional organizations	3904	3946	20.5	101
Political parties or associations	3908	3935	21.1	56
Religious groups or associations	3836	3913	20.4	184
Societal organizations	3921	3954	20.9	62
Nature or environmental organizations	3919	3929	20.4	38
Music, choir, drama clubs	3880	3960	20.4	172
Youth organizations	3915	3945	21.1	48
School organizations	3925	4128	19.6	292
Sports clubs or associations	3783	4044	17.9	416
Other associations	3876	3940	19.7	294
<i>Quitting volunteering</i>				
Unions or professional organizations	161	162	10.6	57
Political parties or associations	101	103	10.1	41
Religious groups or associations	289	306	12.6	81
Societal organizations	46	46	9.6	13
Nature or environmental organizations	28	28	9.6	4
Music, choir, drama clubs	251	252	10.1	82
Youth organizations	69	71	10	44
School organizations	360	361	6.4	237
Sports clubs or associations	626	652	10.5	230
Other associations	196	196	10	33

2.4. *Results and discussion*

2.4.1. *The characteristics of volunteers*

Table 2.3 presents the coefficient estimates of two models – for starting and quitting decisions – in which we allow the effects of educational attainment, religiosity and gender on volunteering transitions to vary across association types and birth cohorts.

Before turning to the estimates of the variables of interest, let us first have a brief look at the control variables. The marital status indicators, to begin with, illustrate that married or cohabiting individuals have a significantly higher odds of starting volunteering than individuals who have never married or cohabited, while both married or cohabiting individuals as well as separated, divorced, or widowed individuals have a lower odds of quitting than the aforementioned reference group. Furthermore, a larger number of children is associated with higher starting and lower quitting propensities, and particularly the presence of children of primary school age increases one's odds of starting volunteering. With regard to employment status, we observe a positive occupational status gradient among the employed in terms of the odds of starting, and retired individuals are also relatively more likely to start volunteering than the reference group. Unemployed or disabled individuals seem more prone to quit volunteering as compared with those employed in lower-status jobs. Already doing voluntary work for another association type does not affect quitting decisions, but is associated with a higher odds of starting. Finally, quitting is unrelated to time at risk, but the odds of starting volunteering for a particular association type, given that one did not volunteer for that type in the previous period, drop as time at risk proceeds. Overall, the findings are well reconcilable with earlier cross-sectional research on volunteering (cf. Musick and Wilson 2008).

Table 2.3 Discrete-time event history models for individuals' decisions to start and quit volunteering (continued on next page)

		Starting model						Quitting model					
		Labor	Political	Religious	Music	School	Sports	Labor	Political	Religious	Music	School	Sports
Educational attainment		1.06*	1.08*	1.06*	1.08**	1.14**	1.06**	1.00	1.00	1.02	1.05	1.03	1.02
Educational attainment * Birth year		1.02	1.07~	1.00	1.03	0.97	0.98	1.12*	0.93	0.99	0.97	1.06*	0.97
Service attendance		0.99~	1.00	1.02**	1.01	1.00	0.99*	1.00	1.00	0.99~	1.00	1.00	1.00
Service attendance * Birth year		1.00	1.01~	0.99**	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.01
Religious denomination	Religious before	1.04	0.51*	0.14**	0.72	1.21	2.90**	0.96	1.37	2.84**	0.75	2.72**	0.86
	Religious before * Birth year	0.86	1.35	0.64	1.11	1.05	0.70*	0.99	1.22	1.14	1.11	0.83	0.94
	Catholic	1.04	0.38**	1.35	1.33	1.09	2.95**	0.54	0.50	0.62	0.50*	2.29**	0.69*
	Catholic * Birth year	1.37	0.91	1.84*	1.67*	1.08	0.85	1.08	0.26	0.92	1.81	0.80	0.9
	Protestant	0.83	0.53	1.68*	0.56~	1.21	1.93**	0.18*	0.16	0.49~	1.30	1.98*	0.65
	Protestant * Birth year	0.98	0.99	3.55**	2.07*	0.93	0.67~	0.61	0.21~	0.92	0.89	0.94	0.93
	Other	2.23	0.79	1.77~	0.71	1.48	2.57*	0.55	0.97	0.23*	0.26	2.34~	0.55
	Other * Birth year	1.34	0.71	3.28**	0.97	0.8	0.53	2.89	0.36	1.85	2.55	1.26	0.14*
Female		0.35**	0.35**	0.79	1.16	1.71**	0.80~	2.14*	2.88**	1.72~	1.04	1.62**	1.48*
Female * Birth year		0.83	1.48	0.69*	1.43*	1.07	0.85	1.03	0.74	0.99	1.28	0.89	1.04
Birth year		0.76	0.50**	0.46**	0.34**	0.99	1.33*	0.67	1.39	1.24	0.94	0.89	1.09

Table 2.3 (continued) Discrete-time event history models for individuals' decisions to start and quit volunteering

		Starting model						Quitting model					
		Labor	Political	Religious	Music	School	Sports	Labor	Political	Religious	Music	School	Sports
Marital status	Married / cohabiting			1.43**						0.60**			
	Separated / divorced / wid.			1.38						0.53*			
Parental status	Number of children			1.30**						0.86**			
	Any children aged 0-3			1.12						0.81~			
	Any children aged 4-12			1.26**						1.18			
Employment / occupational status	Employed 2nd ISEI quartile			1.29*						1.19			
	Employed 3rd ISEI quartile			1.25~						1.04			
	Employed top ISEI quartile			1.54**						1.24			
	Unemployed / disabled			1.15						1.59~			
	Retired			1.96*						0.67			
	Household and other			1.37**						1.16			
Volunteer for another association type				1.27**						0.90			
Time at risk				0.88**						1.00			
Constant				0.01**						0.07**			
Number of individuals				3937						1358			
Log likelihood				-6440.3						-2648.3			
χ^2 Likelihood ratio test random intercept				<0.01 (not significant)						0.67 (not significant)			

Notes: Coefficient estimates are reported as odds ratios. ** $p \leq 0.01$; * $p \leq 0.05$; ~ $p \leq 0.10$ (two-tailed tests).

More importantly, Table 2.3 clearly demonstrates that the impact of educational attainment, religiosity, and gender on starting and quitting decisions is by no means symmetric. Moreover, the effects of these characteristics differ depending on the type of voluntary organization under consideration.⁶

In line with hypothesis 1A we observe that higher-educated individuals have significantly higher odds of starting volunteering than lower-educated individuals, regardless of the specific association type, with the estimated odds ratios of one additional year of education ranging from 1.06 to 1.14. On the other hand, the quitting model indicates that once individuals have started volunteering for an organization, educational attainment is not associated with more sustained commitment to this organization: educational attainment has no significant effect on individuals' quitting propensities. As noted before, this pattern could reflect that higher-educated people are geographically more mobile and more likely targets of recruitment efforts by other organizations, both of which could offset a higher baseline propensity for staying involved among higher-educated people. In any case, this finding is contrary to Corrigan-Brown's (2013) observation that higher-educated people are less likely to disengage from protest movements. Furthermore, Table 2.3 illustrates that there is variation across association types in the strength of the education effect for starting transitions. The effect is, as anticipated, stronger for organizations that are likely to put higher cognitive demands on their volunteers, such as political and particularly school organizations. However, Bonferroni-corrected Wald tests indicate that these differences are not statistically significant, emphasizing the influence of education on starting decisions across the board.

⁶ The latter point is illustrated by the significantly better model fit of the models in Table 2.3 as compared with similar models that constrain the parameters of educational attainment, religiosity, gender, and birth cohort to be constant across all association types ($\chi^2 = 635.2$, $p < 0.001$ for starting; $\chi^2 = 271.2$, $p < 0.001$ for quitting).

Turning to the effects of religiosity, we observe substantial differences across association types. Contradictory to earlier research claiming that religiosity stimulates volunteering for all sorts of organizations (e.g. Putnam and Campbell 2010; Ruiter and De Graaf 2006), our analysis indicates that it only consistently promotes volunteering for religious associations. This holds true for both starting and quitting decisions, and is especially apparent for the behavioral dimension of religiosity, as indicated by the estimated effects of service attendance. Nevertheless, our findings are not as much at odds with the studies by Putnam and Campbell (2010) and Ruiter and De Graaf (2006) as may seem at first glance. Whilst both of those studies conclude that religiosity boosts religious as well as secular volunteering, its effect on the latter is estimated to be considerably weaker. Besides, Ruiter and De Graaf's results suggest that there is much variation in the strength of the effect of religiosity on secular volunteering across the 53 countries that they examine, and Putnam and Campbell's study is restricted to the United States, which has a religious landscape that is markedly distinct from its Dutch counterpart. In addition, our results seem largely consistent with Ruiter's (2008) conclusion that the influence of religion on volunteering mainly operates via its positive effect on joining, although direct comparisons are impossible since Ruiter's study does not include a variable for church attendance and does not distinguish as many different types of voluntary associations.

In contrast to hypothesis 1C, the results in Table 2.3 do not show that women have higher odds of volunteering in general. Our findings are more nuanced. As it turns out, women have significantly higher odds of starting volunteering for school organizations than men, as testified by an estimated odds ratio of 1.71, but lower odds of starting volunteering for most other types of organizations. This lends support to the idea that women are particularly more likely to volunteer for child-related organizations. Moreover, as expected, women have significantly higher quitting propensities for

practically all association types, notwithstanding some variation in the magnitude of this effect. In order to examine whether these higher turnover rates among female volunteers are caused by them carrying a disproportionate share of the burden of childcare tasks, we have rerun this model with interactions of gender and the parental status variables. Some of these interactions indeed indicate that especially women with children of pre-school age are most likely to quit volunteering. Yet, other interactions suggest that women with (more) children are *less* likely to quit. Hence, overall there is no clear-cut evidence that women's higher quitting propensities reflect their bigger involvement in childcare tasks (see section II of the supplement to this chapter for the results of this analysis).

Contrary to our expectations, the effects of educational attainment, religiosity, and gender on the odds of starting and quitting volunteering are, by and large, remarkably stable across birth cohorts. Only a handful of all birth cohort interactions are statistically significant. The majority of those significant interactions concern the effects of religiosity on starting volunteering for religious associations. Service attendance has become a weaker predictor of such starting events for more recent birth cohorts, while being Catholic, Protestant, or member of any other denomination has gained importance for explaining these events. These trends make sense considering the ongoing process of secularization: when in the past almost everyone was religiously affiliated, most differentiation in religious commitment was expressed through people's level of service attendance, while for more recent birth cohorts simply being affiliated to a religion already represents an important social divide.

There are virtually no changes in the impact of educational attainment and gender across birth cohorts. The nearly complete absence of any changes in the effects of gender is at odds with the general societal trend of gender emancipation, but compatible with

research suggesting that the process of gender emancipation in The Netherlands has not yet been fully completed (Poortman and Van der Lippe 2009). With regard to educational attainment, the concomitant trends of educational expansion and degree inflation may have offset what we expected to occur on the basis of modernization theory: since educational expansion has occurred faster than changes in the occupational structure in recent decades, The Netherlands has witnessed credential inflation, which may have dampened any trends from ascription to achievement (Tolsma and Wolbers 2014).

2.4.2. The social composition of voluntary associations

In Table 2.4 the time-varying measures for the degree of dissimilarity between the characteristics of potential volunteers and the social composition of the different organization types are added to the models. Since the birth cohort interactions in Table 2.3 are very weak, these interactions have been omitted from the two models summarized in Table 2.4 for reasons of parsimony. The coefficient estimates for the control variables are not shown in Table 2.4, but strongly resemble the coefficients for these variables presented in Table 2.3.

According to Table 2.4, an individual is less likely to start volunteering for a particular association type as the current volunteers of that association type are less similar to the individual with respect to educational attainment, as illustrated by an estimated odds ratio of 0.77 for educational dissimilarity. In comparison to someone who has exactly the same level of education as the average volunteer for a particular association type, someone who is one standard deviation away from the educational center has a 23 percent lower odds of starting volunteering for this association type. Conversely, when it comes to quitting decisions, educational dissimilarity does not bear

any relevance. This corroborates our hypothesis that dissimilarity between individuals' characteristics and the social composition of voluntary organizations matters more for starting than for quitting.

The estimates for the effect of religious dissimilarity display a largely similar pattern. In the starting model the odds ratios for the dissimilarity indicators for service attendance and religious denomination are significantly smaller than one (viz. 0.51 and 0.98, respectively), demonstrating that people are relatively more likely to start volunteering for association types that are closer to them in terms of religious composition. As far as quitting is concerned, dissimilarity in terms of service attendance has no explanatory power, while for dissimilarity in terms of religious denomination we observe an estimated odds ratio that is significant at the ten percent level, but in the opposite direction of our expectations.

Gender is the only dimension for which we do not find any dissimilarity effects on people's starting decisions. At the same time, however, we do observe a significantly positive impact of the degree of gender dissimilarity on the odds of quitting volunteering, with an estimated odds ratio of 1.02. Hence, with regard to gender composition we do not find support for our hypothesis that the impact of social dissimilarity is more pronounced for starting than for quitting decisions.

Table 2.4 Discrete-time event history models for individuals' decisions to start and quit volunteering, incl. social composition indicators

		Starting model						Quitting model					
		Labor	Political	Religious	Music	School	Sports	Labor	Political	Religious	Music	School	Sports
Educational attainment		1.07*	1.08*	1.05~	1.08**	1.12**	1.07**	0.96	1.04	1.03	1.04	1.02	1.03
Service attendance		1.00	1.01~	1.02**	1.03**	1.02**	1.02**	1.00	1.00	0.99~	1.01	1.01	1.01
Religious denomination	Religious before	0.93	0.47**	0.31**	0.57*	0.99	1.99**	1.58	1.53	3.22**	0.55*	1.86**	0.79
	Catholic	0.81	0.34**	1.64*	0.75	0.76	1.80**	0.90	1.42	0.48*	0.35**	1.57*	0.60*
	Protestant	0.73	0.46~	1.22	0.49*	1.00	1.72*	0.47	0.36	0.23**	1.40	1.65~	0.92
	Other	3.09*	0.63	2.53**	0.75	1.28	2.27*	1.35	1.62	0.31*	0.33	2.99*	0.62
Female		0.29**	0.37**	0.78	1.12	1.61**	0.69~	0.69	0.91	1.65~	0.94	1.96**	0.73
Birth year		0.80*	0.73*	0.77**	0.60**	0.97	0.94	0.68*	0.77	1.31*	1.25~	0.73**	1.02
Organizational dissimilarity	Educational attainment			0.77**						0.98			
	Service attendance			0.51**						0.90			
	Religious denomination			0.98**						0.98~			
	Gender			1.00						1.02**			
Number of individuals				3937						1358			
Log likelihood				-6444.0						-2664.2			
χ^2 Likelihood ratio test random intercept				<0.01 (not significant)						0.14 (not significant)			

Notes: Coefficient estimates are reported as odds ratios. ** $p \leq 0.01$; * $p \leq 0.05$; ~ $p \leq 0.10$ (two-tailed tests). Both models control for marital, parental, and employment and occupational status, as well as whether one volunteers for another organization type, and time at risk.

Figures 2.5 and 2.6 illustrate the effects of the degree of organizational dissimilarity on volunteering decisions by plotting the predictive margins of starting and quitting volunteering for a given organization type in a given year as a function of the degree of organizational dissimilarity in terms of educational attainment, church attendance, religious denomination, and gender.⁷ The downward-sloping lines in the educational attainment, service attendance, and religious denomination panels in Figure 2.5 reflect our finding that one is less likely to start volunteering for an association type of which the current volunteers are less similar to oneself along those dimensions. Whereas all of these three slopes seem substantial, the slopes for religious dissimilarity are somewhat steeper than for educational attainment, although the religious denomination panel also displays rather wide confidence intervals. The upward-sloping line in the gender panel in Figure 2.6 illustrates the positive impact of gender dissimilarity on quitting volunteering. The downward-sloping line for religious denomination is contrary to our expectations, but once again this panel exhibits wide confidence intervals.

Finally, it is worthwhile to recall that Table 2.3 suggested that church attendance only increases the odds of starting volunteering for religious associations. In Table 2.4, in contrast, we find that the effect of church attendance on the odds of starting volunteering becomes significantly positive for most association types when we include the measures for religious dissimilarity. This suggests that people who attend church more frequently are in principle more likely to start volunteering for any type of organization, but that religious people at the same time prefer organizations that contain many volunteers who are frequent churchgoers

⁷ These predictive margins reflect the average predicted probabilities of starting/quitting volunteering across our sample of analysis if we assume that everyone in the sample has the dissimilarity score displayed along the horizontal axis, their actual scores for all other variables in the model, and a random intercept of zero.

as well (or that they are at least are more likely to be recruited by such organizations). Such organizations are fairly rare outside the category of religious organizations, however, and therefore we did not observe a positive effect of church attendance on the probability of starting for most association types in Table 2.3.

Figure 2.5 Predictive margins of starting volunteering for a given organization type at a given point in time, as a function of organizational dissimilarity

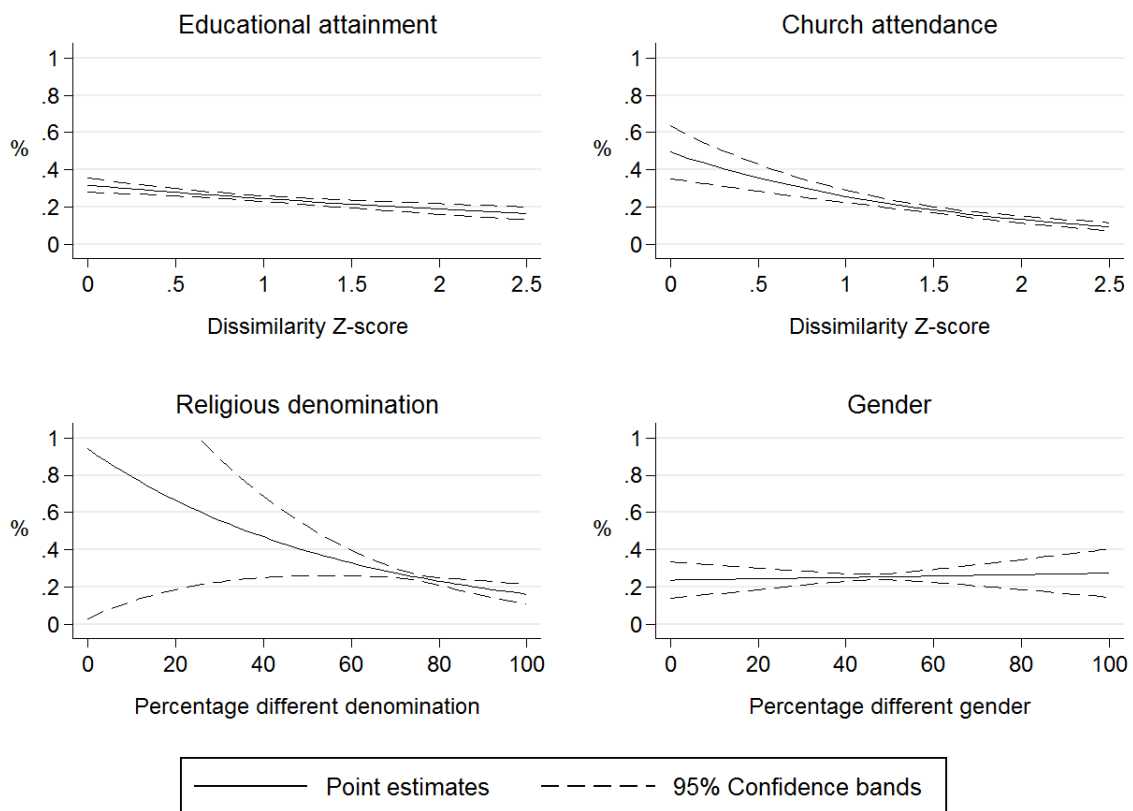
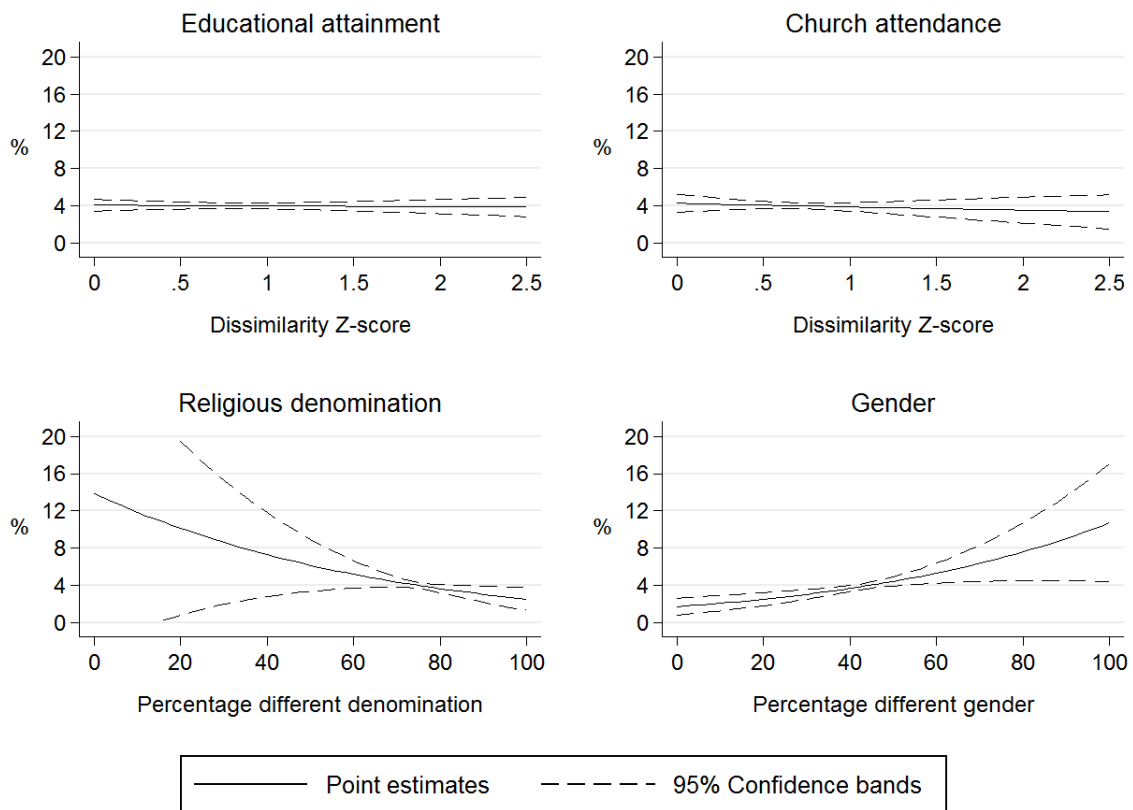


Figure 2.6 Predictive margins of quitting volunteering for a given organization type at a given point in time, as a function of organizational dissimilarity



On a related note, the introduction of the gender dissimilarity indicator explains the higher quitting propensities for labor-related, political, and sports associations for women that we observed in Table 2.3. If we take into account that people are more likely to quit organizations that are dominated by volunteers of the opposite sex, and that labor-related, political, and sports associations tend to be male-dominated, the baseline quitting rate for women for these types of associations is not any higher than for their male counterparts.⁸

⁸ The proportion of women among volunteers for labor-related associations remains stable over the period 1980-2009 at approximately 0.20; for political associations this proportion fluctuates around 0.25; for sports clubs the proportion increases from 0.27 in 1980 to 0.36 in 2009.

2.5. Conclusion

This study contributes to the literature on the determinants of volunteering behavior. We have exploited the unique nature of the Family Survey Dutch Population to study starting and quitting decisions for different types of associations. Thus, we depart from the focus on volunteering for any type of association at a single point in time that is common in previous volunteering research based on large-scale survey data.

The first part of our analysis has shown that the effects of educational attainment, religiosity, and gender on people's decisions to start and quit volunteering are by no means symmetric. For example, the strongly positive impact of educational attainment on the odds of starting volunteering for each association type is not mirrored by an equally strong negative effect on the odds of quitting. Such findings highlight that cross-sectional analyses may give rise to misleading impressions about the drivers of sustained participation in volunteering, and that a longitudinal approach is indispensable for gaining accurate insights into volunteering dynamics. We have also found that especially the impact of religiosity and gender on people's starting and quitting decisions strongly depends on the specific type of voluntary association under consideration. This sorting process of people with different characteristics into different types of voluntary associations limits the scope for the formation of bridging ties through volunteering. Notwithstanding pervasive general trends towards a more meritocratic, secular, and gender-emancipated society, we finally find that the influence of educational attainment, religiosity, and gender on volunteering has hardly, if at all, changed across birth cohorts.

In the second part of the analysis we have introduced a new category of potential determinants of volunteering decisions: the degree of social similarity between potential volunteers and the current volunteers for various association types. It turns out that people are relatively more likely to start volunteering for association types that are more similar to them in terms of their educational and religious composition. On the other hand, these composition dimensions do not matter for explaining quitting patterns among people who have already committed themselves to an organization. For gender we have found the reverse pattern: people are more likely to quit volunteering for organization types that are dominated by the opposite sex, but gender similarity does not affect starting decisions.

Unfortunately, data limitations have forced us to look at the social composition of organization types instead of individual organizations. We have consequently ignored the potential variation in social composition that exists among organizations that belong to the same type. For instance, we have been unable to capture the fact that labor-related and political associations traditionally used to be ‘pillarized’ along religious lines in The Netherlands, comprising separate organizations linked to each denomination (Lijphart 1975). Such variation across individual associations is not picked up by our analysis, which makes the estimated effects of religious dissimilarity somewhat complicated to interpret. Nevertheless, our inability to measure within-type variation in social composition has most likely translated into conservative estimates of the effects of the social composition of voluntary associations on individuals’ volunteering decisions. Looking at the estimated odds ratios in Table 2.4 as well as the predictive margins plotted in Figures 2.5 and 2.6, we argue that these conservative estimates are quite sizeable, though. We also emphasize that even if the organizational similarity effects were small from a static point of view, they could still

exert substantial influence on how the social composition of voluntary associations evolves over time.

As such, the existence of these organizational similarity effects poses further limits to the bridging capacity of voluntary associations. After all, the stronger the tendency for people to associate with similar others, the narrower the scope for crossing existing group boundaries and for developing a sense of trust and belonging that extends beyond those boundaries. That said, the organizational similarity effects mainly manifest themselves with respect to starting rather than quitting decisions. Therefore, once the initial hurdle of starting volunteering for an organization with many out-group volunteers has been cleared, the prospects for the formation of bridging ties are more promising. Hence, nudging people over this first hurdle might enhance the bridging capacity of volunteering, although it remains to be seen whether such policy-induced volunteering proves to be as durable as volunteering out of one's own initiative or in response to invitations by family, friends, or acquaintances (cf. Warburton and Smith 2003). Besides, we should keep in mind that our findings regarding quitting are derived from analyses that are based on the selective sample of people who have started volunteering for a particular organization type at some point in the past.

Moving to our recommendations for future research, it would be interesting to see whether we observe similar social composition effects if we are able to exploit variation in social composition among organizations that fall within the same category, in addition to variation between organization types. Second, our empirical analysis does not allow us to comment on the importance of potential mechanisms that could drive the organizational similarity effects that we observe. Disentangling the influence of the various supply- and demand-side mechanisms would enlighten our understanding of volunteering decisions

immensely. As of yet, we for instance do not know whether the fact people tend to join associations of which the members have a similar education level as themselves reflects that people have an active preference to hang out with similarly educated others, that they are more likely to be recruited for such associations through their social networks, or that there are only such associations available in their vicinity due to residential segregation by education. Supplementary information on people's attitudes, their social networks, and the local presence of voluntary associations of different social composition would help to tease out such influences. Similarly, it is worthwhile to investigate to what extent the influence of organizational similarity varies across contexts, e.g. its influence may be weaker in smaller communities in which fewer organizational alternatives are available or for associations that involve less interaction among volunteers. Needless to say, we also encourage replication studies for other regions than The Netherlands in order to assess the generalizability of our findings, even though the data required for such analyses may not be readily available.

Irrespective of the need for further research to address such questions, this study demonstrates that for advancing our understanding of volunteering dynamics it is essential to apply a longitudinal approach, tracking individuals over time, and to distinguish between different organization types. Our study also reveals that the social composition of voluntary organizations influences volunteering decisions substantially. People with different characteristics sort into different types of voluntary associations, and the impact of the social composition of associations on people's volunteering decisions reinforces such tendencies.

Supplementary materials to Chapter 2

This supplement consists of two sections:

- I. Comparisons of organizational composition estimates (p.69)
- II. Additional regression analyses (p.75)

I. Comparisons of organizational composition estimates

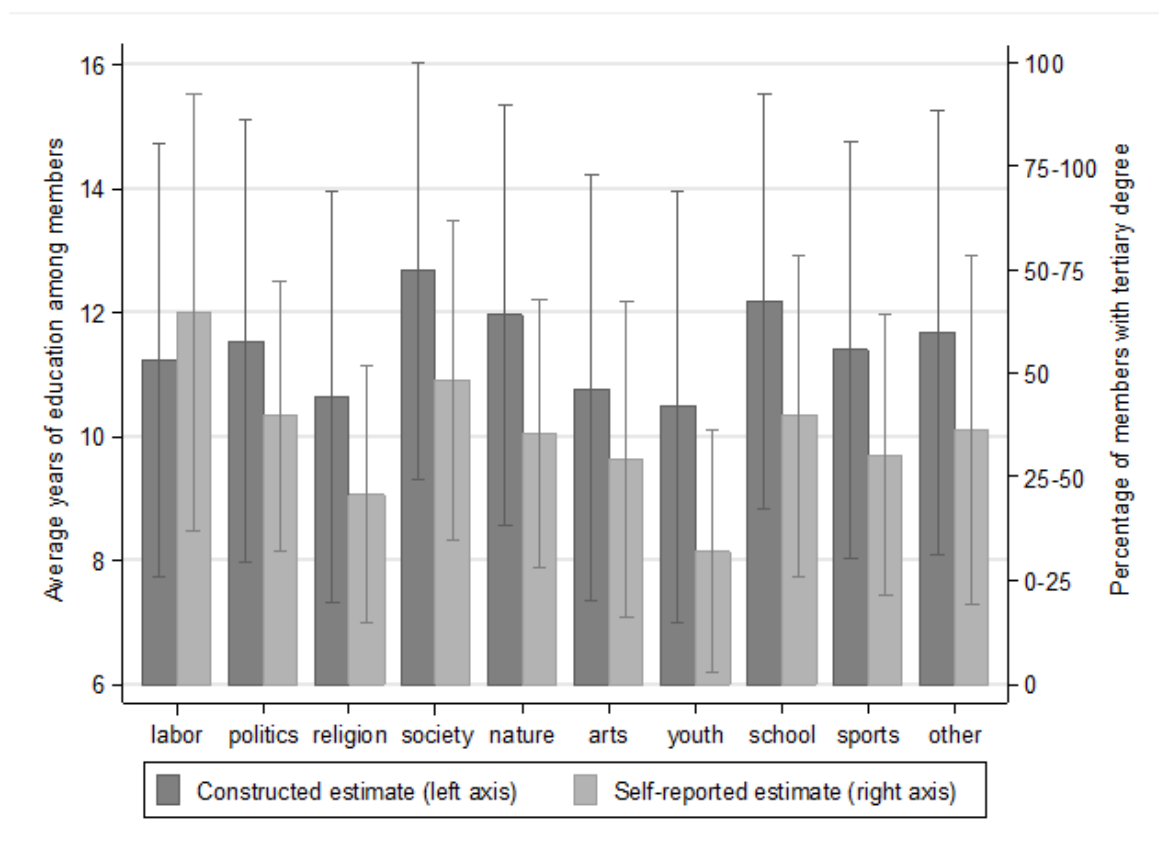
In order to gain insight into the validity of our estimates of the social composition of different types of voluntary associations, we have compared similarly constructed measures for the *membership* composition of the association types with two pieces of additional information: 1. Subjective estimates provided by the respondents to the FSDP 2009 of the educational composition of the organizations that they are member of / have been member of; 2. Repeated cross-sectional data on voluntary association membership from the Amenities and Services Utilization Surveys (ASUS), collected by the Netherlands Institute for Social Research at four-year intervals starting from 1979. In the absence of suitable data to compare our estimates of the *volunteer* composition of different organization types against, these comparisons for the *membership* composition of various organization types can be taken as an indication for the validity of our volunteer composition estimates.

Figure S2.1 compares our constructed measure for the average years of education among volunteers for different types of organizations with the average response of respondents to the 2009 wave of the FSDP to the question ‘What percentage of members in your organization has a tertiary degree?’, by type of organization. This survey question has been asked for all membership episodes that respondents report (with seven response options, ranging from 0%, via 0-25%, 25-50%, 50%, 50-75%, and 75-100% to 100%). As these graphs illustrate, our own composition estimates based on the characteristics of people who reported to be a member at a particular point in time are strongly correlated with the means of respondents’ subjective composition estimates. Additional analyses (not shown here)

demonstrate that this correlation persists as we go further into the past. The largest deviations between the two measures in their ranking of organization types in terms of their educational composition occur for labor-related and youth associations.

Furthermore, the errors bars of the subjective estimates in Figure S2.1, depicting the standard deviation in respondents' subjective composition estimates by type of organization, demonstrate that the amount of variation in respondents' subjective composition estimates is fairly similar across organization types, perhaps with the exception of labor-related organizations. Hence, to the extent that our composition measures at the level of organization types fail to measure heterogeneity among organizations belonging to the same type, there is no evidence that our measures are further off for some types of organizations than for others, with the possible exception of labor-related organizations. The larger standard deviation that we observe for labor-related organizations hardly comes as a surprise, though, considering that this category comprises both labor unions and professional associations, the former of which traditionally have many lower-educated members, while the latter usually represent high-skilled professions such as lawyers and doctors. To be absolutely sure that the results of our analyses do not hinge on the inclusion of labor-related organizations, we have repeated our regressions of Table 2.4 while excluding this organization type, finding that all our estimates of the effects of organizational dissimilarity remain virtually the same.

Figure S2.1 Average educational composition and diversity of different association types, according to constructed and self-reported estimates for the year 2009



Figures S2.2 to S2.6 compare our retrospectively constructed composition estimates with similar measures constructed on the basis of the repeated cross-sectional ASUS data. Because the ASUS does not ask respondents about their level of service attendance, we cannot compare our estimates for the membership composition along this dimension. The ASUS neither asked respondents about their involvement in religious associations. The ‘General’ panel of Figures S2.2 to S2.6 compares the average characteristics of people who are member of *any* type of organization.

As the graphs show, members of voluntary associations are estimated to be more highly educated and less religious according to the FSDP than according to the ASUS, both

over time and across association types. Nonetheless, recognizing that most differences remain even for more recent years, it seems unlikely that these differences are caused by the retrospective nature of our FSDP-based composition measures. Indeed, it is encouraging that the trends estimated on the basis of both surveys follow remarkably parallel pathways. Besides, both sets of estimates are consistent in their estimates of the differences in social composition between the various organization types.

Figure S2.2 Average years of education among members of different types of organizations, according to FSDP and ASUS data

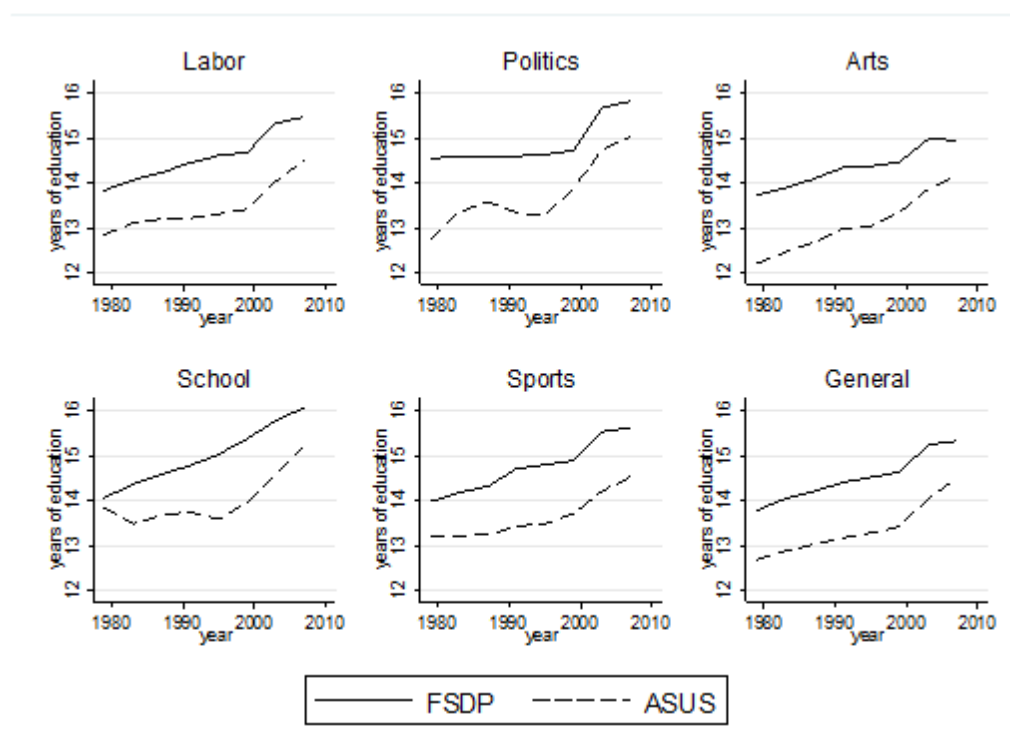


Figure S2.3 Proportion of female members for different types of organizations, according to FSDP and ASUS data

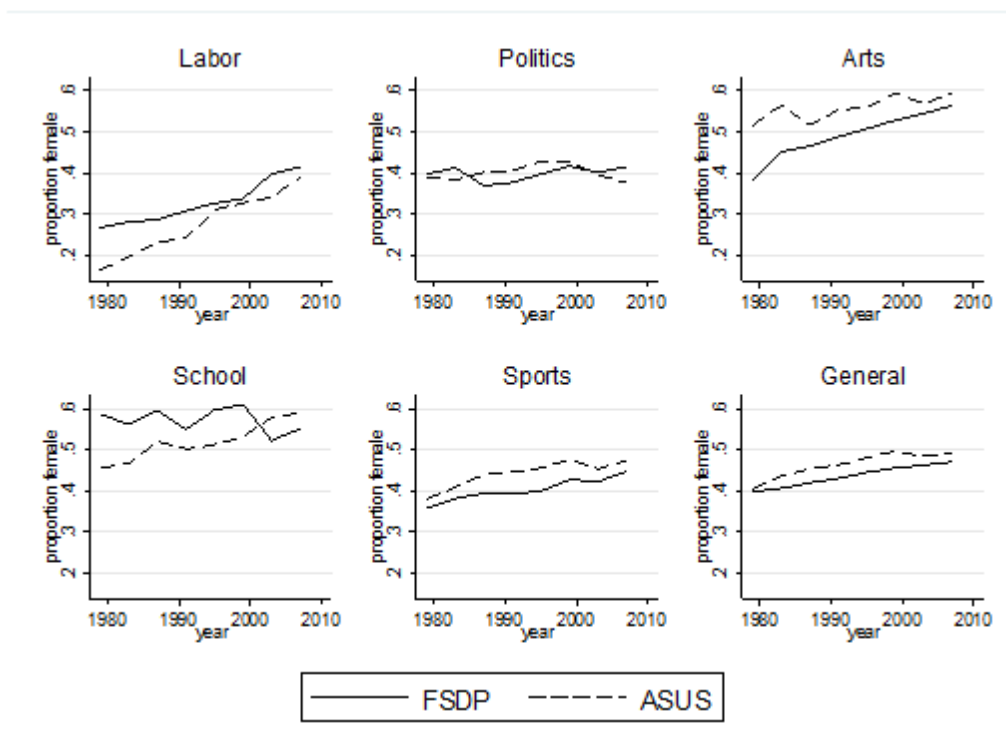


Figure S2.4 Proportion of non-religious members for different types of organizations, according to FSDP and ASUS data

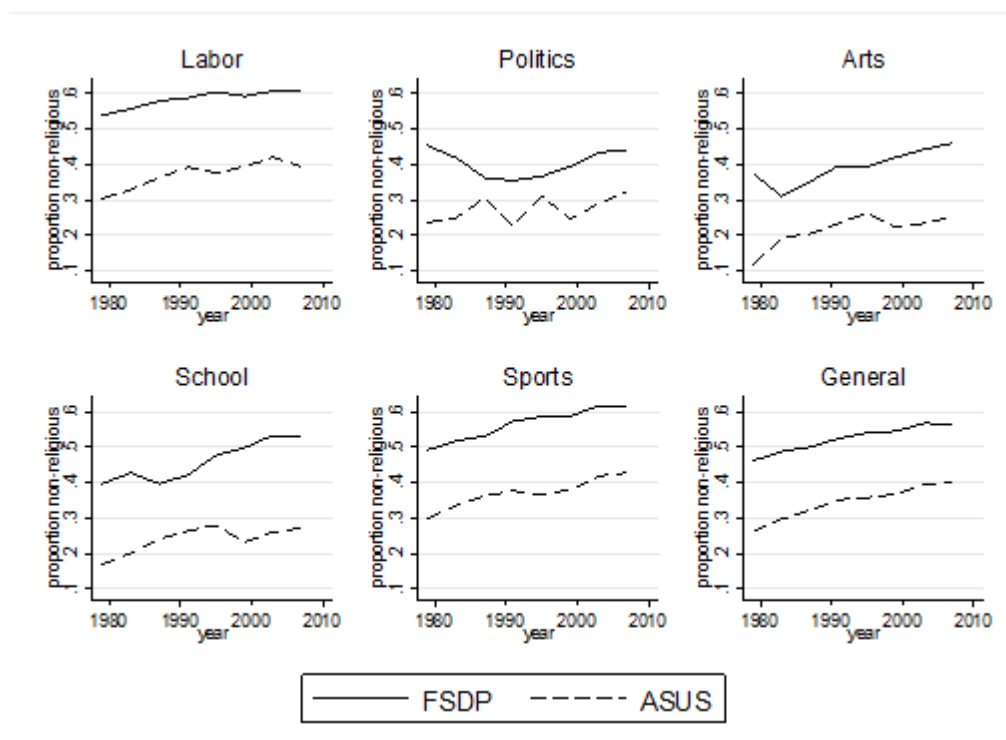


Figure S2.5 *Proportion of Catholic members for different types of organizations, according to FSDP and ASUS data*

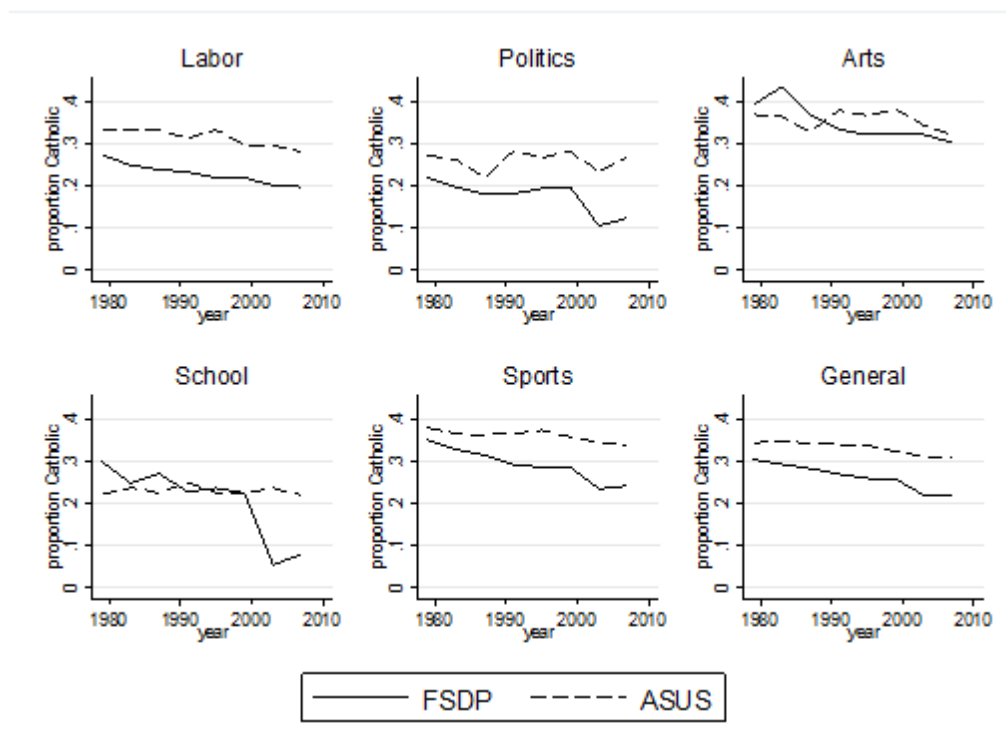
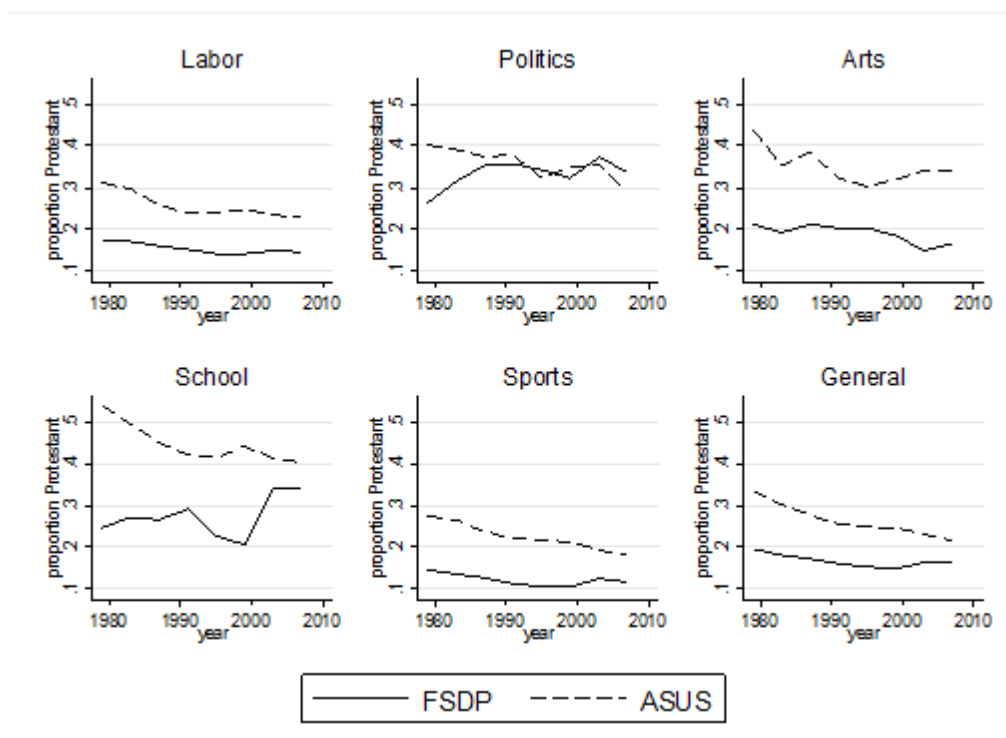


Figure S2.6 *Proportion of Protestant members for different types of organizations, according to FSDP and ASUS data*



II. Additional regression analyses

Tables S2.1 to S2.6 summarize a range of models that serve to provide further background to our core findings and to enhance their credibility.

Table S2.1 presents the coefficient estimates of four models that have exactly the same specification as the ones in Tables 2.3 and 2.4, except for the fact that they restrict the impact of the individual-level variables for educational attainment, religiosity, gender, and birth cohort to be the same across the different types of organizations. A comparison of the first starting and quitting model in Table S2.1 to the models presented in Table 2.3 demonstrates that allowing for variation in the effects of education, religiosity, and gender across association types yields richer and more nuanced insights into the determinants of volunteering transitions: e.g. the first starting model in Table S2.1 does not find that gender is a significant predictor of starting decisions, while our analysis in Table 2.3 shows that gender does in fact have significant effects, running in opposite directions for different types of associations; similarly, the first quitting model in Table S2.1 suggests that higher levels of church attendance make people less likely to quit, while Table 2.3 shows that this effect is largely driven by the effect of church attendance on quitting volunteering for religious associations. Likelihood ratio tests also indicate that the models presented in Table 2.3 provide a significantly better model fit than the starting and quitting models in the first two columns of Table S2.1 ($\chi^2 = 635.2$ with $p < 0.001$ for the starting models, and $\chi^2 = 271.2$ with $p < 0.001$ for the quitting models). The last two columns of Table S2.1 illustrate that we find even stronger support for our homophily-based hypothesis H2 if we constrain the effects of

our individual-level covariates for educational attainment, religiosity, and gender to be stable across association types. Once again, the models presented in Table 2.4 have a significantly better fit than their counterparts in the last two columns of Table S2.1 ($\chi^2 = 369.8$ with $p < 0.001$ for the starting models, and $\chi^2 = 212.4$ with $p < 0.001$ for the quitting models).

Table S2.2 re-runs the models presented in Table 2.4 of the main text, while restricting the analysis to individuals aged 35-55, as opposed to the 25-70 age restriction that is used for the models presented in Table 2.4. Table S2.2 enables us to assess to what extent our results uphold if we only examine at risk episodes in people's middle age. Although the significance levels of some of our findings are affected by this restriction, as could be expected given the reduced statistical power of these models, the vast majority of our substantive estimates are very similar to the ones presented in Table 2.4. This also holds for the estimates of the organizational similarity effects, where the largest change seems to be a slight shift in the estimated effects of organizational dissimilarity in terms of religious denomination.

Table S2.3 also re-runs the models presented in Table 2.4 of the main text, but this time restricting the analysis to only the last ten years before the survey respondents were interviewed, i.e. the period 1990-2000 for respondents to the 2000 wave of the FSDP, and 1999-2009 for respondents to the 2009 wave. As compared with the period 1980-2009, any retrospectively reported information (including the volunteering reports) can be assumed to be more accurate for these periods, and our sample of analysis will be more representative of the overall population of The Netherlands at the time. The results in Table S2.3 are very similar to the results in Table 2.4 of the main text. In particular, the estimated effects of organizational dissimilarity remain practically the same, with the key changes occurring with

regard to gender dissimilarity: this factor now has a significant effect in the expected direction for starting decisions, but loses its statistical significance for quitting transitions, although its estimated effect is still in the same direction.

Table S2.4 includes interactions of respondents' educational attainment, religiosity, and gender with a year variable, which ranges from the value 0 for 1980 to the value 29 for 2009. The regressions in Table S2.4 thus allow the effects of these individual-level factors to change over time, and we can check whether any organizational dissimilarity effects remain when we include these interactions. As Table S2.4 shows, this is clearly the case. We only observe shifts in the effects of dissimilarity in terms of religious denomination, similar to the shifts observed in the age-restricted models presented in Table S2.2. All in all, Table S2.4 suggests that the dissimilarity effects found in Table 2.4 cannot simply be attributed to a changing impact of people's individual characteristics on starting and quitting volunteering for the different types of associations.

Table S2.5 presents the results of models that are the same to the ones summarized in Table 2.4 of the main text, but include age dissimilarity as an additional explanatory variable, recognizing that social networks often also tend to display strong homophily along age lines. As it turns out, the impact of age dissimilarity is very similar to the impact of dissimilarity in terms of educational attainment and church attendance: individuals have higher odds of starting volunteering for organization types of which the age composition more closely resembles their own age, while age dissimilarity does not have any impact on individuals' quitting decisions. (The inclusion of age as an individual-level determinant of volunteering transitions is methodologically problematic, as this factor is strongly correlated with time at risk in our analyses.)

Table S2.6 reports the key results of a quitting model similar to the one in Table 2.3 of the main text but including interactions between gender and parental status. It appears that women with children of pre-school age are more likely to quit volunteering for work-related, political, and religious associations than other women. Yet, they are less likely to leave school associations, and additionally women with *more* children seem less likely to leave religious and cultural groups.

Table S2.1 Restricting coefficient estimates for educational attainment, religiosity, and gender to be the same across association types

		<i>Starting model</i>	<i>Quitting model</i>	<i>Starting model</i>	<i>Quitting model</i>
Educational attainment		1.08**	1.02	1.08**	1.02
Educational attainment * Birth year		1.01	1.01		
Service attendance		1.00	0.99*	1.01**	0.99*
Service attendance * Birth year		1.00	1.00		
Religious denomination	Religious before	1.13	1.22	0.92	1.36*
	Religious before * Birth year	1.05	1.02		
	Catholic	1.36**	0.87	0.95	0.99
	Catholic * Birth year	1.18~	0.93		
	Protestant	1.12	0.78	0.94	0.83
	Protestant * Birth year	1.30*	0.94		
	Other	1.43~	0.68	2.08**	0.57*
	Other * Birth year	1.08	1.11		
Female		0.90	1.65**	1.16~	1.54**
Female * Birth year		0.99	1.01		
Birth year		0.75**	0.90	0.84**	0.94
Organizational dissimilarity	Educational attainment			0.78**	1.00
	Service attendance			0.61**	1.26*
	Religious denomination			0.97**	1.02**
	Gender			0.99**	1.00
Marital status	Married / cohabiting	1.48**	0.58**	1.44**	0.58**
	Separated / divorced / wid.	1.42	0.59*	1.40	0.56*
Parental status	Number of children	1.36**	0.88**	1.34**	0.88**
	Any children aged 0-3	1.03	0.87	1.07	0.87
	Any children aged 4-12	1.21*	1.46**	1.21**	1.46**
Employment status	Employed 2nd ISEI quartile	1.29*	1.16	1.28*	1.16
	Employed 3rd ISEI quartile	1.25~	1.09	1.25~	1.14
	Employed top ISEI quartile	1.58**	1.26	1.66**	1.26
	Unemployed / disabled	1.18	1.43	1.23	1.43
	Retired	2.03*	0.62	2.00*	0.66
	Other	1.37**	1.20	1.39**	1.24
Volunteer for another association type		1.12	1.03	1.20*	0.96
Time at risk		0.87**	0.98**	0.88**	0.98**
Constant		0.01**	0.07**	0.20**	0.01**
Number of individuals		3937	1358	3937	1358
Log likelihood		-6757.9	-2783.9	-6628.9	-2770.4
χ^2 Likelihood ratio test random intercept		<0.01 (n.s.)	1.35 (n.s.)	<0.01 (n.s.)	0.97 (n.s.)

Notes: Estimates are reported as odds ratios. ** $p \leq 0.01$; * $p \leq 0.05$; ~ $p \leq 0.10$ (two-tailed tests).

Table S2.2 Restricting analysis to individuals aged 35-55

		Starting model						Quitting model					
		Labor	Political	Religious	Cultural	School	Sports	Labor	Political	Religious	Cultural	School	Sports
Educational attainment		1.01	1.05	1.03	1.03	1.14**	1.05*	1.02	1.10	1.01	1.03	1.03	1.04
Service attendance		1.00	1.01	1.02**	1.02**	1.02**	1.02**	1.01	1.04*	0.98*	1.01	1.00	1.01
Religious denomination	Religious before	0.85	0.32*	0.16*	0.82	0.98	1.71**	1.35	1.13	9.01**	0.40*	1.62*	0.69
	Catholic	0.55~	0.25*	1.37	1.05	0.50*	1.60*	0.44	0.31	0.87	0.14**	1.81*	0.59*
	Protestant	0.66	0.64	1.14	0.56	1.05	1.79*	0.57	<0.01	0.18*	1.50	2.05*	1.21
	Other	1.75	<0.01	1.95	2.03	1.21	2.53~	2.78	0.03	0.15~	<0.01	5.05**	1.03
Female		0.37*	0.38~	0.92	1.04	1.14	0.94	0.33~	0.47	0.72	1.40	2.03**	0.59~
Birth year		0.91	0.85	0.89	0.71*	1.23~	1.20~	0.66	0.71	2.14**	1.30	0.72**	0.95
Organizational dissimilarity	Educational attainment			0.82*						0.93			
	Service attendance			0.51**						0.94			
	Religious denomination			0.99						0.96**			
	Gender			0.99						1.03**			
Number of individuals				3264						1057			
Log likelihood				-3400.3						-1580.7			
χ^2 Likelihood ratio test random intercept				0.85 (not significant)						<0.01 (not significant)			

Notes: Estimates are reported as odds ratios. ** $p \leq 0.01$; * $p \leq 0.05$; ~ $p \leq 0.10$ (two-tailed tests). Both models control for marital, parental, and employment status, as well as whether one volunteers for another organization type, and time at risk.

Table S2.3 Restricting analysis to last ten years before the interview

		Starting model						Quitting model					
		Labor	Political	Religious	Cultural	School	Sports	Labor	Political	Religious	Cultural	School	Sports
Educational attainment		1.09*	1.08	1.05	1.10**	1.07*	1.06*	0.93	0.95	0.99	0.96	1.03	1.06~
Service attendance		0.99	1.00	1.02**	1.02**	1.02**	1.02**	1.01	0.97~	0.99	1.02~	1.01	1.02~
Religious denomination	Religious before	0.57~	0.36*	0.27~	0.68	1.00	1.74**	0.86	2.10~	6.23**	0.89	1.96*	0.72
	Catholic	0.84	0.53	2.09*	1.26	0.75	1.77**	1.29	1.91	0.84	0.29**	2.43**	0.54*
	Protestant	0.41	0.81	2.66*	0.75	0.76	1.29	0.18	0.98	0.26~	1.73	2.05	0.59
	Other	2.08	<0.01	4.16**	1.19	0.72	1.30	1.49	8.40~	0.33	<0.01	6.20**	<0.01
Female		0.61	1.02	0.59*	1.39	1.12	0.99	0.96	1.28	1.41	0.86	1.54~	0.96
Birth year		0.61**	0.52**	0.61**	0.40**	1.02	0.82*	0.66~	0.84	1.19	1.34*	0.91	0.98
Organizational dissimilarity	Educational attainment				0.80*						1.13		
	Service attendance				0.54**						0.72		
	Religious denomination				0.99						0.98		
	Gender				0.98*						1.01		
Number of individuals					3882						1156		
Log likelihood					-3284.0						-1348.6		
χ^2 Likelihood ratio test random intercept					4.80 (p=0.014)						<0.01 (not significant)		

Notes: Estimates are reported as odds ratios. ** $p \leq 0.01$; * $p \leq 0.05$; ~ $p \leq 0.10$ (two-tailed tests). Both models control for marital, parental, and employment status, as well as whether one volunteers for another organization type, and time at risk.

Table S2.4 Allowing the effect of educational attainment, religiosity, and gender to vary over the years

		Starting model						Quitting model					
		Labor	Political	Religious	Cultural	School	Sports	Labor	Political	Religious	Cultural	School	Sports
Educational attainment		1.06	1.02	1.06	1.09	1.20**	1.08~	0.91	1.18~	1.18~	1.25*	0.95	1.00
Educational attainment * Year		1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.99*	1.00	1.00	0.99*	0.99	0.99~	1.00	1.00
Service attendance		1.02~	1.03~	1.02**	1.03**	1.02**	1.02*	1.03~	1.04*	1.00	0.99	1.02~	1.00
Service attendance * Year		1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00*	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Religious denomination	Religious before	1.04	0.80	0.74	0.66	1.55	2.94**	1.98	1.72	0.45	0.21*	0.87	0.55
	Religious before * Year	1.00	0.98	0.91	1.00	0.97	0.98	0.98	0.98	1.23**	1.04	1.04~	1.00
	Catholic	0.41~	0.17*	1.18	0.72	1.69	2.39*	0.23*	0.41	0.13**	0.10**	0.31*	0.30**
	Catholic * Year	1.05~	1.05	1.03	1.02	0.94*	0.98	1.08~	1.09	1.08~	1.04	1.12**	1.02
	Protestant	0.66	0.11*	0.71	0.25*	1.89	1.61	0.50	0.36	0.08**	0.55	0.82	1.34
	Protestant * Year	1.01	1.10~	1.07*	1.04	0.95*	0.99	0.97	1.01	1.00	1.07	1.07~	1.00
	Other	1.32	1.10	1.28	0.53	4.51*	2.49	0.13	0.23	0.25	<0.01	0.51	4.04
	Other * Year	1.04	0.94	1.05	1.02	0.90*	0.98	1.19*	1.28	1.01	<0.01	1.17**	0.90
Female		0.53	0.25*	1.41	0.73	2.52**	0.84	1.08	0.68	6.07**	1.68	2.37**	1.01
Female * Year		0.96	1.03	0.96*	1.03	0.97*	0.99	0.98	1.03	0.91**	0.98	0.99	0.98
Birth year		0.48**	0.39**	0.43**	0.33**	0.73**	0.61**	0.82	0.99	1.64**	1.36*	0.69**	1.21~
Year		1.09**						0.97*					
Organizational dissimilarity	Educational attainment	0.76**						1.02					
	Service attendance	0.52**						0.86					
	Religious denomination	0.99						0.95**					
	Gender	1.00						1.02**					
Number of individuals		3937						1358					
Log likelihood		-6320.4						-2611.0					
χ^2 Likelihood ratio test random intercept		<0.01 (not significant)						0.78 (not significant)					

Notes: Estimates are reported as odds ratios. ** $p \leq 0.01$; * $p \leq 0.05$; ~ $p \leq 0.10$ (two-tailed tests). Both models control for marital, parental, and employment status, as well as whether one volunteers for another organization type, and time at risk.

Table S2.5 Adding age dissimilarity to the analysis

		Starting model						Quitting model					
		Labor	Political	Religious	Cultural	School	Sports	Labor	Political	Religious	Cultural	School	Sports
Educational attainment		1.07*	1.08*	1.05~	1.08**	1.11**	1.06**	0.96	1.04	1.03	1.04	1.02	1.03
Service attendance		1.01	1.01~	1.02**	1.03**	1.02**	1.02**	1.00	1.00	0.99~	1.01	1.01	1.01
Religious denomination	Religious before	0.96	0.45**	0.29**	0.53**	0.99	1.88**	1.58	1.53	3.22**	0.55*	1.86**	0.79
	Catholic	0.86	0.34**	1.57*	0.71	0.78	1.74**	0.90	1.42	0.48*	0.35**	1.57*	0.60*
	Protestant	0.77	0.46~	1.15	0.48*	1.04	1.71*	0.47	0.36	0.23**	1.40	1.65~	0.93
	Other	3.14*	0.61	2.40**	0.73	1.28	2.26*	1.35	1.62	0.31*	0.33	2.99*	0.62
Female		0.28**	0.35**	0.77	1.09	1.66**	0.66*	0.69	0.91	1.65~	0.94	1.96**	0.73
Birth year		0.90	0.78~	0.77**	0.59**	1.04	0.98	0.68*	0.77	1.31*	1.25~	0.73**	1.02
Organizational dissimilarity	Educational attainment			0.78**						0.98			
	Service attendance			0.51**						0.90			
	Religious denomination			0.98**						0.98~			
	Gender			1.00						1.02**			
	Age			0.72**						1.01			
Number of individuals				3937						1358			
Log likelihood				-6431.1						-2664.2			
χ^2 Likelihood ratio test random intercept				<0.01 (not significant)						0.14 (not significant)			

Notes: Estimates are reported as odds ratios. ** $p \leq 0.01$; * $p \leq 0.05$; ~ $p \leq 0.10$ (two-tailed tests). Both models control for marital, parental, and employment status, as well as whether one volunteers for another organization type, and time at risk.

Table S2.6 Adding gender * parental status interactions to the quitting model of Table 2.3

		Quitting model					
		Labor	Political	Religious	Cultural	School	Sports
Female		1.51	2.79**	2.04**	1.69*	1.47	1.65**
Parental status	Number of kids			0.87*			
	Any child aged 0-3			0.82			
	Any child aged 4-12			1.22			
Interactions	Female * Number of kids	0.93	0.78	0.68*	0.74~	1.16	0.92
	Female * Any child aged 0-3	3.24*	4.95*	2.07*	1.49	0.42**	1.43
	Female * Any child aged 4-12	1.18	0.55	1.61	0.71	0.83	0.62
Number of individuals				1358			
Log likelihood				-3666.7			
χ^2 Likelihood ratio test random intercept				1.62 (not significant)			

Notes: Estimates are reported as odds ratios. ** $p \leq 0.01$; * $p \leq 0.05$; ~ $p \leq 0.10$ (two-tailed tests). The model controls for birth year, educational attainment, religious service attendance, religious denomination, marital status, employment status, as well as whether one volunteers for another organization type, and time at risk.

Chapter 3

Segregation in Civic Life:

Ethnic Sorting and Mixing across Voluntary Associations in The Netherlands

Abstract

To what extent do voluntary organizations like sports, leisure, and neighborhood associations provide a platform where ethnic groups mingle and ethnic boundaries are overcome? This study uses unique panel data from the Netherlands Longitudinal Life Course Study (NELLS) to shed light on the integrative power of voluntary associations. I investigate decisions to join and leave associations of different ethnic composition, as a member or a volunteer, among individuals of Turkish, Moroccan, and native Dutch origin. While all ethnic groups are in general equally likely to join voluntary organizations, after accounting for relevant socio-demographic characteristics, ethnic minorities are more likely to leave than Dutch natives. This alone explains their lower involvement rates. Moreover, joining decisions are characterized by strong ethnic sorting across organizations of different ethnic composition: people are much more likely to join associations containing fewer ethnic out-group members. This limits the potential of voluntary associations as pathways to social integration. In contrast, once the initial hurdle of getting involved has been taken, people are no more likely to disengage from organizations with more ethnic out-group members. Inter-ethnic

neighborhood contact and the local supply of involvement opportunities are most influential in explaining the strong sorting tendencies in people's joining decisions.

3.1. Introduction

Public and academic interests in voluntary association involvement have been rising in recent decades. One of the core reasons for this is the widely held conviction that participation in voluntary associations (e.g. neighborhood groups, school organizations, political parties, sports clubs) yields benefits like improved wellbeing and enhanced labor market prospects (Borgonovi 2008; Ruiter and de Graaf 2009). In addition, voluntary association involvement is thought to foster social cohesion (Putnam 2000), increase political participation, and contribute to the functioning of democracy (McFarland and Thomas 2006), although certain involvement patterns could also amplify pre-existing social inequalities and sharpen social boundaries (DiMaggio and Garip 2011; Lim 2010).

Various governments promote involvement in voluntary associations as a response to the downsizing of welfare state programs and concerns about diminished solidarity in increasingly diverse societies. In the lead-up to his election as prime minister, David Cameron (2010) coined the term 'Big Society' to describe his vision of active citizenship, whereby people of different backgrounds work together to solve community issues. He argued that "It's not the big state that will tackle our social problems and increase wellbeing.

It's the Big Society.”, and that every adult should be member of a neighborhood association. Similar agendas have been pursued elsewhere, such as in The Netherlands under the label of ‘Participation Society’ (Dutch Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations 2013).

Whereas voluntary association involvement is often claimed to have a positive influence on social integration, rising levels of ethnic diversity are regularly cited as an urgent threat to social cohesion (Putnam 2007). Ethnicity is indeed shown to have a powerful stratifying impact on many kinds of social ties, including marriage, friendships, and work relationships (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001), supporting the portrayal of ethnic diversity as impetus to social fragmentation. Thus, the question arises whether voluntary associations help to overcome ethnic boundaries and foster inter-group cohesion, or whether they instead reproduce and reinforce existing fault lines (Blau and Schwartz 1984). This question directly scrutinizes one of the underpinnings of the ‘Big Society model’.

However, existing knowledge on this topic does not reach far beyond the common observation that ethnic minorities generally have lower volunteering and membership rates than the ethnic majority (Musick, Wilson, and Bynum 2000; Gijsberts, Van der Meer, and Dagevos 2012). Much less is known about the ethnic composition of the organizations that different ethnic groups typically get involved in. Therefore, it remains unclear how much ethnic mixing takes place in voluntary associations.

In this study I use innovative Dutch panel data to investigate decisions to join and leave voluntary organizations of different ethnic composition among people of Turkish, Moroccan, and Dutch origin. As such, this study enriches broader debates on ethnic integration and assimilation. Previous work has considered such processes regarding, amongst others, educational attainment (Kao and Thompson 2003), labor market outcomes

(Heath, Rethon, and Kilpi 2008), religious participation (Edwards, Christerson, and Emerson 2013), and electoral behavior (Leighley and Vedlitz 1999). Here I assess whether ethnic differentials and hierarchies observed in those settings extend to civic engagement.

At the same time, this study contributes to the literature on voluntary association involvement and civic participation more generally. First, and in contrast to the conventional practice of looking at cross-sectional snapshots of who is involved at a single point in time (notable exceptions include Rotolo (2000) and Lancee and Radl (2014)), I focus on people's involvement trajectories by analyzing decisions to start and quit volunteering or memberships. This angle provides richer insights into the dynamics behind the common cross-sectional finding that ethnic minorities have lower civic involvement rates than native majorities. Does this reflect that minorities are less likely to get involved, more likely to drop out once involved, or a combination of the two?

This question is of interest, because while *getting* involved is a precondition for reaping any well-being or labor market benefits of voluntary association involvement, one's success in this regard is probably strongly affected by whether one *stays* involved for a sustained period of time. Similarly, relationships formed within associations may not last and mature if one only 'stops by' for a little. Moreover, joining and leaving are fundamentally distinct processes. Joining decisions are, for example, heavily influenced by recruitment efforts and opportunities, while leaving decisions also reflect evaluations of experiences within voluntary associations. This point is widely recognized by social movement scholars (Klandermans 1997; Corrigan-Brown 2013), but hardly applied in research on voluntary association involvement.

Another novel element of this study is its attention for the organizational contexts in which membership and volunteering activities are embedded, in particular the ethnic composition of organizations. This composition may well have a defining impact on the degree to which voluntary associations reinforce pre-existing ethnic divides or boost inter-ethnic cohesion. Driven by similar concerns, scholars of religion have been debating whether multiracial congregations reproduce or challenge racial inequality, with the jury still being out (Edwards et al. 2013). Other research has demonstrated that voluntary association membership is not equally strongly related to generalized trust, community reciprocity, and social network diversity across different types of organizations, possibly reflecting the influence of organizational context (Stolle and Rochon 1998; Glanville 2004). In light of these findings, this study explores *general* ethnic differences in starting and quitting volunteering and memberships, but also how such differences vary by the *ethnic composition* of voluntary organizations. This perspective enables an appraisal of the degree of ethnic sorting and mixing taking place across associations.

In looking at the social composition of voluntary associations, I build on work by McPherson and colleagues (Popielarz and McPherson 1995; McPherson and Rotolo 1996), who show that people are more likely to be members of associations that contain more people with similar characteristics as themselves (see also McPherson, Popielarz, and Drobnic 1992). Ethnicity is not part of their analyses, but given that ethnicity is one of the most salient stratifiers of social networks (McPherson et al. 2001), strong ethnic sorting can be expected in volunteering and membership decisions. Such tendencies would limit the scope for inter-ethnic contact in voluntary associations.

Further extending the work by McPherson and colleagues, I consider both membership *and* volunteering. Membership concerns the consumption of services provided by associations, or subscribing to their mission, whilst volunteering usually entails a firmer commitment. It concerns unpaid work to run the associations, and generally requires more intense interaction with co-members. Additionally, I look at the composition of *individual* organizations instead of *types* of organizations. Previous research has focused on the latter, but this ignores important variation in social composition across organizations falling within the same category (e.g. neighborhood associations, sports clubs, religious groups). As a final contribution, I test several mechanisms that could cause segregation tendencies in people's joining and leaving decisions.

The first of these mechanisms concerns inter-group attitudes. I examine here to what extent any ethnic sorting across voluntary associations is explained by people preferring to associate with others from their own group. The second mechanism relates to the ethnic composition of social networks, with the underlying assumption that these networks affect the likelihood of being aware of and being recruited by particular organizations. Thirdly, I consider the local supply of involvement opportunities for organizations of different ethnic composition, recognizing that this is a key constraint in shaping volunteering and membership decisions.

My empirical analysis exploits unique data from the Netherlands Longitudinal Lifecourse Study (NELLS; Tolsma et al. 2014a). This data source contains information on the ethnic composition of the voluntary associations that people are involved in, alongside rich information on inter-ethnic attitudes, contacts, and networks. Furthermore, its two-wave panel design enables me to track joining and leaving transitions between 2010 (wave 1) and

2013 (wave 2). The NELLS also oversamples individuals of Moroccan and Turkish origin, allowing for comparisons between these minority groups and the native Dutch majority.

Moroccans and Turks are the largest ethnic minorities in The Netherlands, with a share of respectively 2.2 and 2.4 percent in the total population, jointly representing approximately 40 percent of all non-Western minorities (data for 2014 from Statistics Netherlands).⁹ Both groups originate from labor migration in the 1960s and 1970s, but immigration has continued ever since, mainly via family formation and reunification. The fact that most initial immigrants had few qualifications and were recruited for low-skilled jobs has implications for Moroccans' and Turks' social status nowadays, also trickling down to the later immigrant generations (Voas and Fleischmann 2012). Indeed, Moroccans and Turks rank lower in the ethnic hierarchy than Dutch natives but also lower than minorities from former colonies like Indonesia and Suriname. Both their structural and socio-cultural integration into Dutch society are subject of concern (Huijnk and Dagevos 2012; Huijnk, Gijsberts, and Dagevos 2014), with possible consequences for their assimilation in civic life.

The limited structural integration of Turks and Moroccans is expressed in lower rates of labor force participation (primarily among women), lower occupational status, and higher rates of unemployment, poverty, and benefit dependence (Huijnk et al. 2014). They also often live in areas with rather high ethnic minority concentrations and deprivation levels, though residential segregation in The Netherlands is much weaker than in, for instance, the United States (Musterd 2005). On top of this, the socio-cultural distance from Moroccans and Turks to the native Dutch population is greater than for most other minorities. This is expressed in

⁹ The next largest non-Western minority groups are from Indonesia, Suriname, and The Netherlands Antilles, reflecting the colonial past of The Netherlands.

high rates of intra- versus inter-ethnic contact, and a relatively weak command of the Dutch language, especially among Turks (Huijnk and Dagevos 2012). The role of religion deserves emphasis as well, with immigrant religion being regarded as a bigger barrier to integration in Europe than in the US (Foner and Alba 2008). Not only does the Muslim background of the Moroccan and Turkish minorities contrast with the predominantly Christian background of Dutch natives, but religion is in general much more important for Moroccans and Turks than for the highly secular native majority.

The ensuing cultural distance between the ethnic minorities and the native majority gives rise to discrimination and social exclusion. Notwithstanding that The Netherlands have traditionally been more open to accommodating Muslim minorities than most countries in Western Europe, Statham (forthcoming) demonstrates that Dutch natives hold discriminating views towards Muslim minorities, and Huijnk and Dagevos (2012) note that about 40 percent of Moroccans and Turks in The Netherlands perceive to be discriminated sometimes. More generally, the social climate towards Moroccans and Turks has sharpened in recent years, following terrorism by radical Muslim groups abroad and domestic events like the murder of the Islam-critical filmmaker Theo van Gogh in 2004. These events have fueled native hostility against Muslim minorities, illustrated by the success of self-acclaimed 'anti-Islam' politician Geert Wilders (Statham, forthcoming). Such negative sentiments could constrain the integration of Moroccans and Turks in civic life, also via evoking a sense of 'reactive ethnicity' among the minorities (Voas and Fleischmann 2012). Huijnk and Dagevos (2012) indeed find that the proportion of Moroccans and Turks identifying with The Netherlands rather than their origin country has stagnated since the turn of the century.

Before proceeding, I should finally stress that this article only looks at voluntary association involvement and not at more informal forms of volunteering and participation. Such activities tend to occur on a more casual and individual basis, structured around pre-existing family and neighbor relations (Wilson and Musick 1997), reducing their potential payoffs for social cohesion at a wider scale (Putnam 2000). Nevertheless, more active participants in formal organizations are usually more active in informal networks as well (Wilson and Musick 1997). This also holds for all ethnic groups in the NELLS data, although Turks and Moroccans provide relatively more help to parents and other family.

3.2. Theory and hypotheses

3.2.1. The volunteering and membership market

Previous theorizing on voluntary association involvement has often been done on an ad hoc basis, bestowing resources or values on individuals with particular socio-demographic profiles to explain observed volunteering and membership patterns. A coherent model that systematically accounts for different involvement transitions is generally lacking. Against this backdrop, I propose here the volunteering and membership market as an auxiliary framework for approaching people's decisions to join and leave voluntary associations.

This market framework is especially suitable for my analysis of joining and leaving transitions, as it offers clear predictions regarding various mechanisms that can be directly tested using my data. It is analogous to market models in the fields of social movements (Klandermans 2004), religion (Sherkat and Wilson 1995), and marriage (Kalmijn 1998).

Within the volunteering literature, Wilson and Musick (1997) also refer to a marketplace for voluntary labor, where volunteers and organizations meet. Lim and Laurence (2015) implicitly rely on a market model as well, contrasting demand- and supply-side explanations for a decline in volunteering in Britain following the Great Recession.

On the volunteering and membership market matches are made between potential participants and voluntary associations. In the case of volunteering, potential volunteers offer voluntary labor and associations offer volunteering opportunities. The behavior of both parties is governed by their preferences, resources, and external constraints. Matches between individuals and organizations result from the interplay of these factors.

The preferences of potential volunteers and members relate to their motives for being civically involved, which could reflect certain values or desires to strengthen social relationships, improve career opportunities, etc. (Hwang, Grabb, and Curtis 2005). Their valuation of competing time uses such as paid work, household tasks, and involvement in more informal networks matters as well. The resources of potential participants comprise the amount of time and money at their disposal, but also less tangible assets like communication skills, and psychological resources like efficacy perceptions. Social networks represent another important resource, providing support and advice, channeling information, reinforcing norms, and imposing group sanctions (Kalmijn 1998; Wilson and Musick 1997). The most prominent external constraint faced by potential participants concerns the menu of volunteering and membership opportunities available to them. The breadth and depth of this supply are heavily influenced by the local presence of voluntary associations (cf. Lim and Laurence 2015).

The aims of voluntary associations often boil down to the expansion, improvement, and/or continuity of their service provision. These goals are reflected in the numbers of volunteers and members they are looking for, as well as the desired characteristics of prospective participants. Some organizations strive to enter new segments of society, increasing their overall legitimacy, while others focus on consolidating the ‘niches’ they occupy (cf. Brady, Schlozman, and Verba 1999; McPherson and Rotolo 1996). An important resource of voluntary organizations is their stock of current participants, who form a bridge via which associations can reach out to prospective participants. Indeed, Lim (2010) shows that political activists disproportionately target people who are easily reachable through the social networks of existing activists. Finally, the main external constraint faced by voluntary associations arises from the limited availability of (suitable) potential participants, and competition from other associations in attracting and retaining those individuals (McPherson and Rotolo 1996; Sandell 2001).

A limitation of the market framework as described here is that it takes the wider institutional context in which individuals and organizations are embedded as given. This is not to say that macro-social factors have no impact on volunteering and membership decisions – and ethnic differentials therein. Quite the opposite, the broader context of migration histories, ethnic hierarchies, and discrimination in The Netherlands (see the introduction of this chapter) may very well leave a mark on civic life. Therefore, these factors are worth keeping in mind, even though their impact cannot be directly assessed with the present data.

3.2.2. Ethnic differences in joining and leaving in general

Previous research on ethnic differences in voluntary association involvement points out that ethnic minorities are less likely to be civically engaged than native majority groups. Musick et al. (2000) demonstrate that Black-White differentials in the United States remain even after controlling for differences in socio-economic status and religious networks. Studies on Europe show similar patterns (De Rooij 2012; Gijssberts et al. 2012). These findings fit in with a broader literature on the social integration and assimilation of ethnic minorities, which shows that these groups lag behind in terms of educational achievement, labor market outcomes, and political participation (Kao and Thompson 2003; Heath et al. 2008; Leighley and Vedlitz 1999). As of yet, however, it remains unclear to what degree these differentials reflect that ethnic minorities are less likely to become involved in voluntary associations or more likely to drop out once involved.

There are good reasons for expecting ethnic minorities to have both lower chances of joining and higher chances of leaving voluntary associations. Thinking of the time use of prospective participants, we know that Non-Western minorities are traditionally more actively engaged in informal vis-à-vis formal networks and volunteering (Sundeen, Garcia, and Raskoff 2009). In The Netherlands this is especially true for the Turkish minority (Huijnk and Dagevos 2012). Such dispositions could explain a lower propensity to get involved in voluntary associations to begin with, but also reduce minorities' loyalty to the associations that they are involved in, translating into higher quitting propensities.

Similarly, differences between the human, cultural, and social capital stocks of ethnic minorities and the native majority likely play a role for both joining and leaving. Shortfalls

of financial resources, language skills, social support, and information about involvement opportunities all form barriers to getting involved. In addition, they make ethnic minority members less popular recruitment targets. At the same time, smaller stocks of civic and communicational skills hinder successful participation and gratifying interactions within associations, giving rise to higher quitting propensities. Such tendencies may be exacerbated by prejudice and in-group biases among native majority members of organizations, as well as opaque organizational structures and practices. These forces could be especially strong in organizations that are heavily dominated by natives, where minorities have little power to stand up for change. Related research on religious congregations in the US finds that even in racially diverse congregations norms and practices are often geared to the white majority, leaving it up to minorities to either adapt or exit (Edwards et al. 2013).

The local supply of involvement opportunities is another possible driver of ethnic differences in joining and leaving voluntary associations. In this context, it is well-known that ethnic minorities often live in more deprived neighborhoods with a sparser civic infrastructure (Vermeulen, Tillie, and Van de Walle 2012). As a consequence, they are less likely to be approached with recruitment requests and to come across associations in their daily lives. The influence of a scarce supply of involvement opportunities on quitting decisions is, on the other hand, less clear-cut. Whereas opportunity-rich environments allow for better matches between individuals and associations, leading to lower exit rates, such environments also offer more alternatives to people who are dissatisfied in their current association, making leaving a less costly decision. Despite this ambiguity, my first core hypothesis reads: *As compared with Dutch natives, people of Moroccan and Turkish origin are less likely to start volunteering and memberships (H1a), and more likely to quit (H1b).*

3.2.3. The ethnic composition of organizations and joining and leaving transitions

For assessing ethnic integration in voluntary associations, it is not sufficient to analyze general differences in joining and leaving decisions. We should also determine whether ethnic groups mix with each other or sort across voluntary organizations, and thus pay attention to the ethnic composition of the organizations joined and left. Some previous studies already point to composition-related arguments for explaining volunteering (e.g. Lewis, MacGregor, and Putnam 2013), and distinguish between ‘bridging’ and ‘bonding’ organizations (Stolle and Rochon 1998; Putnam 2000). However, the interplay of individuals’ characteristics and the social composition of organizations has generally escaped direct scrutiny.

Work conducted by Miller McPherson and his colleagues, exploiting longitudinal data from the Ten Towns in Nebraska Survey, represents a major landmark in this area (Popielarz and McPherson 1995; McPherson et al. 1992; McPherson and Rotolo 1996). It develops a model for the evolution of the ‘niches’ of voluntary associations in social space, founded on the principles that people join organizations via recruitment through homogenous networks, and that organizations compete for members. Empirically, Popielarz and McPherson (1995) find that members are more likely to leave organizations dominated by the opposite gender, and as their distance to the educational niche of the organization type widens. Similarly, Scheitle and Dougherty (2010) find that minority members in multiracial congregations have shorter membership durations as the share of majority members in the congregation rises, arguably reflecting individual and organizational pressures that make them leave faster.

Extending this line of research, I consider here both memberships and volunteering, both joining and leaving, and I shift the focus to ethnicity as one of the strongest divides in social life (McPherson et al. 2001). Furthermore, I measure the composition of voluntary organizations for *individual* organizations instead of by *type* of organization (e.g. religion, sports, politics, school).¹⁰ The variation in composition across organizations that belong to the same category is namely far from negligible. Compare, for example, a tennis club consisting of rich, highly-educated members from the ethnic majority with a soccer club comprising mostly ethnic minorities from lower socio-economic strata. Likewise, even though religious congregations are notoriously segregated along ethnic lines (Edwards et al. 2013), religious associations as a category are extremely diverse in terms of the ethnicity of their members. Therefore, composition measures at the level of individual organizations are vastly superior indicators of the concrete organizational contexts that participants are embedded in. Finally, I inspect several mechanisms that could produce ethnic sorting across voluntary associations, observing that such tendencies could be driven by a variety of forces (see section 3.2.4).

My initial hypotheses on the role of the ethnic composition of voluntary associations are in line with the aforementioned findings of the few previous studies in this area, as well as the observation that social networks display high degrees of ethnic homogeneity: *Dutch natives are more likely to join organizations containing fewer ethnic minority members (H2a), and more likely to leave organizations with more ethnic minority members (H2b);*

¹⁰ In their analysis of membership dissolution in Nebraska, Popielarz and McPherson (1995) already measure the gender composition of individual associations, but they still measure educational niches at the level of association types.

People of Moroccan and Turkish origin are more likely to join organizations containing more ethnic minority members (H3a), and more likely to leave organizations with fewer ethnic minority members (H3b).

3.2.4. Mechanisms behind ethnic sorting

This section discusses three mechanisms that could generate the ethnic sorting in volunteering and membership transitions predicted by hypotheses 2 and 3. These mechanisms are derived from the analytical framework of the market for volunteering and memberships, and relate to inter-ethnic attitudes (preferences), the ethnic composition of social networks (social resources), and the local supply of involvement opportunities (external constraints).¹¹ While the first mechanism exclusively deals with potential participants, the latter two also cover the voluntary associations side of the market: social network ties form a bridge between potential participants and associations, and the very presence of voluntary organizations determines the involvement opportunities available to potential participants.

Inter-ethnic attitudes

Social identity theory asserts that individuals have more favorable dispositions towards people from their own social group in order to maintain a sense of self-esteem (Tajfel

¹¹ This is a non-exhaustive list of potential sorting mechanisms, dictated by what can be tested with the current data. It is, for instance, not possible to address the influence of discrimination or organizational practices.

and Turner 1979). Following this principle, potential participants likely have ethnic in-group biases. Such in-group favoritism and its counterpart of out-group hostility feature prominently in ethnic conflict theories about the effect of ethnic diversity on social cohesion (Van der Meer and Tolsma 2014), and might explain why people are more likely to join associations that contain more members of their ethnic in-group. What is more, if someone does get involved in an association with many out-group members, such in-group biases plausibly imply a lower commitment level and less satisfaction from their involvement, increasing the chance of quitting. If in-group biases are widespread, the person is also more prone to experience discrimination and exclusion in out-group dominated associations. The same point is made by students of multiracial congregations in the US (Scheitle and Dougherty 2010; Edwards et al. 2013). Accordingly, my hypothesis concerning this preference-based mechanism is as follows: *Ethnic sorting in people's decisions to join and leave voluntary associations with more or fewer ethnic minority members can be explained by inter-ethnic attitudes (H4).*

The ethnic composition of social networks

The second mechanism deals with structurally induced homophily rather than preference-based homophily. The starting point is that people's networks of friends, family, colleagues, and neighbors are valuable resources by reinforcing social norms, channeling information, and providing support. From this perspective, having ethnic out-group ties in one's personal network expands one's knowledge about involvement opportunities for associations with more ethnic out-group members, as well as one's support base for involvement in such associations. Additionally, most (successful) recruitment occurs via

current participants asking others in their networks to join as well, whether we look at civic organizations, protest movements, or religious congregations (Brady et al. 1999; Lim 2010; Klandermans 1997; Corrigan-Brown 2013; Edwards et al. 2013). The presence of ethnic out-group ties in one's network of friends, family, colleagues, and neighbors therefore enhances one's chances of being asked to join, of ending up in, and of integrating and staying involved in associations containing more ethnic out-group members. Given that social networks exhibit strong ethnic homogeneity (McPherson et al. 2001), this recruitment mechanism can evoke powerful sorting across voluntary associations. Thus, I hypothesize: *Ethnic sorting in people's decisions to join and leave voluntary associations with more or fewer ethnic minority members can be explained by the ethnic composition of social networks (H5).*

Not all ties are necessarily equally influential, though. For example, it is unclear whether strong and weak ties matter equally much. The latter probably carry more persuasive power when it comes to recruitment requests and may represent a richer source of support, but weak ties are better able to expand people's awareness of different options (Granovetter 1983). While most scholars argue that strong ties are more successful recruiters than weak ties (e.g. Brady et al. 1999), Lim (2008) finds that it is rather the context in which ties are embedded that matters: e.g. neighborhood ties are more effective for recruitment into community politics, while ties embedded in civic associations are particularly effective for protest recruitment. For this reason, my analysis discerns social ties by strength as well as the environment in which they are situated.

The local supply of involvement opportunities by ethnic composition

Local levels of organizational activity largely shape the opportunity structures faced by potential participants. Analogous to the marriage market axiom that there is ‘no mating without meeting’, people are more likely to get and stay involved in associations with a particular ethnic composition if such associations are well-represented within reasonable vicinity. The idea is that potential participants have a limited menu of options due to residential clustering of ethnic groups, with most ethnic minorities in The Netherlands living in urban areas and especially certain neighborhoods within the big cities (Musterd 2005; Tolsma et al. 2014b). A person of minority origin living in a deprived urban area where native-dominated associations are only sparsely represented has, for instance, a much higher chance of joining an association that predominantly contains ethnic minority members than a native-dominated association (cf. Vermeulen et al. 2012). What mainly matters here are the ‘market shares’ of organizations of different ethnic composition (in terms of their organizational activity), since those shares determine their competitiveness (McPherson and Rotolo 1996; Sandell 2001). To summarize my hypothesis: *Ethnic sorting in people’s decisions to join and leave voluntary associations with more or fewer ethnic minority members can be explained by the local supply of involvement opportunities by ethnic composition (H6).*

3.3. *Data and methods*

3.3.1. *Data source*

The first wave of the NELLS was carried out between December 2008 and May 2010, and the second wave between February 2013 and December 2013.¹² The former combined a face-to-face interview with a self-completion questionnaire, while the second interview was entirely conducted via face-to-face or computer-assisted interviewing. The sampling frame included an oversampling of people of Turkish and Moroccan origin. First, 35 municipalities were quasi-randomly selected, and next three random samples were drawn from the population aged 15-45 in each of those municipalities: one for people born in Turkey or whose father and/or mother were born in Turkey, another for people born in Morocco or whose father and/or mother were born in Morocco, and a third for everyone else.¹³

The net response rate in the first wave was 56 percent among Dutch natives, and 50 and 46 percent among respondents of Turkish and Moroccan origin, respectively. These rates compare favorably to earlier attempts at interviewing ethnic minorities in The Netherlands (Tolsma et al. 2014b). The second survey wave achieved a net re-interview rate of 75 percent. After excluding the heterogeneous subsample of respondents that are neither native Dutch, Turkish, nor Moroccan (i.e. first- or second-generation immigrants from any other country;

¹² The long periods over which both surveys – and especially the first – took place imply considerable variation across individuals in terms of the time span between the two interviews. Indeed, this interval ranges from 33 to 60 months. While the duration between the interviews affects the likelihood of the occurrence of any starting and quitting transitions, there is no significant variation between ethnic groups in this duration, with the group-specific means, standard deviations, and inter-quartile ranges (in months) being as follows: 45, 6, and [40;50] for Dutch natives, 45, 6, and [40;49] for Moroccans, and 47, 6, and [41;51] for Turks.

¹³ The target age range of the NELLS is chosen to capture people's major life transitions, e.g. entering the labor market, forming a family, etc.

229 in total), and respondents with missing values for any variable included in my analyses (47 in total), I am left with a panel sample of 2,553 individuals, containing 1,693 Dutch natives, 421 Moroccans, and 439 Turks.

3.3.2. Voluntary association involvement data

The NELLS distinguishes eight types of voluntary associations covering the following areas: sports, leisure (music, hobby, or culture), neighborhood, professional / consumer interests, immigrants, politics, religion, and environment / international solidarity. For each type, respondents are asked whether they are member, and whether they do any voluntary work. Subsequently, they have to indicate how many of their co-members belong to an ethnic minority, which is clarified as people of Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, or Antillean descent (the last two groups together form the next largest non-Western minority in The Netherlands). The response options are ‘none’, ‘a few’, ‘quite a lot’, and ‘nearly all’, the latter two of which I collapse into one category.

Wave 2 only repeats the composition questions for sports, leisure, and neighborhood associations. Therefore, while my analyses of joining and leaving in general consider all eight organization types, I subsequently zoom in on sports, leisure and neighborhood associations when analyzing ethnic sorting across organizations. It is unfortunate that religious and immigrant associations cannot be included in all analyses, since those organizations are popular among Turks and Moroccans and strongly segregated in wave 1. Yet, also among minorities, involvement in sports, leisure, and neighborhood associations is at least as common, ensuring that my analyses capture the majority of volunteering and memberships

among all ethnic groups.¹⁴ Nevertheless, not including religious and immigrant organizations likely leads me to underestimate the segregation of the civic landscape.

Table 3.1 shows the percentage of respondents that report being a volunteer or member in at least one survey wave by organization type and ethnic composition as well as respondents' ethnicity (focusing on sports, leisure, and neighborhood associations). This table illustrates that Turkish and Moroccan respondents have lower involvement rates than Dutch natives for each type of organization. In addition, the highest involvement rates for each group are for organizations that contain the most ethnic in-group members.

3.3.3. *Explanatory variables*

Ethnicity

A distinction is made between Dutch natives, respondents born in Turkey or whose father or mother was born there, and respondents born in Morocco or whose father or mother was born there. Approximately 60 percent of both minorities are first-generation immigrants, 35 percent belong to the second generation, and 5 percent are from the 2.5 generation.

¹⁴ 14 percent of Moroccans volunteer for sports, leisure, or neighborhood associations in at least one survey wave, versus 11 percent for religious or immigrant associations (and 42 versus 26 percent for memberships). For Turks these percentages are respectively 15 versus 15 for volunteering, and 41 versus 34 for memberships. Moreover, among all minorities volunteering for religious or immigrant associations, around 43 percent also volunteers for sports, leisure, or neighborhood associations, and for memberships this number rises to 54 percent.

Table 3.1 Percentage of respondents that are volunteers or members in at least one survey wave, by ethnicity, association type, and the ethnic composition of associations

		Native Dutch (n = 1,693)	Moroccan (n = 421)	Turkish (n = 439)
Volunteer in wave 1 and/or wave 2 (%)	Sports	17	8 *	6 *
	Leisure	17	5 *	8 *
	Neighborhood	6	6	5
	Any of the three above	32	14 *	15 *
	Any volunteering at all	39	23 *	25 *
Member in wave 1 and/or wave 2 (%)	Sports	34	30	24 *
	Leisure	27	14 *	16 *
	Neighborhood	15	12	12
	Any of the three above	56	42 *	41 *
	Any membership at all	77	63 *	64 *
Volunteer in wave 1 and/or wave 2 (%)	No EM co-members	21	2 *	2 *
	A few EM co-members	15	5 *	5 *
	Many EM co-members	2	9 *	8 *
Member in wave 1 and/or wave 2 (%)	No EM co-members	37	7 *	7 *
	A few EM co-members	30	20 *	18 *
	Many EM co-members	4	24 *	23 *

Notes: People can be involved in multiple associations at the same time. The statistics for associations of different ethnic composition only look at sports, leisure, and neighborhood associations, for which composition data are available in both survey waves. Asterisks denote statistically significant differences with Dutch natives, based on two-sample tests of proportions: * $p \leq 0.01$ (two-tailed tests).

Inter-ethnic attitudes

For measuring inter-ethnic attitudes, I construct social distance scales from a battery of questions that ask respondents whether they would have a problem with someone of a particular ethnic origin (a) being appointed as their boss, (b) becoming their neighbor, (c) marrying their child. These questions are repeated for ‘someone’ of Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese or Antillean, and Dutch origin, with the response options ‘not at all’, ‘no’, and

‘yes’. I have generated two factor scores from these questions: one for hostility towards Dutch natives, and one for hostility towards ethnic minorities (which combines the questions about people of Turkish, Moroccan, and Surinamese/Antillean origin). Cronbach’s alpha roughly equals 0.85 for each factor score.

Social network composition

I include several measures for the ethnic composition of people’s social networks, distinguishing strong versus weak ties, and ties situated in different environments. For the strong tie indicators I rely on a question that asks respondents to nominate up to five people with whom they have discussed ‘important matters’ over the past six months. From this information, I create four dummy variables: two of them indicate whether the respondents have family members of native Dutch and ethnic minority origin with whom they discuss important matters, and two indicate whether they have non-family contacts of native Dutch and ethnic minority origin with whom they discuss such matters. For capturing weaker ties, I construct two dummy variables indicating whether one has any friends of native Dutch and ethnic minority origin. I also include measures for contact with Dutch natives and ethnic minorities in the neighborhood and at work or school. These contact variables are based on survey questions asking: ‘How often do you have personal contact with someone of [origin X] in your neighborhood (at your work/school)?’, with the clarification that personal contact implies regular interaction and knowing someone by name. Responses are measured on a seven-point scale ranging from ‘never’ to ‘every day’, and treated as continuous variables. For all social network variables, ties or contact with ‘ethnic minorities’ refer to relations with people of Turkish, Moroccan, or Surinamese/Antillean origin.

Local landscape of involvement opportunities

The local supply of involvement opportunities is measured by three indicators derived from the NELLS data. These variables approximate the level of organizational activity at the municipality level by looking at local membership rates for organizations of different ethnic composition. They signify how strongly organizations of different ethnic composition are locally represented, and therefore how many opportunities there are to be involved in an association with a particular composition, how likely it is that individuals are aware of such opportunities, and how likely it is that they are approached by members of such associations.

To construct each variable, I first count how many respondents within each of the 35 municipalities are member of an association with respectively no, a few, and many ethnic minority co-members. Thereafter, I divide these numbers by the total number of respondents in the municipality. This provides estimates of the local membership densities (the ‘market shares’) for organizations of different ethnic composition, measured in percentages.¹⁵ These calculations are based on all respondents to wave 1 of the NELLS (i.e. not only those who also took part in the second wave), to exploit as much information as possible. The estimates are based on 32 to 420 respondents per municipality, with the average respondent living in a municipality with 211 respondents. I apply weights to correct for the oversampling of individuals of Moroccan and Turkish origin, thus arriving at more representative estimates of the true membership densities in each municipality.

¹⁵ Because the second part of my analysis is restricted to sports, leisure, and neighborhood associations, the supply measures only take those organization types into consideration.

Control variables

The analyses control for a variety of factors that are known to affect memberships and volunteering (see Musick and Wilson 2008): age (in years), age squared, gender (a dummy variable for being female), educational attainment (on a five-point scale from ‘only primary education’ to ‘having a university degree’, treated as continuous), religious service attendance (on a five-point scale from ‘never’ to ‘at least once a week’, treated as continuous), parental status (a dummy variable for having children under 18 living at home), marital status (a dummy variable for marriage/cohabitation), housing tenure (a dummy variable for ownership versus renting), employment and occupational status (dummy variables for being employed, unemployed, in full-time education, or otherwise outside the labor force; the employed are subdivided by the quartile of the ISEI distribution that their job falls into), language proficiency (number of correct answers to a vocabulary test with nine items), and country of birth (a dummy variable for being born in The Netherlands).

All of these factors in one way or another affect the participation preferences of potential volunteers, the resources that enable or constrain them to participate, and how likely they are to be approached with recruitment requests. At the same time, most of them are also correlated with ethnicity, so for isolating the impact of ethnicity it is important to include these factors in the analyses. That said, some of these factors (e.g. religious service attendance, language proficiency) are directly affected by ethnicity, thus partially mediating the relationship between ethnicity and voluntary association involvement. As such, their inclusion might understate the strength of that relationship. For this reason, I estimate all core models both with and without the control variables.

Descriptive statistics for all explanatory variables are presented in Appendix A3.¹⁶

3.3.4. *Methods*

I use the two-wave panel structure of the NELLS to identify which individuals have the opportunity to start or quit volunteering and memberships (i.e. are ‘at risk’ of starting or quitting), and which of them indeed experience such a transition between the two survey waves. Because individuals could simultaneously be involved in multiple types of associations (e.g. sports, leisure, neighborhood), they could also experience starting and quitting events for multiple types of associations. Therefore, my units of analysis are respondent – association type combinations, with observations nested within respondents, which are in turn nested in municipality districts. I correct for this nesting structure by estimating clustered standard errors.

In the first part of the analysis, when examining ethnic differences in joining and leaving organizations in general, I look at all eight organization types distinguished in the NELLS. Subsequently, when analyzing ethnic sorting across organizations, I only consider sports, leisure, and neighborhood associations, since only for those types the NELLS contains ethnic composition information in wave 2.

Separate regression models are estimated for volunteering and memberships, and for starting and quitting. The starting models are restricted to those observations (i.e. respondent

¹⁶ Incorporating controls for participation in other organizations (i.e. different from the one in question), and for organization types (e.g. sports, leisure, neighborhood) does not substantially alter the results. The same holds for controls for the percentage of ethnic minorities, average housing values, and income levels at the district level.

– association type combinations) for which an individual could experience a starting transition; that is, exclusively those association types for which the individual *is not* a member or volunteer in wave 1. In contrast, the quitting models are confined to those observations for which a quitting transition could potentially occur; that is, all association types for which the individual *is* a member or volunteer in wave 1. For the first part of the analysis, the ethnic composition of the organizations joined or left does not matter. Later on I do take this ethnic composition into account (see the model descriptions below).

Someone might also experience a starting *and* a quitting transition for the same association type, e.g. leaving a sports club with no ethnic minority co-members, and joining one with many. However, in the data such switching events cannot be distinguished from continuous involvement in an organization with a changing composition. To ensure that ‘true’ starting and quitting events are analyzed, I only classify a transition as ‘starting’ if the person is initially not involved at all for the association type in question, and only count a transition as ‘quitting’ if the person disengages altogether from the association type. Thus, I only analyze 86 percent of all potential volunteering transitions, and 77 percent of all potential membership transitions. Among the potential events that I ignore, upward and downward moves along the ethnic composition axis are equally common, across all ethnic groups, so there is no obvious bias to the results due to ignoring those events.

Table 3.2 reports for sports, leisure, and neighborhood associations the number of starting and quitting transitions by association type and ethnic composition.

Table 3.2 Number of events by the type and ethnic composition of voluntary associations

VOLUNTEERING	No EM Start / Quit	A few EM Start / Quit	Many EM Start / Quit	Total Start / Quit
Sports	54 74	49 51	11 18	114 143
Leisure	64 55	61 49	34 10	159 114
Neighborhood	22 28	26 15	16 11	64 54
Total	140 157	136 115	61 39	337 311

MEMBERSHIP	No EM Start / Quit	A few EM Start / Quit	Many EM Start / Quit	Total Start / Quit
Sports	73 107	100 124	46 55	219 286
Leisure	80 88	91 88	49 31	220 207
Neighborhood	50 55	54 41	15 33	119 129
Total	203 250	245 253	110 119	558 622

Notes: Upright numbers refer to starting events (top of each cell); italicized numbers refer to quitting events (bottom of each cell). The overall starting rate (total number of events divided by total number of at risk spells) is 4.7% for volunteering and 8.6% for membership; the overall quitting rate (similarly defined) is 60.5% for volunteering and 52.9% for membership. Tables S3.1 and S3.2 in the supplement to this chapter contain the number of at risk spells for each cell as well as the number of events by ethnicity.

Starting models

For analyzing joining transitions, I start off by estimating binary logit models as summarized in Equation (3.1a). These regressions address hypothesis 1a on ethnic differences in starting volunteering and memberships in general. They model the log odds of being involved in a particular organization type in wave 2, given that one was not yet involved in such an organization in wave 1 (and thus ‘at risk’ of starting). All independent

variables are measured at the time of wave 1, to ensure that they precede any changes in volunteering and memberships. Next, I turn to estimating multinomial logit models as depicted in Equation (3.1b). Those models take into account the ethnic composition of the ‘destination organization’ (i.e. the organization being joined), thus testing hypotheses 2a and 3a on ethnic sorting across voluntary associations – and later on hypotheses 4 to 6. They model the log odds of being involved in an organization with composition k in wave 2, conditional on not being involved in wave 1. In this context, k can refer to organizations with no, a few, or many ethnic minority members. The coefficients of the independent variables are here allowed to vary by the ethnic composition of the ‘destination organization’.

$$\log \left(\frac{P(Y_{i,t+1} = 1)}{P(Y_{i,t+1} = 0)} \mid Y_{i,t} = 0 \right) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{Moroccan}_i + \beta_2 \text{Turkish}_i + \boldsymbol{\beta}_x \mathbf{X}_{i,t} \quad (3.1a)$$

$$\log \left(\frac{P(Y_{i,t+1} = k)}{P(Y_{i,t+1} = 0)} \mid Y_{i,t} = 0 \right) = \beta_{0k} + \beta_{1k} \text{Moroccan}_i + \beta_{2k} \text{Turkish}_i + \boldsymbol{\beta}_{xk} \mathbf{X}_{i,t} \quad (3.1b)$$

Quitting models

I estimate closely related models for analyzing quitting transitions. Equation (3.2a) describes the binary logit model that I employ in the first part of the analysis, modelling the log odds of no longer being involved at the time of wave 2 in an organization type in which one was still involved in wave 1. All independent variables are again measured at the time of wave 1. Equation (3.2b) illustrates the models that explore ethnic sorting in people’s quitting decisions. The left-hand side represents the log odds of having disengaged from an organization with ethnic composition k between the two survey waves. The definition of k is

the same as for the starting models, and the coefficients of the predictors are now allowed to vary by the composition of the ‘origin organization’ (i.e. the organization being left).

$$\log\left(\frac{P(Y_{i,t+1} = 0)}{P(Y_{i,t+1} = 1)} \mid Y_{i,t} = 1\right) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{Moroccan}_i + \beta_2 \text{Turkish}_i + \boldsymbol{\beta}_x \mathbf{X}_{i,t} \quad (3.2a)$$

$$\log\left(\frac{P(Y_{i,t+1} = 0)}{P(Y_{i,t+1} = k)} \mid Y_{i,t} = k\right) = \beta_{0k} + \beta_{1k} \text{Moroccan}_i + \beta_{2k} \text{Turkish}_i + \boldsymbol{\beta}_{xk} \mathbf{X}_{i,t} \quad (3.2b)$$

3.4. Results and discussion

3.4.1. Ethnic differences in joining and leaving in general

Tables 3.3 and 3.4 show the results of eight binary logit models that analyze starting and quitting decisions in general. For each combination of the two transitions (starting and quitting) and the two types of involvement (volunteering and membership), two models are presented: one with only ethnicity as a predictor, and another adding the control variables mentioned in section 3.3.3. The models in Tables 3.3 and 3.4 look at all eight organization types distinguished in the NELLS, including religious and immigrant organizations.¹⁷ Coefficient estimates are presented as average marginal effects.

¹⁷ Tables S3.3 and S3.4 in the supplement to this chapter summarize similar regressions restricted to sports, leisure, and neighborhood associations. Although most findings stay the same when applying this restriction, Turks seem somewhat less likely to join associations in the restricted models.

The estimated effects of ethnicity in the starting models in Table 3.3 strongly contradict hypothesis 1a, which posits that people of Moroccan and Turkish origin are generally less likely to start volunteering and memberships than Dutch natives. The average marginal effects of the ethnicity variables are close to zero, and not statistically significant. This holds true for Moroccans and Turks, for volunteering and memberships, and regardless of whether the controls are included. On the other hand, the quitting models in Table 3.4 do corroborate hypothesis 1b, which states that ethnic minority members are generally more likely to disengage from voluntary associations than the native majority. Both Moroccans and Turks have on average a significantly higher probability of terminating memberships than Dutch natives, with average marginal effects of close to 20 percentage points. Moreover, people of Turkish origin are significantly more likely to stop volunteering. In summary, the results in Tables 3.3 and 3.4 demonstrate that ethnic minority members are not any less likely to *get* involved in voluntary associations, but they are less likely to *stay* involved. This is especially the case for the Turkish minority.

Table 3.3 Binary logit models of starting volunteering and memberships, regardless of the type and ethnic composition of the association joined

All association types		STARTING			
		VOLUNTEERING		MEMBERSHIP	
		No controls	With controls	No controls	With controls
Ethnicity	Moroccan	-0.2	-0.2	-0.5	0.2
(ref = Dutch)	Turkish	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.6
Female			-0.5		-0.6
Age (years)			0.0		0.1 **
Born in NL			-0.2		-0.1
Education level (0-4)			0.2		1.1 **
Language test score (0-9)			0.2 *		0.1
Employment	2nd ISEI quartile		-0.3		-0.8
(ref = employed,	3rd ISEI quartile		0.5		0.2
1st ISEI quartile)	4th ISEI quartile		0.0		-0.1
	Education		1.4 *		0.5
	Unemployed		0.2		-0.9
	Household etc.		0.6		0.4
House ownership			0.4		1.1
Married/cohabiting			-0.1		-0.4
Children at home			0.7		0.4
Service attendance (0-4)			0.7 **		1.2 **
Reference probability		2.5% [2.2 ; 2.8]	2.6% [2.2 ; 2.9]	6.8% [6.3 ; 7.4]	6.7% [6.1 ; 7.2]
Number of individuals at risk		2,553		2,553	
Number of spells at risk		19,623		18,128	
Number of events		501		1,234	

Notes: Coefficient estimates are presented as average marginal effects, in percentage points. The 'Reference probability' row presents the average starting probabilities among Dutch natives, with their 95 percent confidence intervals. ** p≤0.01; * p≤0.05 (two-tailed tests)

Table 3.4 Binary logit models of quitting volunteering and memberships, regardless of the type and ethnic composition of the association left

All association types		QUITTING			
		VOLUNTEERING		MEMBERSHIP	
		No controls	With controls	No controls	With controls
Ethnicity	Moroccan	2.9	0.2	20.6 **	12.1 *
(ref = Dutch)	Turkish	17.3 **	15.6 *	23.0 **	16.6 **
Female			4.5		2.5
Age (years)			0.7 *		-0.4
Born in NL			-6.8		-5.8
Education level (0-4)			1.2		1.4
Language test score (0-9)			0.2		-1.1
Employment	2nd ISEI quartile		-3.4		-3.3
(ref = employed,	3rd ISEI quartile		-9.9		-9.1 *
1st ISEI quartile)	4th ISEI quartile		-12.4 *		-6.8
	Education		-0.3		-7.6
	Unemployed		10.6		1.1
	Household etc.		-6.4		1.8
House ownership			-15.2 **		-8.8 *
Married/cohabiting			-1.1		-1.4
Children at home			-10.4		0.8
Service attendance (0-4)			-6.7 **		-4.3 **
Reference probability		55.3% [51.3 ; 59.3]	55.9% [50.8 ; 61.0]	40.7% [37.8 ; 43.6]	42.9% [39.8 ; 46.0]
Number of individuals at risk		618		1,413	
Number of spells at risk		801		2,296	
Number of events		464		1,077	

Notes: Coefficient estimates are presented as average marginal effects, in percentage points. The 'Reference probability' row presents the average quitting probabilities among Dutch natives, with their 95 percent confidence intervals. ** p≤0.01; * p≤0.05 (two-tailed tests)

3.4.2. *The ethnic composition of organizations and joining and leaving transitions*

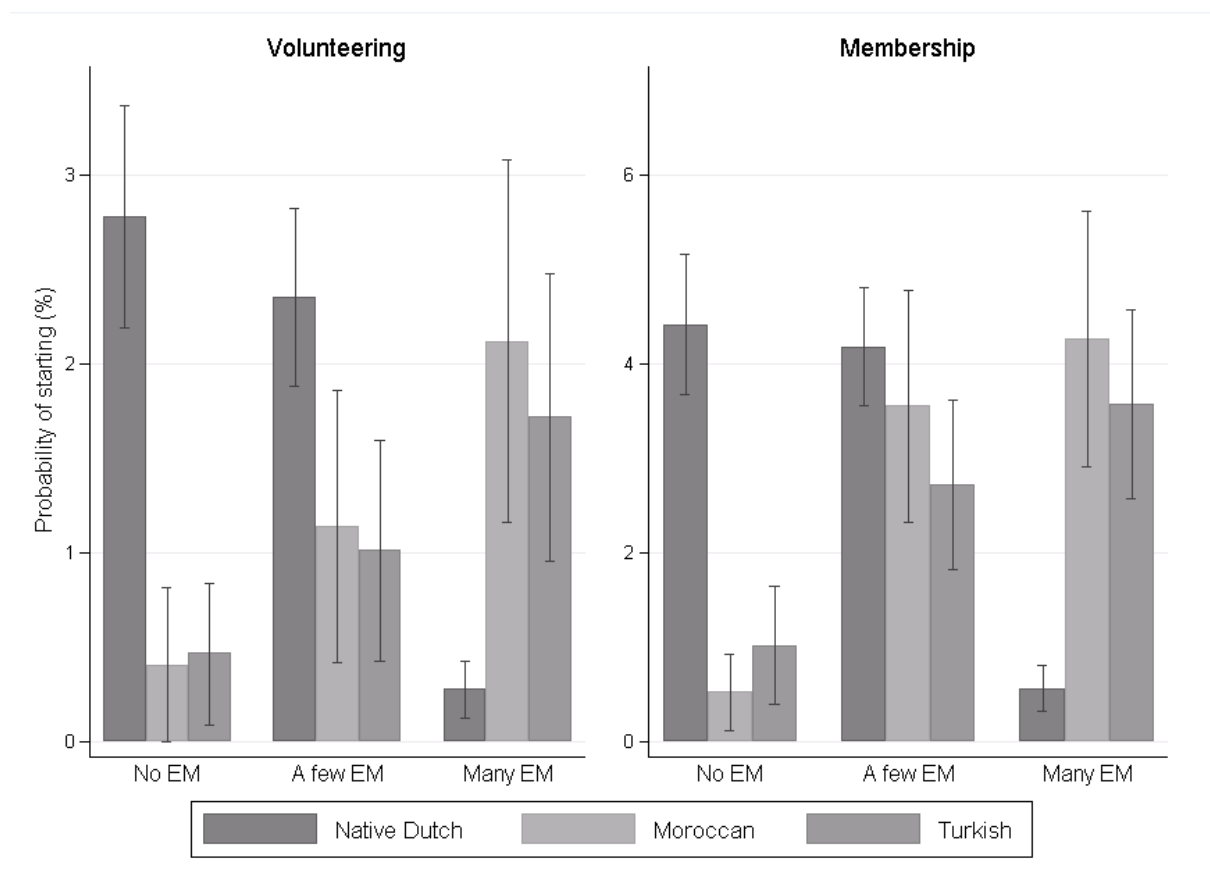
Figures 3.1 and 3.2 plot average predicted probabilities of starting and quitting based on models that estimate different effects of ethnicity depending on the ethnic composition of the organizations joined and left.¹⁸ The models summarized here only include ethnicity as a predictor. Similar though somewhat more noisy results are obtained from models including all controls (see Figures S3.1 and S3.2 in the supplement to this chapter). Notice that the volunteering and membership graphs in Figure 3.1 have vertical axes with different scales, reflecting that volunteering is less common. Also notice the distinct scales of the vertical axes between Figures 3.1 and 3.2, reflecting that the probabilities of quitting (conditional on being involved) are much higher than the probabilities of starting (conditional on not being involved). All analyses from here onwards are restricted to sports, leisure, and neighborhood associations. As such, they are not directly comparable to Tables 3.3 and 3.4, which encompass five additional organization types, but rather to Tables S3.3 and S3.4 in the supplement to this chapter.

Figure 3.1 reveals powerful sorting tendencies as far as joining transitions are concerned, with respect to both volunteering and memberships. This supports hypotheses 2a and 3a, which presume that people of minority origin are more likely to get involved in organizations with more minority members, while Dutch natives are less likely to join such organizations. The predicted probabilities of Moroccans and Turks joining associations with many ethnic minority members are four to five times higher than their predicted probabilities

¹⁸ Because my units of analysis are respondent – association type combinations, Figures 3.1 and 3.2 do not depict average starting and quitting probabilities per respondent, but per respondent – association type combination. The underlying regressions are summarized in Tables S3.5 and S3.6 in the supplement to this chapter.

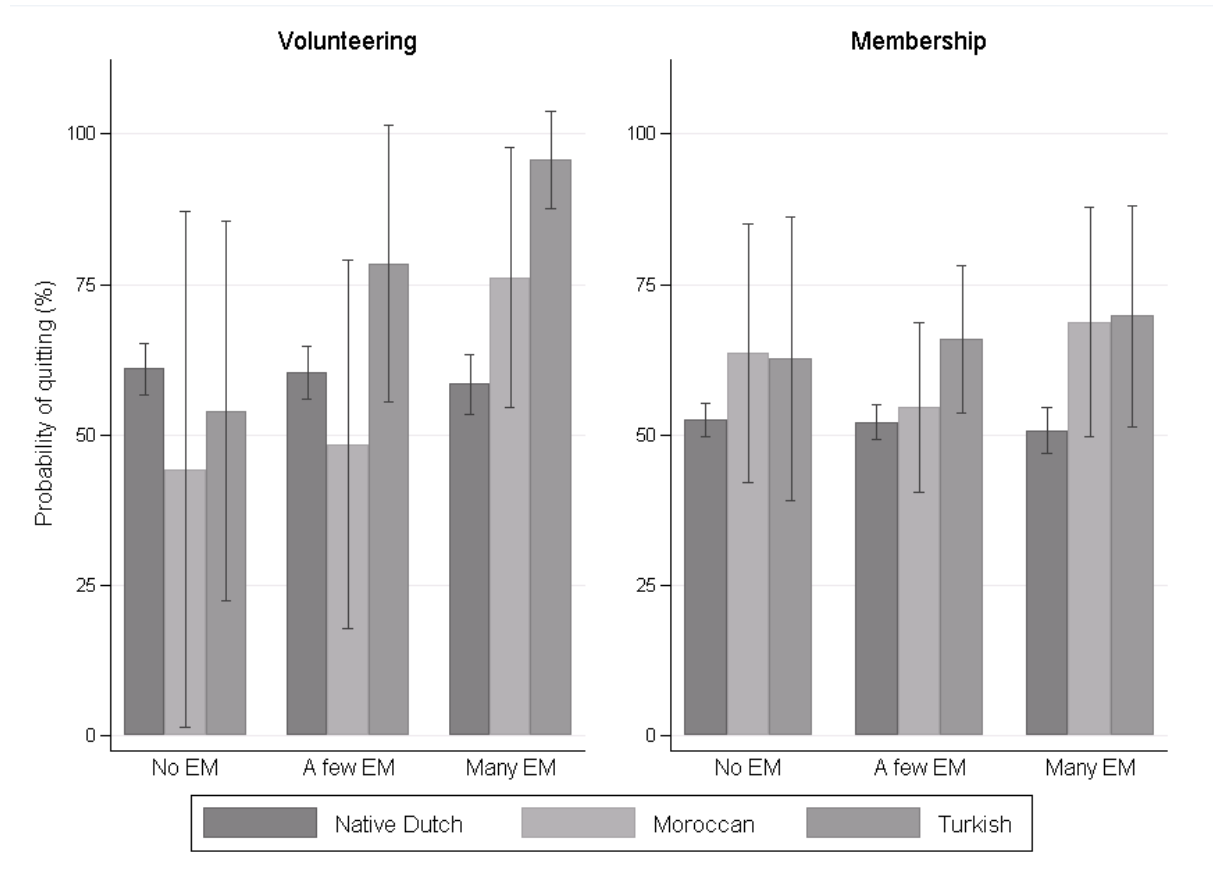
of joining associations with no ethnic minority members, and the reverse is true for the native Dutch majority.

Figure 3.1 Average predicted probabilities of starting volunteering and memberships, by individual ethnicity and the ethnic composition of voluntary associations



Notes: Predictions derived from multinomial logit models that only include ethnicity as a predictor. Predictions based on models including all control variables can be found in the online supplement to this article. Error bars denote 95% confidence intervals. The abbreviation 'EM' along the horizontal axis stands for 'ethnic minority members'.

Figure 3.2 Average predicted probabilities of quitting volunteering and memberships, by individual ethnicity and the ethnic composition of voluntary associations



Notes: Predictions derived from logit models that only include ethnicity as a predictor, which is allowed to have different effects depending on the ‘origin organization’ in which one is involved in wave 1. Predictions based on models including all control variables can be found in the online supplement to this article. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. The abbreviation ‘EM’ along the horizontal axis stands for ‘ethnic minority members’.

In contrast, Figure 3.2 does not show any ethnic sorting with regard to leaving transitions. This is especially apparent for Dutch natives, with their probabilities of quitting volunteering and memberships unaffected by the ethnic composition of their organizations. The estimates for the minorities are less precise, but if anything, these groups seem more likely to leave organizations with *many* ethnic minority co-members. Hypotheses 2b and 3b, on segregation tendencies in quitting transitions, are therefore refuted. Figure 3.2 rather

suggests that once the initial hurdle of getting involved has been cleared, there is no further sorting via selective disengagement from organizations of different ethnic composition.

This absence of ethnic sorting on the leaving side may signify socialization processes taking place within voluntary organizations, in line with contact theory (Brown and Hewstone 2005). In this scenario, participants in organizations with more ethnic out-group members grow more tolerant towards ethnic out-groups, and nourish a shared superordinate organizational identity (see also Edwards et al. 2013; Braunstein, Fulton, and Wood 2014). However, the lack of ethnic sorting with regard to quitting could also reflect that we are dealing with selective subsamples when analyzing quitting transitions. Bekkers (2012) shows, for example, that the positive association between volunteering and trust is completely due to selection, with people who become volunteers being more trusting to begin with. In the present context, people who are *most* likely to join organizations with many out-group members are plausibly the *least* responsive to strong concentrations of out-group members when it comes to quitting decisions.

In support of this selection narrative, people who join out-group dominated associations already have more favorable out-group attitudes and more out-group ties *before* joining those associations. However, these patterns mainly pertain to ethnic minorities. Indeed, applying propensity score matching methods as proposed by Xie, Brand, and Jann (2012), I find that the absence of ethnic sorting with respect to quitting can partially be attributed to selection bias and effect heterogeneity among Moroccans and Turks, but that such explanations can be refuted more resolutely for Dutch natives. More detailed results of these additional analyses can be found in section II of the supplement to this chapter.

3.4.3. Mechanisms behind ethnic sorting

To gain insights into the mechanisms driving the strong ethnic sorting with regard to starting volunteering and memberships, I have run a collection of models that address hypotheses 4 to 6 on the role of inter-ethnic attitudes, the ethnic composition of social networks, and the local supply of involvement opportunities. I only estimate such models for starting transitions, because Figure 3.2 does not show any ethnic sorting concerning quitting in the first place. To avoid ‘over-controlling’ for factors that are correlated with the mediators of interest, the earlier included control variables have been omitted here. Nonetheless, incorporating those controls does not alter any of the key conclusions.¹⁹

Table 3.5 reports the differences in the average predicted probabilities of starting volunteering and memberships for associations with *no* ethnic minority co-members versus associations with *many* ethnic minority co-members, on the basis of a variety of models. The larger the absolute value of these differences, the stronger the degree of ethnic sorting. Every row in Table 3.5 represents a separate model, adding a set of potential mediators to the baseline model with only the ethnicity variables. If the potential mediators help to explain the ethnic sorting with respect to starting, the differences in the predicted probabilities should move towards zero when adding these factors. Additionally, Table 3.5 reports the results of Wald tests on the joint significance of every set of mediator variables.

The first row in Table 3.5 echoes the story of Figure 3.1 by showing strong segregation tendencies in people’s starting decisions: Dutch natives are much more likely to

¹⁹ Irrespective of the extent to which the mediators can explain the ethnic sorting, their coefficient estimates align well with intuitive expectations (e.g. more neighborhood contact with Dutch natives stimulates involvement in organizations with no ethnic minority co-members).

join organizations with no minority members than organizations with many minority members, and vice versa for individuals of ethnic minority origin. For Dutch natives, for example, the predicted probability difference is 2.5 percentage points for volunteering, and 3.8 percentage points for memberships. These are considerable amounts compared to the overall starting probabilities of 5.4 and 9.2 percent reported at the bottom of Table 3.5.

The second row supplements the baseline models with the factor scores for attitudes towards Dutch natives and ethnic minorities. This improves the explanatory power of the models, as indicated by the Wald statistics, and leads to modest reductions of the residual in-group biases for all ethnic groups. However, the predicted probability differentials remain substantial. Hence, there is only weak support for hypothesis 4: the role of inter-ethnic attitudes for explaining ethnic sorting in people's starting decisions is partial at best.

Essentially the same conclusion can be drawn regarding hypothesis 5, based on the next five rows of Table 3.5. Although the probability differentials shrink after including the indicators for the ethnic composition of social networks, they are still considerable. There is no clear difference between the influence of strong and weak ties, but concerning the context in which ties are embedded, the role of neighborhood contact deserves highlighting. This factor significantly improves the explanatory power of both the volunteering and membership models (see the Wald statistics), and implies large reductions of the remaining ethnic sorting in people's joining decisions. It is worthwhile to recall here that this part of the analysis looks at sports, leisure, and neighborhood associations. All of these organizations usually have a strongly local character, which could explain why neighborhood contact is an influential recruitment channel for attracting new participants.

Next, Table 3.5 provides partial support for hypothesis 6 on the role of the local supply of involvement opportunities. Although the density variables for the local presence of associations with no, a few, and many ethnic minority members do not seem as important as inter-ethnic neighborhood contact, these environmental conditions do explain part of the ethnic sorting. Moreover, the Wald tests demonstrate that they contribute significantly to the total explanatory power of the models. This underlines the importance of the local context.

The evidence so far suggests that each mechanism only partially (if at all) accounts for the ethnic sorting in people's joining decisions. To explore whether the mechanisms can explain more of this sorting when we consider them jointly, the models in the penultimate row of Table 3.5 simultaneously add the measures for inter-ethnic attitudes, neighborhood contact, and the local supply of involvement opportunities to the baseline models. These factors all translated into significant improvements in model fit when added on their own. And as it turns out, they can together explain still more of the observed ethnic sorting. For the Moroccan and especially the Turkish community the differences in the probabilities of joining associations with no versus many ethnic minority co-members almost vanish. Among Dutch natives some sorting remains, but weaker than for any of the preceding models.

Table 3.5 Differences in the predicted probabilities of joining organizations with no vs. many ethnic minority members, by ethnicity

Sports, leisure, and neighborhood associations	STARTING VOLUNTEERING				STARTING MEMBERSHIP			
	Dutch	Moroccan	Turkish	Wald test	Dutch	Moroccan	Turkish	Wald test
Baseline model (BM) - No mediators	2.5 **	-1.7 *	-1.3 *		3.8 **	-3.7 **	-2.6 **	
BM + [Inter-ethnic attitudes]	2.3 **	-1.3	-1.0	5.7 **	3.6 **	-3.3 **	-2.2 **	3.2 **
BM + [Ethnicity of family in CDN]	2.0 **	-1.3	-0.8	1.1	2.9 **	-2.6 *	-1.2	1.4
BM + [Ethnicity of non-family in CDN]	2.5 **	-1.3 *	-0.8	2.3 *	3.8 **	-3.5 **	-2.3 *	1.0
BM + [Ethnicity of friends]	2.2 **	-1.7	-1.2	1.4	3.6 **	-3.8 **	-2.5 *	1.2
BM + [Inter-ethnic neighborhood contact]	1.9 **	-0.7	-0.3	5.8 **	3.0 **	-2.1 **	-0.9	8.3 **
BM + [Inter-ethnic work/school contact]	2.3 **	-1.3 *	-0.9	2.4 *	3.6 **	-3.3 **	-2.1 **	1.9
BM + [Local supply - density]	2.0 **	-1.1	-0.7	5.6 **	3.2 **	-2.9 **	-1.6	5.1 **
BM + [Attitudes, neighborhood contact, and local supply density]	1.6 **	-0.2	0.2	4.7 **	2.6 **	1.6	-0.3	5.6 **
Overall starting probability (%)	5.4 [4.7; 6.1]	3.7 [2.4; 4.9]	3.2 [2.3; 4.1]		9.2 [8.3; 10.0]	8.1 [6.5; 9.7]	7.2 [5.8; 8.5]	

Notes: Predictions derived from multinomial logit models, and presented in percentage points. Each row represents one model; the bottom row represents the overall probabilities of starting by ethnicity, regardless of the ethnic composition of the organization. Conservative tests for the statistical significance of the differences between the predicted probabilities have been conducted, based on the highest possible value of the standard error ($SE_{\max}$) of the difference between the two predictions of interest, with $SE_{\max} = \sqrt{Var(P(\text{No EM})) + Var(P(\text{Many EM})) + 2 * SE(P(\text{No EM})) * SE(P(\text{Many EM}))}$. The 'Wald test' columns present the test statistics of Wald tests examining the joint significance of the mediators added to the baseline model, adjusting for the survey design of the NELLs. ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$ (two-tailed tests)

3.5. Conclusion

This study connects two prominent themes in sociology: civic participation and the social integration of ethnic groups. Harmonious inter-ethnic relations are commonly seen as a key ingredient to a thriving society, and civic participation appears a fruitful avenue for establishing such relations. Because anyone can in principle take part, voluntary associations have the potential to nurture inter-ethnic ties that might not develop in other contexts. However, the nexus between civic participation and ethnic integration remains understudied to date.

I bridge this gap by exploiting unique Dutch panel data for analyzing ethnic differences in joining and leaving voluntary associations, to check whether these associations are the integration vehicles that they are purported to be. In doing so, I go beyond most previous work on voluntary association involvement by analyzing joining and leaving transitions instead of cross-sectional snapshots, and by investigating sorting across organizations of different social composition. My study is also the first to test several mechanisms that may drive such sorting.

Earlier research has consistently found that ethnic minorities have lower participation rates in voluntary associations than majority groups at any point in time (Musick et al. 2000; Gijsberts et al. 2012). Yet, my findings demonstrate that it would be wrong to infer from this that ethnic minorities are less likely to join organizations. People of Moroccan and Turkish origin are actually just as likely as Dutch natives to start volunteering or memberships – a

sign of assimilation. Nevertheless, Moroccans and Turks do have higher exit rates after becoming involved, and this causes their lower cross-sectional involvement rates.

Despite the lack of meaningful differences in starting volunteering and memberships in general, the ethnic groups differ substantially in the organizations that they join. More specifically, all groups are significantly more likely to get involved in organizations that contain more ethnic in-group members. This applies to volunteering and memberships, underscoring the similarities between both behaviors found throughout my analyses. Whereas it is unwarranted to conclude that people are more likely to join organizations with more ethnic in-group members *because* those organizations have more ethnic in-group members (Shalizi and Thomas 2011), the fact that there *are* pronounced sorting tendencies is important in its own right, implying a strong degree of ethnic segregation in civic life. And if data limitations had not forced me to exclude immigrant and religious organizations from the second part of the analysis, even stronger sorting may have been observed, as those organizations are heavily segregated in wave 1 of the NELS. The observed sorting has implications for the role of voluntary associations as pathway to integration and assimilation. After all, ethnic sorting across associations limits the scope for inter-ethnic contact in associations, and may thus reinforce rather than attenuate pre-existing ethnic boundaries and hierarchies (cf. Blau and Schwartz 1984). Speaking on a related topic, Edwards et al. (2013) argue that segregation across religious organizations can legitimate and reinforce white supremacy in American society.²⁰

²⁰ Some studies, however, claim that segregation across associations can be a stepping stone to longer-run assimilation. Foner and Alba (2008), for example, argue that ethnic congregations may be ‘safe havens’ where minorities develop civic skills and social trust, eventually fostering broader civic participation.

That said, similar segregation tendencies are absent from people's quitting decisions. Even though there are ethnic differences in the probability of quitting in general, ethnic sorting across voluntary organizations of different ethnic composition is only observed at the starting stage. This suggests that once the initial barrier of joining has been cleared, there are opportunities for building ties through volunteering and memberships that cut across ethnic boundaries. To better assess whether such opportunities really materialize, more research is needed on what happens within associations. Braunstein et al. (2014) set a great example in this context, utilizing ethnographic and survey data to show how prayer practices help to 'organize differences' in American faith-based community organizations with high rates of internal diversity. Whether similar bridging practices occur in Dutch voluntary associations remains to be established, but my analyses at least indicate that the absence of sorting with regard to quitting is not merely due to selection effects, especially for the native majority.

For explaining the segregation tendencies in people's joining transitions, my findings stress the importance of the local context. The amount of neighborhood contact with different ethnic groups is the standout factor. This factor not only contributes to the overall explanatory power of the joining models, but also accounts for more of the observed ethnic sorting than inter-ethnic attitudes, the ethnicity of people's strong ties, or inter- and intra-ethnic contact in work and school settings. Hence, neighborhood ties appear an influential recruitment channel. The local representation of organizations of different ethnic composition is also relevant, emphasizing the importance of the opportunity structures available to potential participants.

But even when several explanations are considered simultaneously, part of the observed ethnic sorting remains unaccounted for. In particular, Dutch natives are still more

likely to join organizations with fewer or no ethnic minority members. This may signify that inter-ethnic mixing means something else for the native majority than for ethnic minorities. People of minority origin could, for example, have additional motives for joining native-dominated organizations that override any in-group biases they might have. Indeed, some ethnic minority members may fiercely oppose inter-ethnic marriage, but still want to mix with Dutch natives in other domains, out of a desire to mingle with people of higher socio-economic status. On the other hand, Dutch natives largely escape ethnic mixing in voluntary associations even under conditions that are conducive to inter-ethnic contact. This may reflect more subtle forms of prejudice or differences in opportunity structures not picked up by this study, which make inter-ethnic mixing more easily avoidable for Dutch natives.

Future research should unveil the precise mechanisms at work here, addressing amongst others how the influence of the ethnic composition of social networks interacts with their composition along intersecting social dimensions (e.g. socio-economic status). Once more data become available, another strategy to further dissect the mechanisms would be to conduct separate analyses for different organization types. This could for instance reveal whether neighborhood contact is as important for sports, religious, or political associations as for neighborhood associations. Also the operationalization of some of the mechanisms could be improved, most notably the measures for the local supply of involvement opportunities. These are currently based on the number of respondents in a municipality who report being a member of organizations with a particular ethnic composition. As such, they capture only a fraction of all organizational activity at the local level, and rely on people's subjective estimates of the composition of the associations that they belong to. Future

collection of information on the location, size, and sociodemographic composition of organizations would enable superior measures of the supply of involvement opportunities.

On a related note, my measures for the ethnic composition of voluntary organizations have a few limitations. First, they are based on subjective evaluations, which may closely resemble the composition as perceived by participants, but which may also be affected by people's attitudes towards ethnic out-groups, giving rise to endogeneity issues (Van der Meer and Tolsma 2014). However, controlling for inter-ethnic attitudes like in section 3.4.3 implicitly tackles this concern, and does not substantially change the amount of ethnic sorting observed. Second, the measures for the ethnic composition of voluntary associations would ideally be more fine-grained, and look at the presence of members from specific ethnic groups (e.g. Turks, Moroccans), rather than the presence of ethnic minority members in general. If Moroccans and Turks are mainly attracted to their own group, and less to other minorities, the current measures would most likely imply an underestimation of the ethnic sorting among these groups. Critically, though, Turks and Moroccans can to some degree still be regarded as each other's in-group, given that they share their Muslim background, their disadvantaged socio-economic position, and that they are often lumped together in public debates. Such shared experiences foster the development of a common group identity. Evidence from the NELLS substantiates this claim, showing that people of Moroccan and Turkish origin have relatively positive attitudes towards each other and frequent contact (see section III of the supplement to this chapter).

Returning to recommendations for future work, the present analysis could be extended in various ways. One worthwhile task – once more data become available – is to analyze whether there is any change over time in the strength of ethnic sorting in people's

joining decisions. Whether those sorting tendencies strengthen or weaken determines whether civic life will gradually become more or less segregated. Another extension is to look at the composition of voluntary associations along more dimensions, such as gender, age, education, and religiosity. Previous studies have already pointed at the possible relevance of those dimensions (Popielarz and McPherson 1995; McPherson and Rotolo 1996), and it would be enlightening to examine how they interrelate with the ethnic dimension.

The importance of each factor probably varies across contexts. Ethnic differences in the US are, for instance, mostly perceived through a racial lens, while in Europe religious variation between ethnic groups is considered more problematic (Foner and Alba 2008). Notwithstanding such contextual differences, the general dynamics and mechanisms studied in this article likely apply elsewhere as well. More than that, the presence of pronounced ethnic sorting across voluntary associations in a relatively open and multicultural society like The Netherlands (Musterd 2005; Statham, forthcoming) suggests that even stronger sorting may occur in many other places.

Aside from being geographically transportable, the mechanisms can also be translated to other life domains. Among social movement scholars it is indeed common to argue that the social composition of movement organizations affects individuals' involvement trajectories (Klandermans 1997; Corrigan-Brown 2013). Similar dynamics probably apply to phenomena like the evolution of friendship networks, residential mobility, hiring practices, and congregational switching (Rude and Herda 2010; Crowder, Pais, and South 2012; Rivera 2012; Edwards et al. 2013). My study contributes to this wider body of literature.

In terms of policy implications, several lessons can be drawn. First, if policymakers and organizational leaders want to raise minorities' engagement in civic life, they should not only think about how to get ethnic minorities involved, but especially about how to *keep* them involved. My investigation suggests that the latter is the core challenge. Without more sustained engagement, ethnic minority participants may miss out on the labor market and well-being payoffs of voluntary association involvement. Second, policymakers who advocate increased civic participation as remedy against waning levels of social cohesion should take note of the strong ethnic sorting in people's decisions to join associations. Stimulating general involvement is not sufficient if one wants to increase inter-ethnic contact and break down ethnic boundaries. Indeed, ethnic segregation in civic life could seriously sabotage the capacity of voluntary associations to spur on social integration. More research on the causes of ethnic sorting across organizations will help policymakers to target their efforts in this regard. To evaluate whether ethnic sorting across voluntary associations ultimately really undermines social cohesion, additional work is required on how the sorting dynamics discussed in this study influence the integration of ethnic groups in other areas. In any case, the mere existence of such sorting merits ongoing attention.

Appendix A3 Descriptive statistics for the explanatory variables

Table A3.1 Descriptive statistics for the control variables

	Native Dutch (n = 1,693)		Moroccan (n = 421)		Turkish (n = 439)	
Female (%)	54		58		53	
Age (years)	32	9.2	30*	8.7	31	9.2
Born in NL (%)	99		37*		43*	
Education level (0-4 scale)	2.2	1.0	1.6*	1.1	1.6*	1.1
Language test score (0-9 scale)	6.5	2.0	3.8*	2.7	3.4*	2.6
Employment 1st ISEI quart. (%)	15		13		17	
2nd ISEI quart. (%)	16		14		16	
3rd ISEI quart. (%)	20		13*		15	
4th ISEI quart. (%)	23		10*		10*	
Education (%)	19		24*		23	
Unemployed (%)	2		6*		5*	
Household etc. (%)	4		20*		14*	
House ownership (%)	81		23*		54*	
Married/cohabiting (%)	64		57*		60	
Children at home (%)	50		58*		59*	
Service attendance (0-4 scale)	0.9	1.2	1.5*	1.6	1.6*	1.6

Notes: For the categorical variables relative frequencies for each category are presented. For the continuous variables means (left figure in each cell) and standard deviations (right figure in each cell) are presented. Asterisks denote statistically significant differences with Dutch natives, based on two-sample tests of proportions and t-tests: * $p \leq 0.01$ (two-tailed tests).

Table A3.2 Descriptive statistics for inter-ethnic attitudes and the ethnic composition of social networks

		Native Dutch (n = 1,693)		Moroccan (n = 421)		Turkish (n = 439)	
Hostility towards Dutch natives (factor score)		-0.1	1.5	0.1*	1.4	0.4*	1.5
Hostility towards ethnic minorities (factor score)		0.2	1.7	-0.8*	1.4	-0.2*	1.5
Native Dutch family in CDN (%)		91		19*		19*	
Ethnic minority family in CDN (%)		1		73*		72*	
Native Dutch non-family in CDN (%)		52		14*		20*	
Ethnic minority non-family in CDN (%)		1		21*		28*	
Any native Dutch friends (%)		97		79*		81*	
Any ethnic minority friends (%)		38		92*		95*	
Frequency of contact with Dutch natives (0-6 scale)	In neighborhood	5.0	1.4	4.8*	1.6	4.8*	1.6
	At school/work	2.0	2.1	4.8*	1.7	4.9*	1.6
Frequency of contact with ethnic minorities (0-6 scale)	In neighborhood	5.5	1.4	4.8*	2.2	4.9*	2.1
	At school/work	3.4	2.4	4.4*	2.4	4.5*	2.3

Notes: For the categorical variables relative frequencies for each category are presented. For the continuous variables means (left figure in each cell) and standard deviations (right figure in each cell) are presented. Asterisks denote statistically significant differences with Dutch natives, based on two-sample tests of proportions and t-tests: * $p \leq 0.01$ (two-tailed tests).

Table A3.3 Descriptive statistics for local supply of involvement opportunities for organizations of different ethnic composition

		Native Dutch (n = 1,693)			Moroccan (n = 421)			Turkish (n = 439)		
		Mean	SD	IDR	Mean	SD	IDR	Mean	SD	IDR
Supply density (%)	No EM	25	12	[11 ; 45]	15*	7	[7 ; 18]	15*	6	[9 ; 18]
	A few EM	19	5	[13 ; 24]	19	5	[13 ; 26]	18*	4	[13 ; 24]
	Many EM	3	3	[0 ; 5]	5*	4	[1 ; 10]	6*	3	[2 ; 10]

Notes: The columns present means, standard deviations, and inter-decile ranges. Asterisks denote statistically significant differences with Dutch natives, based on two-sample t-tests: * $p \leq 0.01$ (two-tailed tests).

Supplementary materials to Chapter 3

This supplement consists of three sections:

- I. Tables and figures that extend and provide more details on the tables and figures presented in the main text (p.137)
- II. An exploration of selection biases with regard to leaving associations of different ethnic composition (p.148)
- III. Inter-ethnic hostility, friendships, and contact between Dutch natives, Moroccans, and Turks (p.154)

I. Tables and figures extending those presented in the main text

This section contains the following tables and figures:

- Table S3.1: A more detailed version of Table 3.2 in the main text, also providing the number of spells at risk of starting and quitting in each cell.
- Table S3.2: An extension to Table 3.2 in the main text, decomposing the number of events and spells at risk by respondents' ethnicity.
- Table S3.3: A replication of Table 3.3 in the main text, this time only looking at sports, leisure, and neighborhood associations.
- Table S3.4: A replication of Table 3.4 in the main text, this time only looking at sports, leisure, and neighborhood associations.
- Table S3.5: Regression results underlying Figure 3.1 in the main text.
- Table S3.6: Regression results underlying Figure 3.2 in the main text.
- Table S3.7: Regression results of models similar to those summarized in Figure 3.1 in the main text, but this time also including all control variables (see also Figure S3.1 in this supplement).
- Table S3.8: Regression results of models similar to those summarized in Figure 3.2 in the main text, but this time also including all control variables (see also Figure S3.2 in this supplement).
- Figure S3.1: An extension of Figure 3.1 in the main text, adding predictions based on regression models that include all control variables.

- Figure S3.2: An extension of Figure 3.2 in the main text, adding predictions based on regression models that include all control variables.
- Figure S3.3: An extension of Figure 3.2 in the main text, presenting predictions based on regression models that consider quitting decisions for all eight organization types.

Table S3.1 Number of events by the type and ethnic composition of voluntary associations

VOLUNTEERING	No EM Start / Quit	A few EM Start / Quit	Many EM Start / Quit	Total Start / Quit
Sports	54 (2315) 74 (123)	49 (2315) 51 (87)	11 (2315) 18 (28)	114 (2315) 143 (238)
Leisure	64 (2364) 55 (106)	61 (2364) 49 (70)	34 (2364) 10 (13)	159 (2364) 114 (189)
Neighborhood	22 (2465) 28 (47)	26 (2465) 15 (25)	16 (2465) 11 (13)	64 (2465) 54 (85)
Total	140 (7144) 157 (276)	136 (7144) 115 (182)	61 (7144) 39 (54)	337 (7144) 311 (512)

MEMBERSHIP	No EM Start / Quit	A few EM Start / Quit	Many EM Start / Quit	Total Start / Quit
Sports	73 (1967) 107 (261)	100 (1967) 124 (233)	46 (1967) 55 (92)	219 (1967) 286 (586)
Leisure	80 (2186) 88 (180)	91 (2186) 88 (142)	49 (2186) 31 (40)	220 (2186) 207 (362)
Neighborhood	50 (2316) 55 (107)	54 (2316) 41 (83)	15 (2316) 33 (38)	119 (2316) 129 (228)
Total	203 (6469) 250 (548)	245 (6469) 253 (458)	110 (6469) 119 (170)	558 (6469) 622 (1176)

Notes: Upright numbers refer to starting events; italicized numbers refer to quitting events. The number of spells at risk for the different events are displayed between parentheses. The abbreviation ‘EM’ in the column labels stands for ‘ethnic minority members’.

Table S3.2 Number of events by individual ethnicity and the ethnic composition of voluntary associations

VOLUNTEERING	No EM Start / Quit	A few EM Start / Quit	Many EM Start / Quit	Total Start / Quit
Native Dutch	129 (4639) <i>152 (265)</i>	109 (4639) <i>99 (159)</i>	13 (4639) <i>7 (14)</i>	251 (4639) <i>258 (438)</i>
Moroccan	5 (1227) <i>2 (5)</i>	14 (1227) <i>4 (8)</i>	26 (1227) <i>16 (23)</i>	45 (1227) <i>22 (36)</i>
Turkish	6 (1278) <i>3 (6)</i>	13 (1278) <i>12 (15)</i>	22 (1278) <i>16 (17)</i>	41 (1278) <i>31 (38)</i>
Total	140 (7144) <i>157 (276)</i>	136 (7144) <i>115 (182)</i>	61 (7144) <i>39 (54)</i>	337 (7144) <i>311 (512)</i>

MEMBERSHIP	No EM Start / Quit	A few EM Start / Quit	Many EM Start / Quit	Total Start / Quit
Native Dutch	185 (4181) <i>227 (507)</i>	174 (4181) <i>190 (357)</i>	24 (4181) <i>16 (29)</i>	383 (4181) <i>433 (893)</i>
Moroccan	6 (1118) <i>13 (23)</i>	39 (1118) <i>24 (43)</i>	46 (1118) <i>53 (73)</i>	91 (1118) <i>90 (139)</i>
Turkish	12 (1170) <i>10 (18)</i>	32 (1170) <i>39 (58)</i>	40 (1170) <i>50 (68)</i>	84 (1170) <i>99 (144)</i>
Total	203 (6469) <i>250 (548)</i>	245 (6469) <i>253 (458)</i>	110 (6469) <i>119 (170)</i>	558 (6469) <i>622 (1176)</i>

Notes: Upright numbers refer to starting events; italicized numbers refer to quitting events. The number of spells at risk for the different events are displayed between parentheses. The abbreviation 'EM' in the column labels stands for 'ethnic minority members'.

Table S3.3 Binary logit models of starting volunteering and memberships, regardless of the type and ethnic composition of the association joined – restricted sample

Sports, leisure, and neighborhood associations		STARTING			
		VOLUNTEERING		MEMBERSHIP	
		No controls	With controls	No controls	With controls
Ethnicity	Moroccan	-1.7 *	-1.0	-1.0	0.0
(ref = Dutch)	Turkish	-2.2 **	-2.1 *	-2.0 *	-1.8
Female			-2.1 **		-0.9
Age (years)			0.0		0.1
Born in NL			-0.5		-0.4
Education level (0-4)			0.2		1.0 *
Language test score (0-9)			0.1		-0.1
Employment	2nd ISEI quartile		0.2		-0.9
(ref = employed,	3rd ISEI quartile		1.2		-0.1
1st ISEI quartile)	4th ISEI quartile		0.6		0.1
	Education		3.2 *		2.4
	Unemployed		1.3		1.9
	Household etc.		0.6		-0.6
House ownership			1.9 **		1.9 *
Married/cohabiting			-0.5		-0.4
Children at home			2.0 **		1.5
Service attendance (0-4)			0.6 **		0.5 *
Reference probability		5.4% [4.7 ; 6.1]	5.3% [4.4 ; 6.1]	9.2% [8.3 ; 10.0]	9.0% [8.0 ; 10.0]
Number of individuals at risk		2,550		2,544	
Number of spells at risk		7,144		6,469	
Number of events		337		558	

Notes: Coefficient estimates are presented as average marginal effects, in percentage points. The ‘Reference probability’ row presents the average starting probabilities among Dutch natives, with their 95 percent confidence intervals. ** p≤0.01; * p≤0.05 (two-tailed tests)

Table S3.4 Binary logit models of quitting volunteering and memberships, regardless of the type and ethnic composition of the association left – restricted sample

Sports, leisure, and neighborhood associations		QUITTING			
		VOLUNTEERING		MEMBERSHIP	
		No controls	With controls	No controls	With controls
Ethnicity	Moroccan	2.0	-8.5	15.5 **	5.8
(ref = Dutch)	Turkish	23.0 **	15.4	19.4 **	11.6
Female			6.9		6.3 *
Age (years)			1.5 **		0.2
Born in NL			-7.8		-4.7
Education level (0-4)			-4.8		-2.1
Language test score (0-9)			0.6		-0.6
Employment	2nd ISEI quartile		-8.1		-7.9
(ref = employed,	3rd ISEI quartile		-11.2		-12.0 *
1st ISEI quartile)	4th ISEI quartile		-11.6		-7.8
	Education		3.9		-7.8
	Unemployed		10.5		-8.3
	Household etc.		1.3		-1.0
House ownership			-17.9 **		-9.0
Married/cohabiting			-3.4		-1.6
Children at home			-19.7 **		-4.5
Service attendance (0-4)			-1.5		-0.8
Reference probability		59.1%	60.5%	48.7%	50.9%
		[54.4 ; 63.8]	[55.8 ; 65.2]	[45.6 ; 51.8]	[47.3 ; 54.5]
Number of individuals at risk		454		1,001	
Number of spells at risk		515		1,190	
Number of events		314		630	

Notes: Coefficient estimates are presented as average marginal effects, in percentage points. The ‘Reference probability’ row presents the average quitting probabilities among Dutch natives, with their 95 percent confidence intervals. ** p≤0.01; * p≤0.05 (two-tailed tests)

Table S3.5 Multinomial logit models for joining associations of different ethnic composition – without controls (see Figure 3.1)

No controls - Sports, leisure, and neighborhood associations		STARTING VOLUNTEERING			STARTING MEMBERSHIP		
		No EM	A few EM	Many EM	No EM	A few EM	Many EM
Ethnicity (ref = Dutch)	Moroccan	-2.4 **	-1.2 **	1.8 **	-3.9 **	-0.7	3.7 **
	Turkish	-2.3 **	-1.3 **	1.4 **	-3.4 **	-1.5 *	3.0 **
Reference probability		2.8% [2.2 ; 3.4]	2.3% [1.9 ; 2.8]	0.3% [0.1 ; 0.4]	4.4% [3.7 ; 5.2]	4.2% [3.6 ; 4.8]	0.6% [0.3 ; 0.8]
Number of individuals at risk		2,550			2,544		
Number of spells at risk		7,144			6,469		
Number of events		337			558		

Notes: Coefficient estimates are presented as average marginal effects, in percentage points. The ‘Reference probability’ row presents the average starting probabilities among Dutch natives, with their 95 percent confidence intervals. The abbreviation ‘EM’ in the column labels stands for ‘ethnic minority members’. ** p≤0.01; * p≤0.05 (two-tailed tests)

Table S3.6 Logit models for leaving associations of different ethnic composition – without controls (see Figure 3.2)

No controls - Sports, leisure, and neighborhood associations		QUITTING VOLUNTEERING			QUITTING MEMBERSHIP		
		No EM	A few EM	Many EM	No EM	A few EM	Many EM
Ethnicity (ref = Dutch)	Moroccan	-16.8	-12.0	17.7	11.1	2.5	18.0
	Turkish	-7.0	18.0	37.3 **	10.2	13.8 *	19.0
Reference probability		61.0% [57 ; 65]	60.4% [56 ; 65]	58.4% [53 ; 63]	52.5% [50 ; 55]	52.1% [49 ; 55]	50.7% [47 ; 54]
Number of individuals at risk		452			993		
Number of spells at risk		512			1,176		
Number of events		311			622		

Notes: Coefficient estimates are presented as average marginal effects, in percentage points. The ‘Reference probability’ row presents the average quitting probabilities among Dutch natives, with their 95 percent confidence intervals. The abbreviation ‘EM’ in the column labels stands for ‘ethnic minority members’. ** p≤0.01; * p≤0.05 (two-tailed tests)

Table S3.7 Multinomial logit models for joining associations of different ethnic composition – with controls

With controls - Sports, leisure, and neighborhood associations		STARTING VOLUNTEERING			STARTING MEMBERSHIP		
		No EM	A few EM	Many EM	No EM	A few EM	Many EM
Ethnicity	Moroccan	-1.9 **	-0.3	1.3 **	-4.0 **	0.7	3.0 **
	(ref = Dutch) Turkish	-1.9 **	-0.8	1.0 *	-3.6 **	-0.6	2.4 **
Female		-0.6	-0.9 *	-0.6 *	0.2	-0.6	-0.4
Age (years)		0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1 *	0.0
Born in NL		0.0	0.5	-0.3	-1.4	0.3	0.0
Education level (0-4)		0.1	0.1	0.0	0.6	0.2	0.1
Language test score (0-9)		0.1	0.0	0.0	-0.1	0.1	0.0
Employment (ref = employed, 1st ISEI quart.)	2nd ISEI quart.	0.5	0.0	-0.3	-0.8	0.4	-0.6
	3rd ISEI quart.	0.1	0.4	0.6	-1.1	0.7	0.6
	4th ISEI quart.	0.4	-0.1	0.3	-0.6	0.6	0.0
	Education	0.4	1.8	1.1	-1.4	4.0 *	0.4
	Unemployed	0.5	0.3	0.3	-0.5	0.5	1.7
	Household etc.	-0.4	-0.6	1.0	-1.1	-0.2	0.5
House ownership		1.2 **	0.9	0.0	1.4 **	0.8	-0.3
Married/cohabiting		-0.1	-0.3	-0.2	0.2	-0.8	0.3
Children at home		0.9 *	0.7	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.8
Service attendance (0-4)		0.2 *	0.1	0.3 **	0.4 **	-0.2	0.3 *
Reference probability		2.5% [1.9 ; 3.1]	2.1% [1.6 ; 2.6]	0.3% [0.2 ; 0.5]	4.5% [3.6 ; 5.5]	3.8% [3.2 ; 4.5]	0.6% [0.4 ; 0.9]
Number of individuals at risk		2,550			2,544		
Number of spells at risk		7,144			6,469		
Number of events		337			558		

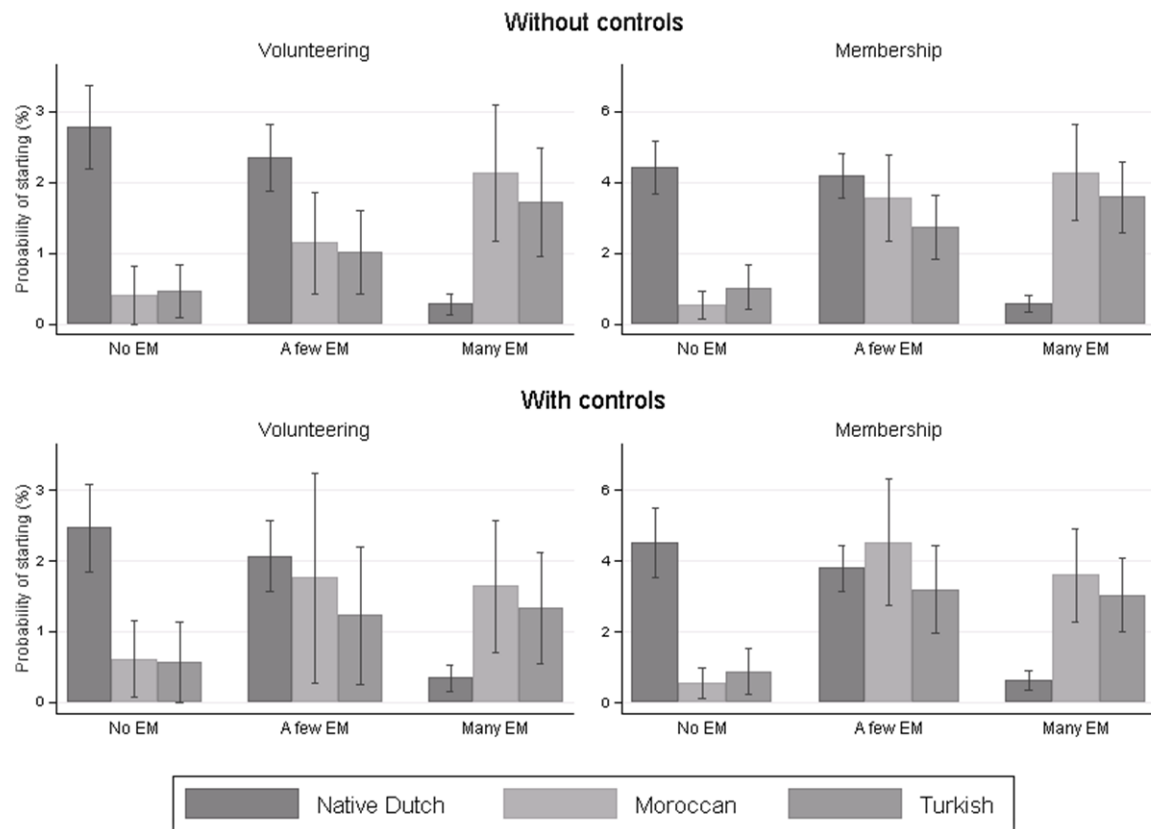
Notes: Coefficient estimates are presented as average marginal effects, in percentage points. The ‘Reference probability’ row presents the average starting probabilities among Dutch natives, with their 95 percent confidence intervals. The abbreviation ‘EM’ in the column labels stands for ‘ethnic minority members’. ** p≤0.01; * p≤0.05 (two-tailed tests)

Table S3.8 Logit models for leaving associations of different ethnic composition – with controls

With controls - Sports, leisure, and neighborhood associations		QUITTING VOLUNTEERING			QUITTING MEMBERSHIP		
		No EM	A few EM	Many EM	No EM	A few EM	Many EM
Ethnicity (ref = Dutch)	Moroccan	-19.1	-29.6	-2.6	-16.7	-5.0	14.8
	Turkish	-29.4	7.2	40.0 **	-15.4	7.8	15.4
Female		5.5	13.6 *	2.1	0.6	13.4 **	18.6 *
Age (years)		1.3 **	0.4	2.8	0.4	2.2	2.4
Born in NL		-38.9 **	-13.8	33.5 **	-29.7 **	-4.4	-8.5
Education level (0-4)		-1.5	-2.7	-65.6 **	-0.1	-2.3	-14.5 *
Language test score (0-9)		1.1	-0.4	3.8	-1.4	-1.8	3.4
Employment (ref = employed, 1st ISEI quart.)	2nd ISEI quart.	-16.2	1.4	-56.5 **	-7.8	-24.6 **	8.9
	3rd ISEI quart.	-12.3	-19.9	-55.3 **	-8.4	-28.0 **	4.5
	4th ISEI quart.	-14.8	-7.4	-56.3 **	-4.6	-21.3 *	19.4
	Education	8.6	-36.7 *	-58.4 **	-4.4	-23.2 *	0.9
	Unemployed	X	-24.9	X	10.8	-25.9	3.8
	Household etc.	-8.0	-18.4	X	3.5	-24.2	X
House ownership		-0.7	-29.6 **	-5.8	-13.2	0.0	-14.3
Married/cohabiting		10.6	-21.5 *	39.4 **	12.3	-13.0	10.8
Children at home		-21.5 *	-7.0	-59.2 **	-8.5	5.0	-26.8
Service attendance (0-4)		-1.6	-3.9	8.3	0.7	-1.5	-3.1
Reference probability		60.3% [56 ; 64]	60.1% [56 ; 64]	59.1% [54 ; 64]	52.6% [50 ; 55]	52.0% [49 ; 55]	50.8% [47 ; 55]
Number of individuals at risk		442			977		
Number of spells at risk		500			1,157		
Number of events		299			603		

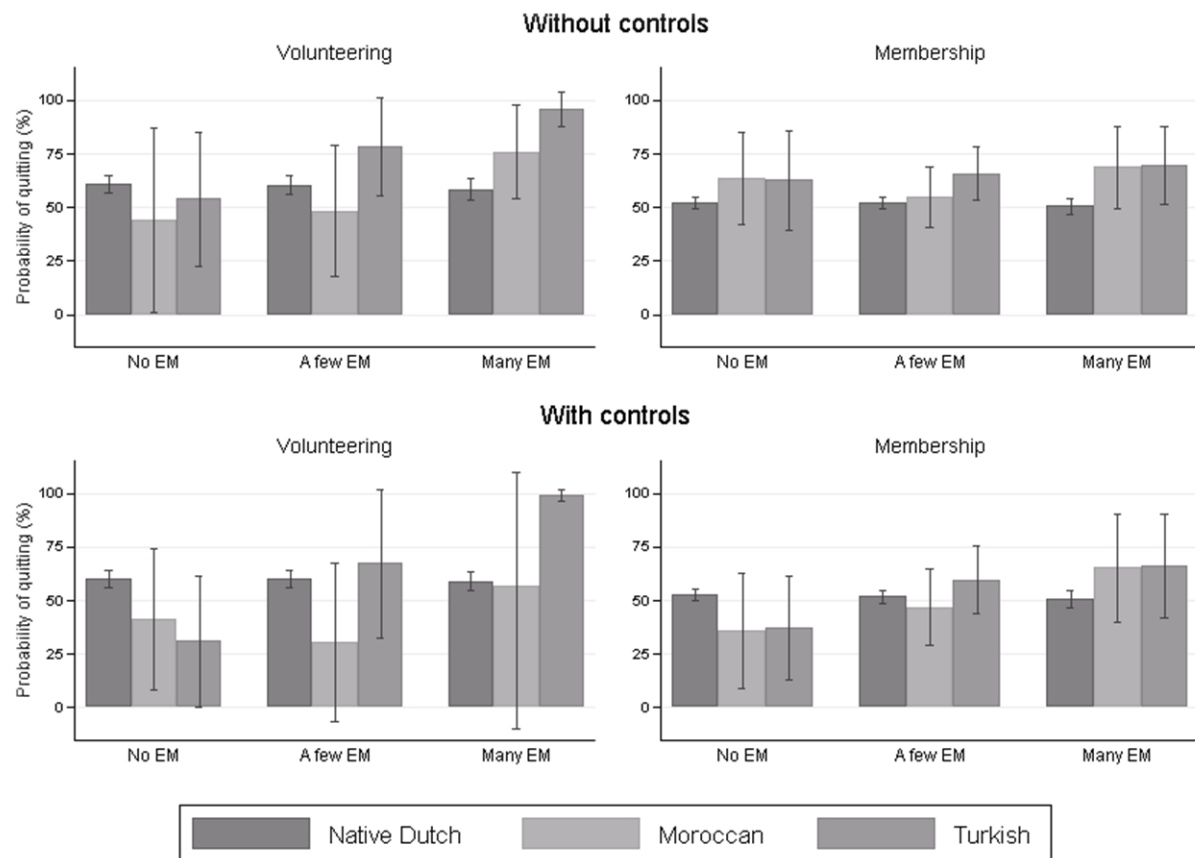
Notes: Coefficient estimates are presented as average marginal effects, in percentage points. The 'Reference probability' row presents the average quitting probabilities among Dutch natives, with their 95 percent confidence intervals. The abbreviation 'EM' in the column labels stands for 'ethnic minority members'. ** p≤0.01; * p≤0.05 (two-tailed tests)

Figure S3.1 Average predicted probabilities of starting volunteering and memberships, by individual ethnicity and the ethnic composition of voluntary associations



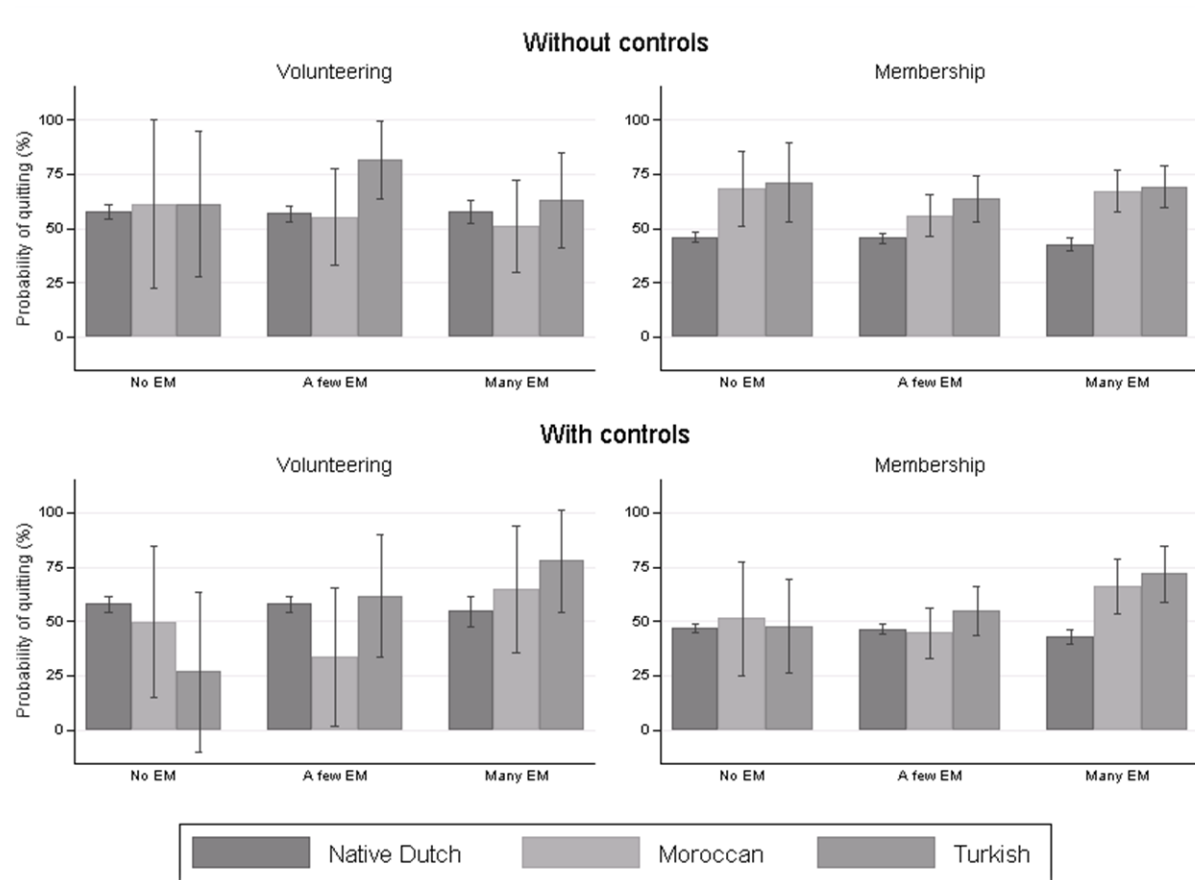
Notes: Predictions derived from multinomial logit models. The models summarized in the top panels only include ethnicity as a predictor; the models summarized in the bottom panels include all control variables. Error bars denote 95% confidence intervals. The abbreviation ‘EM’ along the horizontal axis stands for ‘ethnic minority members’.

Figure S3.2 *Average predicted probabilities of quitting volunteering and memberships, by individual ethnicity and the ethnic composition of voluntary associations*



Notes: Predictions derived from logit models that allow predictors to have different effects depending on the 'origin organization' in which one is involved in wave 1. The models summarized in the top panels only include ethnicity as a predictor; the models in the bottom panels include all control variables. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. The abbreviation 'EM' along the horizontal axis stands for 'ethnic minority members'. The confidence interval for Moroccans quitting organizations with many ethnic minority members in the bottom-left panel covers the range [-37;150], but only part of this is shown to facilitate presentation.

Figure S3.3 Average predicted probabilities of quitting volunteering and memberships, by individual ethnicity and the ethnic composition of voluntary associations (all organization types)



Notes: Predictions derived from logit models that allow predictors to have different effects depending on the 'origin organization' in which one is involved in wave 1. The models summarized in the top panels only include ethnicity as a predictor; the models in the bottom panels include all control variables. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. The abbreviation 'EM' along the horizontal axis stands for 'ethnic minority members'.

II. Exploring selection biases with regard to leaving associations of different ethnic composition

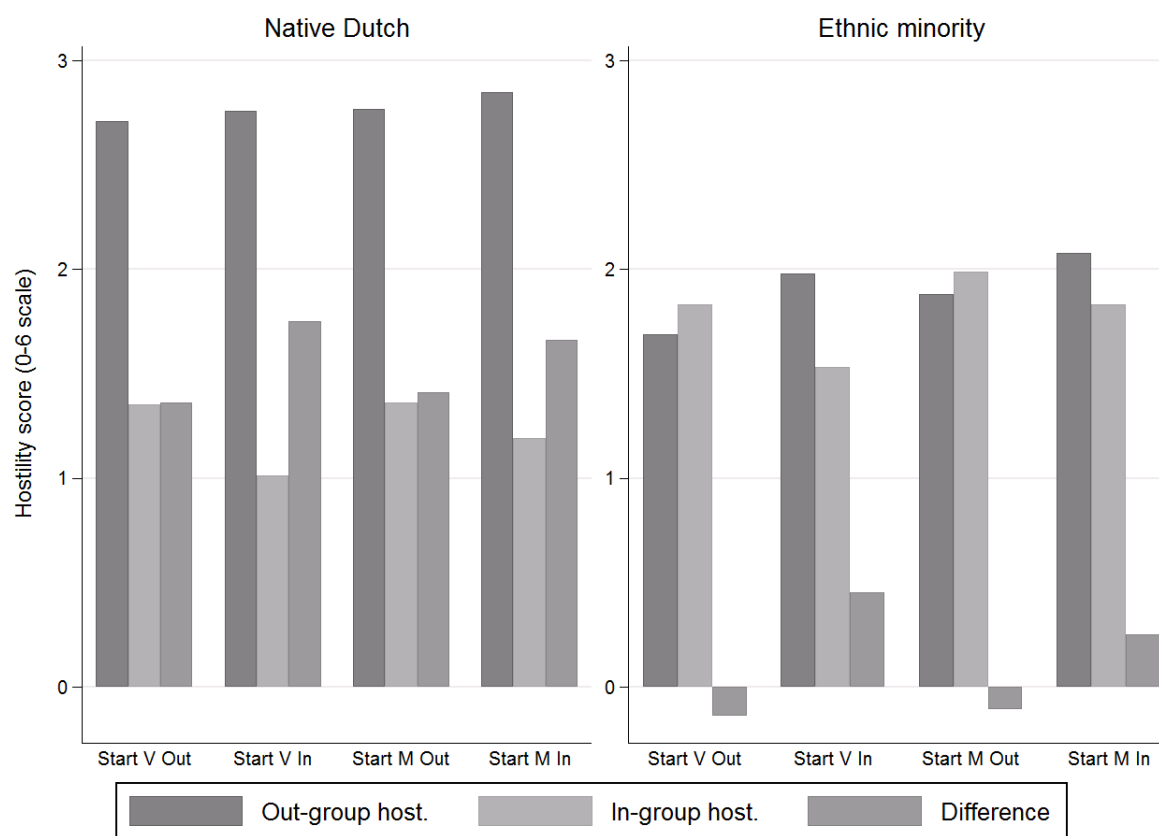
One reason for not observing any ethnic composition effects with regard to quitting decisions might be that the quitting analyses are by definition dealing with a selected subsample of the population, as only those people who are already involved in organizations with a particular ethnic composition are at risk of leaving such organizations. It is entirely plausible that those people differ from the population at large in ways that make their quitting decisions less responsive to the ethnic composition of voluntary associations, but that already pre-date their actual involvement. Such differences might, for instance, concern their inter-ethnic attitudes and the ethnic composition of their social networks: they may be less hostile towards ethnic out-groups and have more ties to them.

Figures S3.4 and S3.5 shed light on this issue, summarizing for people with different involvement trajectories their degree of ethnic out-group and in-group hostility as well as whether they have any out-group and in-group friends, both measured at the time of wave 1. For respondents of Dutch origin, I count associations that only contain Dutch co-members as *in-group associations*, and all other associations as *out-group associations*. For respondents of ethnic minority origin, associations containing many ethnic minority co-members are treated as *in-group associations*, and all other associations as *out-group associations*. These definitions of in-group and out-group associations are applied throughout this section.

Figure S3.4 illustrates that people who join out-group associations have already in wave 1 more favourable out-group attitudes and weaker (or non-existent) in-group biases than people who join in-group associations. This is especially true for ethnic minorities.

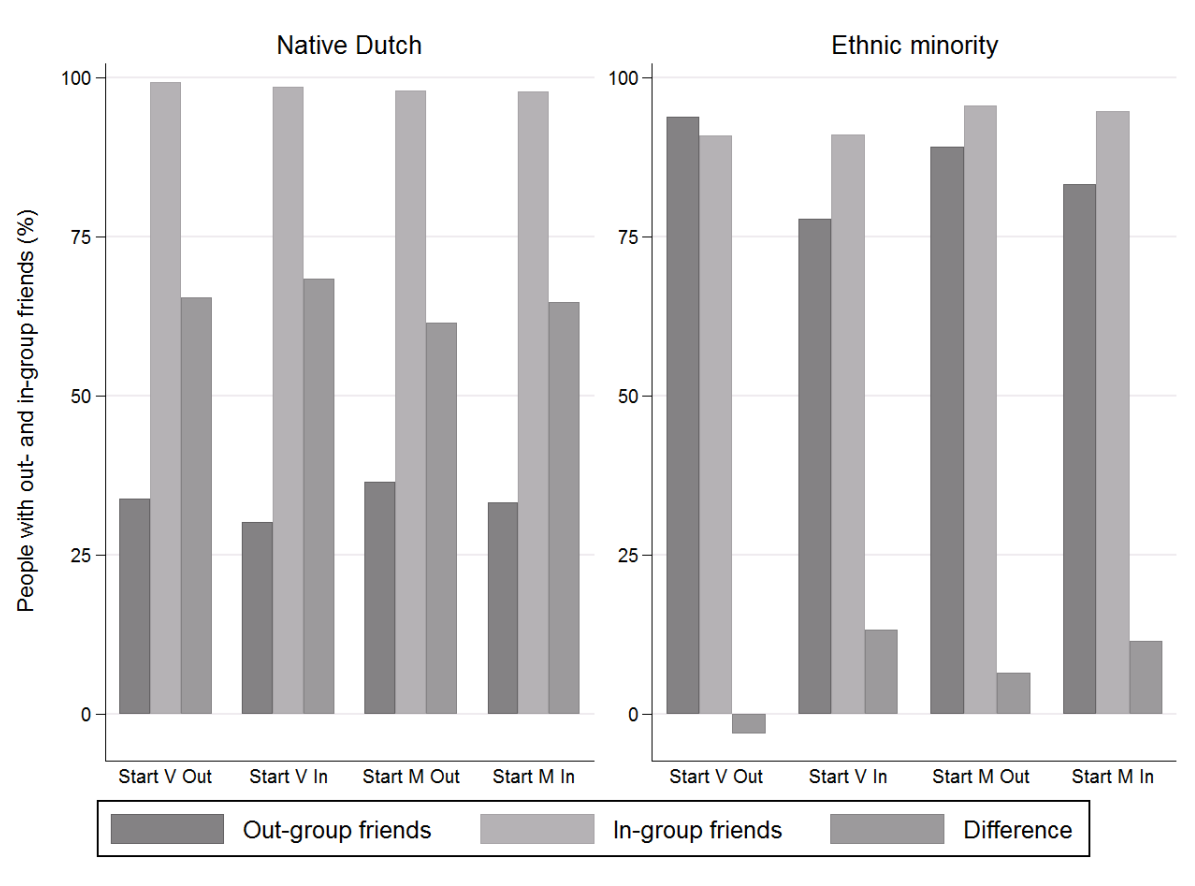
Figure S3.5 depicts essentially the same pattern, though slightly less pronounced, for inter- and intra-ethnic friendships, suggesting that people who join out-group associations have weaker in-group biases in their friendship networks to begin with. However, people who only join out-group associations in wave 2 differ less from the overall population than those already involved in such organizations in wave 1 (not shown here). This leaves open the possibility that socialization is taking place within associations.

Figure S3.4 Out-group and in-group hostility (0-6 scale) among Dutch natives and Turkish and Moroccan minorities, by involvement trajectories



Notes: Start V Out refers to people who started volunteering for an out-group organization between wave 1 and 2; Start V In to those who got involved in an in-group organization; and Start M Out and Start M In represent the equivalents for membership transitions. Hostility scores are based on the attitude items described in section 3.3.3; scores to the boss, neighbor, and son/daughter-in-law items are summed, with the response options coded as 0, 1, and 2; for hostility towards ethnic minorities the average score for hostility towards Moroccans, Turks, and Surinamese/Antilleans is calculated.

Figure S3.5 *Percentage of respondents with out-group and in-group friends among Dutch natives and Turkish and Moroccan minorities, by involvement trajectories*



Note: Start V Out refers to people who started volunteering for an out-group organization between wave 1 and 2; Start V In to those who got involved in an in-group organization; and Start M Out and Start M In represent the equivalents for membership transitions. Statistics based on the questions ‘Do you have any friends of X origin?’, where X refers to Dutch, Moroccan, Turkish, and Surinamese/Antillean (having any of the latter three is counted as having ethnic minority friends).

Figure S3.6 adopts a more systematic approach in exploring the role of selection biases and effect heterogeneity. This figure is based on the first method for investigating treatment effect heterogeneity described by Xie, Brand, and Jann (2012), utilizing the Stata package HTE (Jann, Brand, and Xie 2010). This analysis examines how the probability to leave out-group associations varies by the propensity to be involved in such an association (and thus at risk of leaving) in the first place. Phrased alternatively, I investigate whether

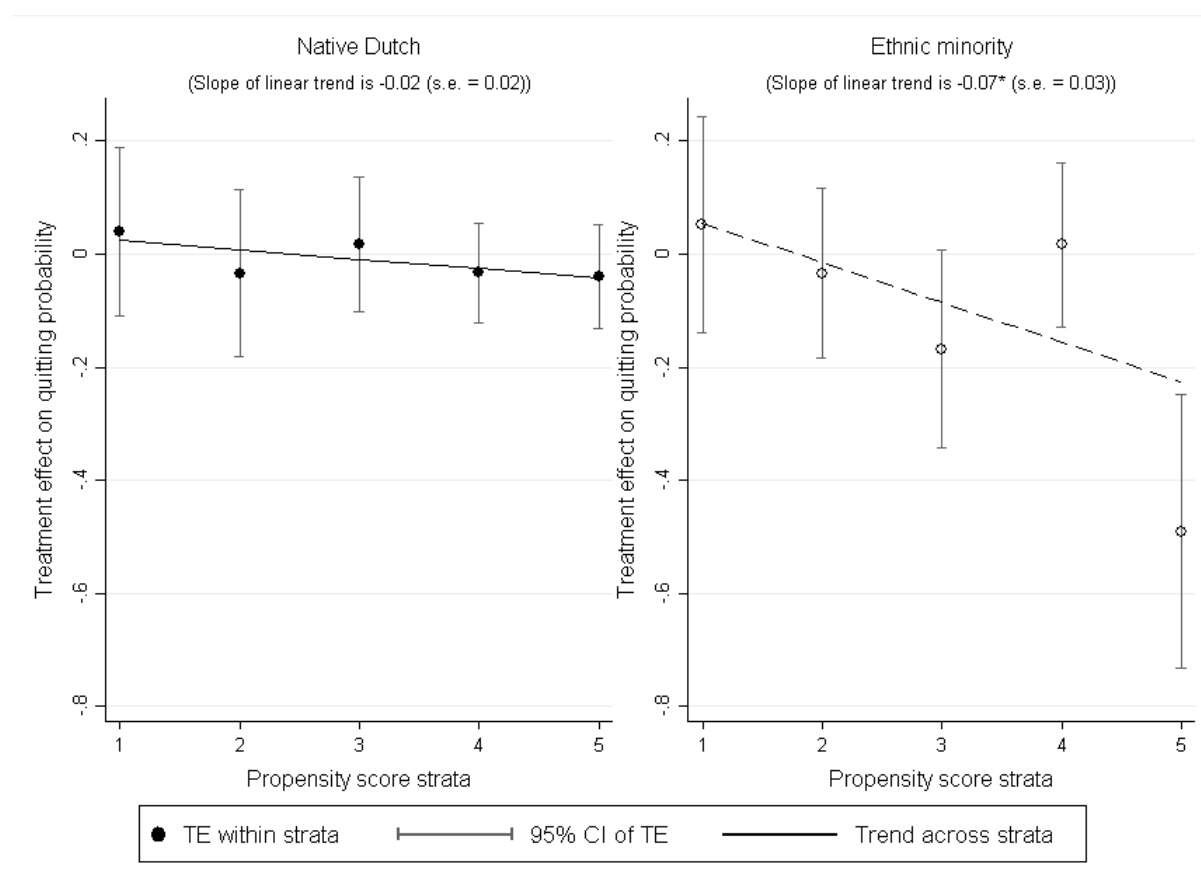
there is heterogeneity in the effect of a treatment (i.e. being involved in an out-group association rather than an in-group association) on an outcome of interest (i.e. whether one leaves the association one is involved in), depending on people's propensity to receive this treatment. Since this method works better with more observations, I only look at memberships here, and consider all eight organization types distinguished in the NELLS. I estimate separate models for Dutch natives and ethnic minorities (pooling together Moroccans and Turks).

First, the propensity of being involved in an out-group association versus an in-group association is estimated for each individual. The predictors at this stage are gender, age, being born in The Netherlands, educational attainment, language proficiency, house ownership, marital status, parental status, and religious service attendance. The model for Dutch natives also includes my measures for inter-ethnic attitudes and neighbourhood contact. In the ethnic minorities model these factors are not included, since their inclusion violates the balancing property of the propensity scores. For the same reason, the employment status variables are omitted from both models. Subsequently, observations are grouped by their propensity scores for being involved in out-group versus in-group associations (i.e. to receive the treatment). This way the effects of actually receiving the treatment can be evaluated at different points along the propensity score axis. Thus, the analyses effectively control for the sorting of individuals into out-group and in-group associations – that is, to the extent that this sorting is accounted for by the predictors included when estimating the propensity scores.

Figure S3.6 plots the trends in the estimated treatment effects for Dutch natives and ethnic minorities along the propensity score axes. As far as Dutch natives are concerned, there are no differential effects of being involved in an out-group dominated association

conditional on the likelihood of receiving this treatment. For individuals of minority origin, on the other hand, there are stronger indications of treatment effect heterogeneity, with a downward-sloping line along the propensity score axis. For higher propensity scores the estimated treatment effect is significantly negative. This reflects that among the people most likely to be involved in out-group associations, the probability of quitting such associations is smaller than the probability of quitting in-group associations.

Figure S3.6 *Treatment effect (TE) of being involved in an out-group association on the probability of quitting, by the propensity of being a member of such an association in the first place (results from stratification – multilevel analysis)*



In conclusion, the descriptive evidence presented in Figures S3.4 and S3.5 combined with the more rigorous analyses summarized in Figure S3.6 suggests that selection effects may play a role in explaining the absence of ethnic sorting in ethnic minorities' leaving decisions. However, such explanations can be refuted more resolutely for Dutch natives.

III. Inter-ethnic hostility, friendships, and contact between Dutch natives, Moroccans, and Turks

Figures S3.7 to S3.9 compare inter- and intra-ethnic attitudes, friendships, and contact (in neighborhoods and clubs/associations) of Dutch natives, Moroccan minorities, and Turkish minorities. The main goal is to check how closely Turks and Moroccans feel/are related to each other. The error bars in each figure represent 95 percent confidence intervals.

The left panel of Figure S3.7 illustrates that people of Moroccan and Turkish origin generally feel less hostile towards each other, as compared with how they both feel towards Dutch natives, and as compared to how Dutch natives feel towards them. This panel is based on the factor scores for inter-ethnic attitudes referred to in section 3.3.3. The right panel shows that even with respect to a sensitive topic like the ethnicity of the spouse of one's child (one of the components underlying the overall hostility scores in the left panel), Moroccans would prefer their child to marry a Turkish instead of a native Dutch partner; Turks – with their stronger in-group orientation – are indifferent between a Moroccan and native Dutch spouse.

Figure S3.8 demonstrates that there are more people of Moroccan origin with native Dutch friends than with Turkish friends, with a similar pattern for people of Turkish origin. Both facts are not surprising, given the much higher probability of meeting Dutch natives. Importantly, though, over a third of all Moroccans and Turks have friends from the other minority group, while only a small proportion of Dutch natives have any minority friends. Figure S3.9 displays a similar pattern for the frequency of contact in one's neighborhood and

in the clubs/associations that one belongs to (measured on a scale from 0-never to 6-several times a week). See section 3.3.3 for a description of the variables on which Figures S3.8 and S3.9 are based; contact in clubs/associations is measured similarly to neighborhood contact.

Figure S3.7 *Inter-ethnic hostility, overall and in terms of support for seeing one's child marrying someone of a particular ethnicity*

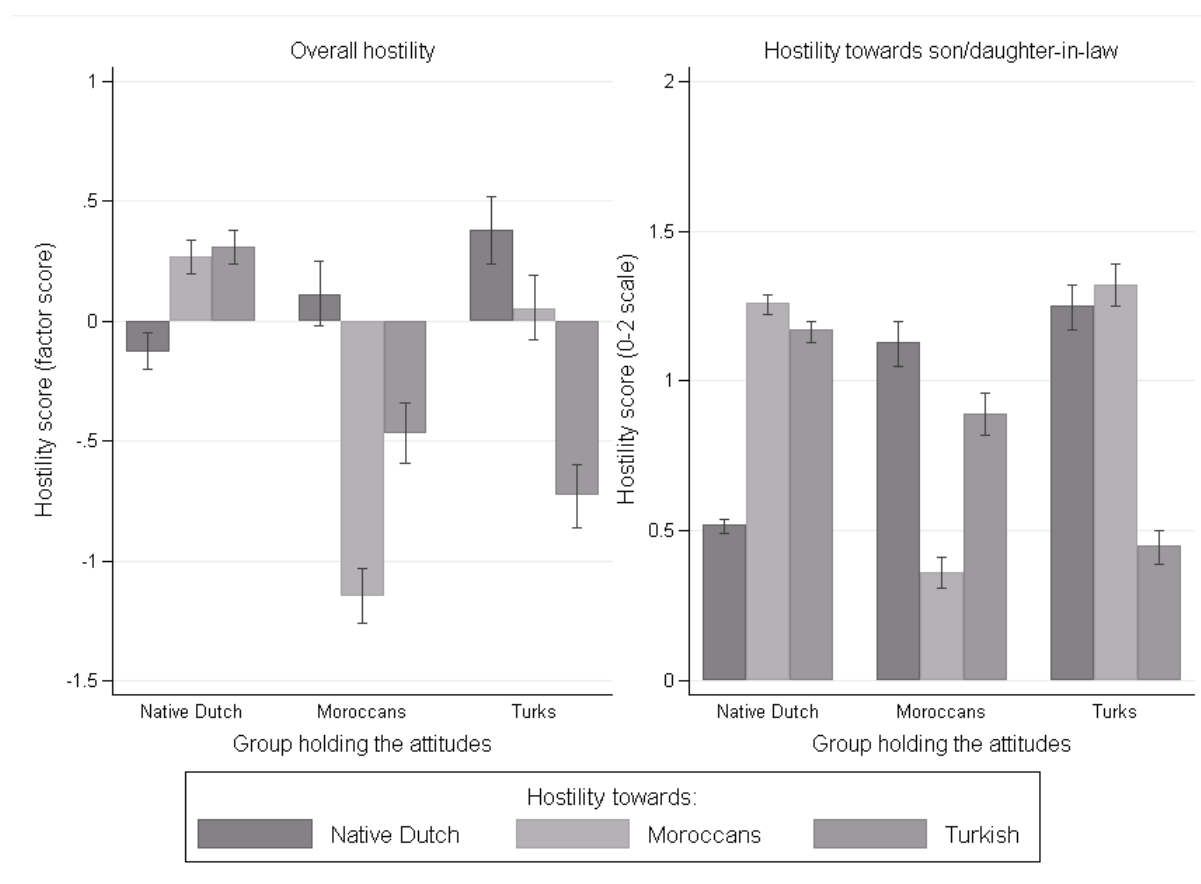


Figure S3.8 *Inter-ethnic friendships (people with friends of a particular origin)*

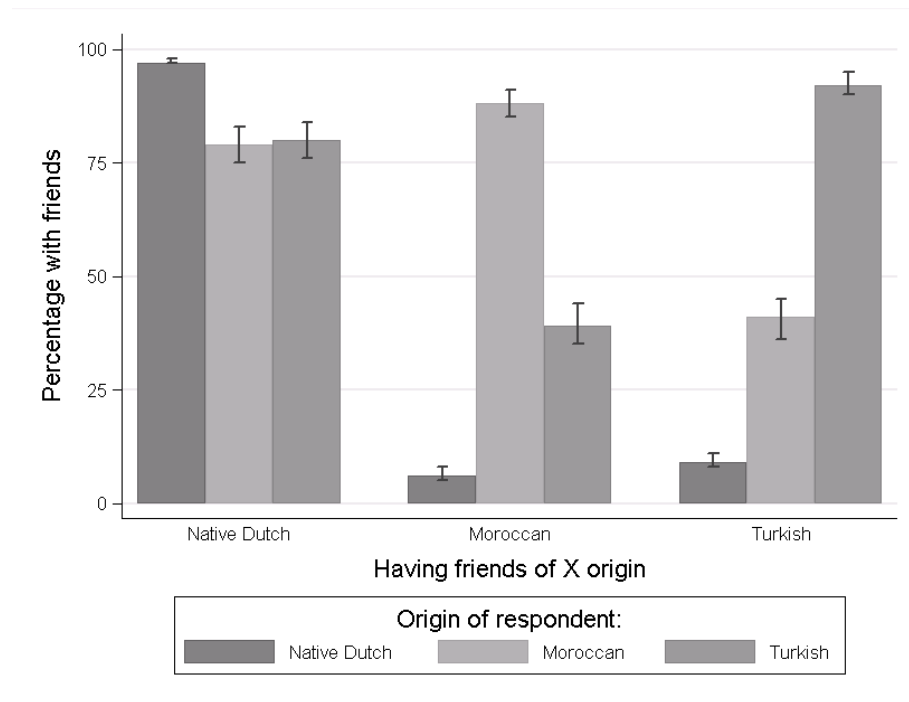
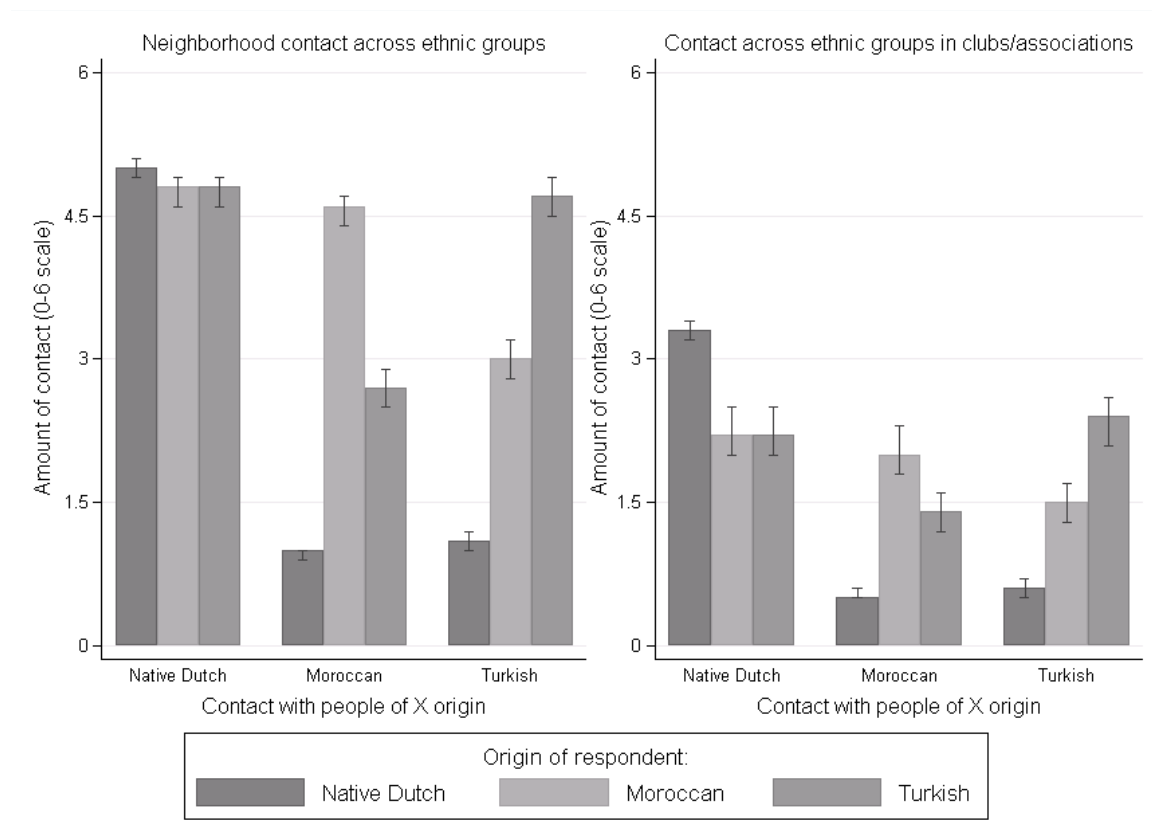


Figure S3.9 *Amount of inter-ethnic contact in one's neighborhood and clubs/associations*



Chapter 4

Out of the Labor Force, Out of Civic Life:

Labor Market Transitions and Civic Participation in the US 2002-2014

Abstract

This study examines how labor market experiences influence civic participation. Although there is a longstanding literature on whether economic hardship and insecurity erode civic engagement, most of this work has narrowly focused on the impact of unemployment, neglecting other labor market experiences. Using panel data from the Volunteering Supplements of the Current Population Survey 2002-2014, we investigate the relationship between a more detailed set of labor market experiences and changes in civic participation. Contrary to conventional wisdom, we find no negative effects of unemployment or becoming unemployed on civic participation. Instead, transitions into and out of the labor force are far more consequential. Exiting the labor force is associated with higher chances of quitting civic involvement, while entering stimulates starting. The strength of these effects varies by the reason for being outside the labor force. Further analyses suggest that a general motivation to participate in public life is key in linking labor market experiences to civic engagement. Resource constraints related to time availability and family responsibilities also play a role in conditioning the civic effects of several labor market transitions. A complex picture thus

emerges of interacting forces that jointly determine how labor market experiences shape people's broader social lives.

4.1. Introduction

The Great Recession of 2008—2009 has inspired social scientists to revisit the social and political consequences of economic hardship (e.g. Grusky, Western, and Wimmer 2011; Danziger 2013; Bermeo and Bartels 2014; Clark and Heath 2014). Several studies have specifically explored the effects of economic hard times on different forms of civic engagement, like volunteering for organizations, informal neighborhood work, public meeting attendance, and charitable giving (Reich et al. 2011; Owens and Cook 2013; Lim and Laurence 2015; Rotolo, Wilson, and Dietz 2015). Such activities can help to cushion the impact of economic hardship, promoting individual well-being and community cohesion (Borgonovi 2008; Sampson 2012). Yet, civic engagement could itself also be undermined by economic turmoil.

Much of the aforementioned work has focused on the impact of the elevated incidence of unemployment. Becoming unemployed is indeed a very traumatic event, but unemployment alone fails to capture the full range of disruptions that people can experience on the labor market, especially in economic hard times. Many find job search challenging under such conditions, with little perspective of finding a job, and therefore give up on

looking for work and leave the labor force entirely (Autor and Duggan 2003). People who remain employed often experience a rise in stress levels during recessions, partly caused by the increased risk of job loss (Modrek, Hamad, and Cullen 2015), which may also lead to labor force exits. People leaving the labor force may retire early, turn to schooling, shift their attention to household and family care, or end up relying on government benefits or support by family members. The impact of such labor market transitions on civic participation may not be the same as the impact of being or becoming unemployed (i.e. jobless but still striving to find a job). At the same time, there are always—even in hard times—people who find their way back to work after job loss or start searching for work after spending time outside the labor force. Once again, the civic effects of such transitions (back) to work or into the labor force do not necessarily mirror the effects of job loss. Notwithstanding this wide diversity of potential labor market experiences, existing studies have mostly focused on the impact of unemployment or job loss on civic participation (e.g. Brand and Burgard 2008; Lim and Sander 2013), without addressing the impact of other forms of joblessness and other labor market transitions.²¹

This is a critical gap in the literature on civic engagement, particularly in view of longer-term labor market trends such as the decline in employment stability (Hollister 2011), the rapid rise of ‘precarious employment’ (Kalleberg 2011), and steadily declining labor force participation (Aronson et al. 2014). Labor force participation in the US has dropped by more than demographic developments alone can explain, making it the only major

²¹ Some studies examine the impacts of factors that are often associated with other forms of joblessness, like parenthood (e.g. Taniguchi 2006), being in school (e.g. Oesterle, Johnson, and Mortimer 2004), and old age (e.g. Mutchler, Burr, and Caro 2003). Yet, those studies typically do not directly address the impacts of the associated labor market experiences, or how they compare to other labor market experiences.

advanced economy characterized by a decline in labor force participation over the past 15 years (Dvorkin and Shell 2015); nowadays almost 20 percent of the prime working-age population (25 to 54 years) has no job nor is looking for one. As a consequence of these trends, both workers and the jobless have become increasingly diversified internally. Therefore, the narrow focus on unemployment fails to fully capture the relationship between labor market experiences and participation in civic life. Depending on how various labor market experiences affect civic participation, the abovementioned labor market trends could transform civic life in important ways.

Our study thoroughly examines the relationships between different labor market transitions and civic participation. In particular, we explore the impacts of both transitions within the labor force (i.e. between employment and unemployment) and movements into and out of the labor force, paying special attention to variation that exists among the jobless. Rather than assuming that movements into and out of certain labor market states have symmetrical effects, we examine their impacts on civic participation separately. This sheds light on whether the civic effects of particular labor market transitions are reversible or not. Furthermore, we focus on the dynamics of civic activism, by looking at the associations between different labor market experiences and the *starting* as well as *quitting* of civic activities. We utilize panel data from the Current Population Survey (CPS) over the period 2002-2014. Our analyses yield novel findings that contradict conventional wisdoms in the literature, and illuminate several of the mechanisms underlying these findings. In particular, we demonstrate how people's motivation to participate in paid work—together with factors such as time availability, family situation, and financial resources—enables or constrains

civic engagement. Thus, our study advances the understanding of how labor market experiences shape people's broader social and civic lives.

4.2. Labor market attachment and civic participation

Unemployment has long been argued to have negative consequences for a wide array of individual outcomes, both economic and non-economic (Jahoda, Lazarsfeld, and Zeisel 2002[1933]). Studies have shown that individuals who experience unemployment tend to suffer from lower future wages, increased chances of becoming unemployed again, and lower job quality more generally (Gregg 2001; Gangl 2006; Waters 2007). In addition, unemployment has harmful effects for physical and psychological well-being (Clark, Georgellis, and Sanfey 2003; Burgard, Brand, and House 2007; Waters 2007; Young 2012), and affects family formation and dissolution (Charles and Stephens 2004; Cohen 2014). Despite this extensive literature, research on the relationship between unemployment and civic engagement is still relatively scarce (Brand 2015). In this section, we briefly review previous work in this area, to draw upon theoretical insights on the relationship between labor market status and civic participation, and to identify the limitations of previous studies and the points of intervention for this study.

4.2.1. Economic approaches

Among different forms of civic participation, volunteering for organizations is most frequently studied in relation to unemployment. Economic theories on the supply of voluntary labor are a common starting point for much of this work (Menchik and Weisbrod 1987; Freeman 1997). The most traditional economic model conceptualizes volunteering as a consumption good that competes with amongst others paid work for people's time. In this framework, time allocation between these activities constitutes a zero-sum game, dictated by fixed time constraints. People are expected to substitute different activities for each other depending on their opportunity costs, which include the payoffs from pursuing other activities. The assumption is that people are more likely to volunteer when their opportunity cost of spending time on volunteering is lower.

From this perspective, employed people are expected to have a lower propensity to volunteer and to spend fewer hours on voluntary work than jobless people, and more so as their wage increases. Whether joblessness means being unemployed or outside the labor force would not necessarily matter in this context. Both groups face lower opportunity costs of volunteering and arguably less stringent time constraints, due to not doing any paid work. As a result, labor supply substitution theory predicts that people who lose their job are in general more likely to start volunteering and less likely to quit. Similarly people entering employment are thought to be less likely to take up volunteer work and more likely to abandon existing activities.

Another economic line of reasoning considers volunteering an investment good, which can strengthen one's future labor market position. The idea here is that volunteering

offers opportunities to consolidate resumes, build valuable connections, and acquire and maintain useful job-related skills (MacDonald 1996; Prouteau and Wolff 2006; Ruiter and De Graaf 2009; Spera et al. 2015). According to this framework, the unemployed and people outside the labor force but with an ambition to return to work are more likely to volunteer than the employed. Those two groups would have the strongest incentives to invest in human and social capital through volunteering, because they want to enhance their career prospects but are unable to accumulate such capital on the job. Following this train of thought, job loss increases the potential payoffs of investments in volunteering, while entering employment diminishes the incentives for such investments. Job loss is therefore predicted to stimulate starting volunteering and to discourage quitting, while the opposite holds for entering employment. The strength of these relations might vary by career stage and occupation, which could affect the return on investments in volunteering.

To summarize, both economic perspectives on civic participation predict that job loss and unemployment, on balance, will have a positive impact on volunteering. Yet, these hypotheses have so far received little empirical support. Most previous studies find that unemployment and volunteering are negatively related (Musick and Wilson 2008). Moreover, wage and income are consistently found to be positively correlated with volunteering, contradicting another tenet of labor supply substitution theory. While it is still possible that *among* those who volunteer, the unemployed volunteer more hours than the employed, neither opportunity costs, nor time constraints, nor instrumental motives can explain why the unemployed are less likely to volunteer in the first place.

4.2.2. *Paid work, social integration, and civic engagement*

In comparison to the standard economic approaches, which conceptualize volunteering as a consumption or investment good, sociologists tend to view volunteering more as an “expression of community belonging and group identity” (Hustinx, Cnaan, and Handy 2010:417). As such, they focus more on social processes and the role that employment plays for social integration, rather than individualistic rational decision-making based on costs and benefits, to understand the link between labor market participation and civic engagement.

In this context, several studies in sociology and psychology posit that employment is one of the key foundations of social integration. Jahoda’s influential works on the social and psychological consequences of unemployment emphasize the ‘latent’ benefits of employment, which comprise time structure in daily life, social contacts, the experience of social purpose, status and identity, and regular activity (Jahoda 1982). Losing a job, she argues, can have destructive consequences that reach far beyond economic insecurity. More directly relating to civic engagement, Wilensky (1961:522) draws on Durkheim’s view of professional groups as a channel to social integration, and suggests that civic participation is a “natural extension of participation in the labor market” (see also Rotolo and Wilson 2003). Castel’s ‘zone model’ views employment stability as one of the core dimensions underlying the ‘zone of integration’, alongside economic security and supportive interpersonal relationships (Castel 2003). In this model, job loss not only leads to employment instability, but also has spillover effects to the other zones, resulting in social exclusion.

These frameworks all point to the critical role that employment plays for social integration, and accordingly predict that unemployment leads to a lower level of social integration and disengagement from civic activities. Unemployment, or employment instability in other forms, can deplete financial resources, reduce social contacts, lower social status, weaken one's sense of belonging and purpose, and induce feelings of shame and stigmatization (Gundert and Hohedanner 2014; Brand 2015). All of these factors may undermine civic participation by depriving people of economic and social resources, diminishing their exposure to civic involvement opportunities, and suppressing their motivation to participate. Therefore, theories focusing on the role of employment for social integration predict—in contrast to the economic approaches—that job loss is associated with a lower propensity to get involved in civic activities, and a higher propensity to abandon existing activities. On the other hand, entering employment is expected to stimulate starting and reduce quitting.

To be sure, people who lose their job can have more disposable time than people in stable employment, an important resource for civic engagement. However, their new-found free time comes mostly during regular work hours, and may thus have limited value for civic activities due to scheduling constraints (Winship 2009; Young and Lim 2014). In addition, facing financial strains, the unemployed may turn their available time and mental resources towards job search, rather than outwards to the community (Lasby 2004; McBride, Sherraden, and Pritzker 2006). Finally, because of psychological distress and social stigma, the experience of job loss might in some cases lead to unproductive usage of the extra time that has become available.

Jahoda et al. (2002[1933]:66) conclude in their famous *Marienthal* study that this extra free time proves to be a tragic gift: “Cut off from their work and deprived of contact with the outside world, the workers of Marienthal have lost the material and moral incentives to make use of their time.” Besides succinctly summarizing the importance of work for social integration, this quote calls attention to the fact that the degree to which joblessness undermines civic participation likely depends on the extent to which people are cut off from work, and whether they have alternative channels to maintain contacts with the outside world. Their recent job history, their feeling of attachment to the labor market, and their intentions to return to work are all relevant in this regard. Likewise, family situations, friendship and neighborhood networks, and previous civic involvement are also worth taking into account. We come back to some of these issues later.

There is ample empirical evidence in line with the portrayal of employment as a key source of social integration, and thus as a powerful determinant of civic participation. Numerous cross-sectional studies show that the unemployed are less likely to be civically engaged than the employed (Haezwindt 2003; Lasby 2004; Taniguchi 2006; Lim and Sander 2013). Longitudinal investigations of this issue are rare, but a couple of European studies show that becoming unemployed often makes people less likely to engage in civic activities (Erlinghagen 2000; Strauß 2008; Lancee and Radl 2014). In the US, Brand and Burgard (2008) utilize the Wisconsin Longitudinal Study to show that job displacement has long-term negative effects on social participation. Combined with the lack of empirical support for the economics-inspired predictions of a positive effect of unemployment on civic participation, the overall conclusion that we can draw from the literature seems that unemployment is

negatively associated with civic participation, and might even have a long-term ‘scarring’ effect that is not reversible by re-employment.

4.2.3. Points of intervention

Although previous studies shine valuable light on the link between labor market experiences and civic life, they are also limited in several ways. First, most evidence comes from cross-sectional surveys. This only gives insights into the relationship between labor market *states* and civic participation at a single point in time. It is less useful for testing theoretical predictions regarding the impact of labor market *transitions*. The few exceptions are either based on European data or derived from a cohort study in a single state. It is questionable whether the findings of those studies are generalizable to the US population.

More appropriate empirical tests would rely on longitudinal data, and relate *changes* in labor market status to *changes* in civic participation. Although such tests can still not rule out non-causal interpretations, they take us a step further than simple cross-sectional analyses. At the same time, a dynamic rather than a static approach enables us to check whether certain labor market transitions have different effects on the starting and quitting of civic activities. Falling unemployed is an illustrative case. This event may well reduce one’s chances of taking up civic activities, as job-related social networks are an important recruitment channel for such activities. On the other hand, falling unemployed may also reduce one’s chances of quitting civic activities if one was already civically involved, since one has now more time available and may also see their civic involvement as a way to keep in touch with their previous work networks. Furthermore, longitudinal data can address

whether the civic effects of moving into and out of particular labor market states are symmetrical, as is often implicitly assumed in previous work. It is common to assume that re-employment would reverse the negative effects of job loss on civic participation, even though Brand and Burgard's (2008) findings on the scarring effect of job displacement suggest otherwise. Analyses that link changes in labor market status to changes in civic participation can submit such assumptions to further scrutiny.

Another limitation of most previous work is the narrow focus on unemployment, as either a singular state or a transition event from employment to unemployment. In reality joblessness entails more complex and heterogeneous experiences, involving multiple types of transitions among many different labor market states. Formal definitions of unemployment, such as the one used by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), generally refer to a situation in which people do not work but actively search for a job and are immediately available to start one. Yet, many job losers decide not to look for other work, or at some point give up looking, and exit the labor force. Some of them retire, others take up schooling, some direct their attention to family or household tasks, and still others end up claiming disability benefits.

A comprehensive analysis of the civic consequences of these different transitions out of the labor force is missing to date, and the same is true for possible transitions (back) into the labor force or into employment. This is partly because surveys typically measure labor market status by asking respondents to identify their own status. As a consequence, the unemployed in these surveys are 'a bag of all sorts', and may include discouraged workers and passive job seekers, which the BLS would classify as being out of the labor force. Most surveys neither make fine distinctions among labor force outsiders, let alone inquire about

how they ended up outside the labor force. Therefore, empirical investigations using such survey data fail to grasp the rich variation in people's labor market experiences. This complicates inferences on which aspect of joblessness is most consequential for civic participation.

These inferences are further complicated by a lack of theoretical appreciation of differentiation among the jobless. Most theories view certain employment-related factors as an impetus or obstacle to civic participation, and ascribe the impact of joblessness to the loss of those factors. This implies that all types of joblessness would have similar effects on civic participation. However, it is doubtful whether a simple dichotomy of employment and non-employment does justice to the diversity that exists among the jobless, in terms of what joblessness means to them and the pathways they follow. One way in which jobless people can differ from each other concerns the strength of their attachment to the labor market. This attachment has a psychological dimension, reflecting how strongly one feels attached, but also more structural and behavioral components, determined by one's labor market history, the duration of joblessness, and efforts undertaken to acquire work. How strongly one is attached to the labor market can influence how likely one is to be involved in civic life, by shaping motivations and resources for civic participation. Several studies show, for example, that people located at the margin of the labor market, with temporary contracts or unstable career trajectories, are less likely to participate civically and more likely to experience social exclusion (Wilensky 1961; Rotolo and Wilson 2003; Gundert and Hohendanner 2014).

Similarly, some transitions between employment and joblessness may be more consequential for civic participation than others, reflecting variation in labor market attachment among the jobless. For example, given that the unemployed—as compared with

people outside the labor force—more closely resemble the employed in their desire to perform paid work, the transition from employment to unemployment may have more modest civic effects than leaving the labor force altogether. Yet, if the unemployed struggle to find work and stop searching for a job, this may significantly alter their motivation to get or stay involved in civic activities. These examples illustrate variation among the jobless in their attachment to the labor market, with implications for their motivation and resources to take part in civic life. Accordingly, transitions into and out of different states of joblessness can affect civic participation differently. Exploring such variation could illuminate which mechanisms drive the associations between labor market experiences and civic participation.

And that is what our study aims to achieve. Using large-scale panel data from the CPS, we thoroughly examine how transitions among various labor market states affect the starting and quitting of volunteering and several other types of civic involvement. This dynamic approach enables us to explore potential asymmetries in the civic effects of movements between labor market states, and how certain transitions might differentially affect people's propensity to start and stop civic activities. It also offers more solid ground for evaluating causal claims. Finally, we tap into the mechanisms that determine how and why labor market transitions are linked to civic participation. We broadly distinguish between motivation-based and resource-based mechanisms, which are at the core of both the economic and sociological frameworks discussed above.

Due to the nature of the data, our focus is only on the short-term effects of labor market transitions, which is a limitation. Moreover, given space constraints, we cannot fully discuss how our findings vary by demographic factors such as gender or age, by occupation or employment, and by contextual characteristics such as local unemployment rates. All of

these factors deserve more attention in future research, although additional analyses suggest that our findings are remarkably robust across these factors.²² Finally, the CPS offers only limited information on activities that people may engage in outside the labor market and civic life, and on the underlying motives that people may have for wanting to work or not. Notwithstanding such limitations, our study significantly advances our understanding of how the labor market and civic life are intertwined.

4.3. *Data and methods*

4.3.1. *Data source and sample*

The Current Population Survey (CPS) is our data source. This is a monthly household survey, used by the US Census Bureau as primary source for its labor force statistics. The CPS has several features that make it ideal for this study.

First, every September survey since 2002 includes a supplemental module containing rich information on respondents' volunteering activities and other forms of civic engagement. Second, there is no better nationwide data source in the US when it comes to information about employment status and labor market attachment. The CPS uses an extensive set of questions to determine respondents' labor market status in line with the BLS definitions. In order to be classified as unemployed, these definitions require people to actively search for work and to be immediately available to start a job. Third, owing to the rotated panel design,

²² We have also examined whether the relationships between labor market experiences and civic participation are different before, during, and after the Great Recession, finding no such evidence.

every September survey contains a subsample of respondents that have already been interviewed in September the year before or will be interviewed again next September. This allows us to track respondents' civic participation and labor market trajectories during the year between their two September interviews. Fourth, pooling of data for multiple years empowers us to finely decompose various labor market states, and to study the civic effects of even relatively rare labor market transitions. Finally, the large sample sizes of the CPS are paired with high response rates, alleviating the non-response biases that often undermine survey research on social participation (Abraham, Helms, and Presser 2009). Over our observation window, the average household response rate equals 92 percent, with an average individual response rate to the Volunteering Supplement of 88 percent among interviewed households.

Using the Volunteering Supplement data from 2002 to 2014, and restricting our analyses to individuals aged 15 years or over at their first interview, we can match two waves of data for 378,262 individuals, amounting to a matching rate of 68 percent, which is respectable compared to other national surveys.^{23,24} Roughly half of all unsuccessful matches reflect that the CPS does not follow respondents when they move elsewhere. If we drop those respondents from the denominator, the matching rate is substantially higher at 78 percent.²⁵

²³ We have also conducted our analyses only with the respondents of prime working age (age 25-55), yielding results that are very similar to those presented in the paper.

²⁴ To avoid 'false positives' among our matches, we confine our sample to those matches with the same gender and race between the two waves and an age deviation of two years maximum. Madrian and Lefgren (2000) demonstrate that this restriction does an efficient job in rejecting potentially invalid matches.

²⁵ We should keep in mind that moving does not occur at random, and some of it may be induced by losing or starting a job. Since residential stability has also been shown to stimulate civic participation (Rotolo, Wilson, and Hughes 2010), the exclusion of movers may result in an underestimation of the negative effects of labor market transitions that hinder civic participation, and an overestimation of the positive effects of labor market transitions that stimulate civic participation.

After listwise deletion of the observations with missing values, our sample of analysis comprises 348,006 individuals.²⁶

4.3.2. Outcome variables

Volunteering activities

Most of our analyses are concerned with the question whether individuals start or stop volunteering for organizations between their two interviews. For this purpose, we construct binary indicators for having done any volunteer work in the years preceding both interviews, derived from the following survey item: “Since September 1st of last year, have you done any volunteer activities through or for an organization?”. If respondents answer no to this question, they are reminded that infrequent activities for their children’s schools or clubs also count as volunteering.²⁷

Other forms of civic engagement

We also look at people’s decisions to get involved and disengage from other civic activities. In particular, we analyze whether they have ‘attended any public meetings in which there was a discussion of community affairs’, ‘worked with other people from one’s

²⁶ We have also carried out multiple imputations for the cases with missing income data (all other variables have no missings). The imputation process generated twenty datasets based on OLS regressions of logged household income on all dependent and independent variables used in our analyses, as well as year and state identifiers, and the number of people living in each household. The results of the analyses with the imputed data are identical to those reported in the paper.

²⁷ Because the effects labor market transitions may vary by the types of organizations that people are involved in (e.g. Rotolo and Wilson 2003), we have repeated our analyses for each organization type separately. Barring a few minor discrepancies, the patterns are consistent across all types of organizations.

neighborhood to fix a problem or improve a condition in one's community or elsewhere', and 'donated money, assets, or property with a combined value of more than 25 dollars to charitable or religious organizations.' The first two questions are available from 2006 onwards, the latter from 2008. These actions may not encompass all types of civic activism, but do enable us to check whether our findings apply to only one specific form of civic activism (i.e. volunteering) or more widely. Once again, binary indicators are constructed for these outcomes.

Table 4.1 presents descriptive statistics for all outcome variables. Apart from charitable donations, volunteering is the most common type of civic engagement in the CPS. Moreover, only about half of all people who do any volunteering over the two waves are persistently involved; the other half either starts or stops volunteering during the year. In other words, there is substantial turnover among participants, even within one year. This emphasizes the relevance of our dynamic approach to civic participation.

4.3.3. Independent variables

Labor market status

We distinguish three core labor market states: employment, unemployment, and not in the labor force (NILF). We construct dummy variables for each possible combination of labor market states across respondents' first and second interview, thus mapping their labor market trajectories. Later on we decompose the NILF category by different reasons for being

outside the labor force, such as retirement, disability/illness, family care and household work, and schooling/training. Anticipating this decomposition, Table 4.2 shows the relative frequency of each labor market trajectory, as well as the transition rates between all labor market states. Certain transitions (e.g. between employment and unemployment, or from employment to retirement) happen more frequently than others. Indeed, some transitions (e.g. from retirement or disability to schooling/training) happen so rarely that even if they have a large effect on individuals' civic participation, their overall impact on civic life may be limited.

Table 4.1 Percentage of respondents experiencing various participation trajectories between their first and second interview, for different outcome variables

<i>Outcome variable</i>	<i>Trajectory from T1 to T2</i>	<i>%</i>
Volunteering activity (n = 348,006)	Not active at T1 and T2	58.4
	Active at T1 and T2	21.6
	Starting between T1 and T2	9.2
	Quitting between T1 and T2	10.8
Attending meetings (n = 235,847)	No meetings at T1 and T2	81.6
	Meetings at T1 and T2	5.2
	Starting between T1 and T2	6.1
	Quitting between T1 and T2	7.1
Working with neighbors (n = 235,927)	No collaboration at T1 and T2	83.6
	Collaboration at T1 and T2	3.9
	Starting between T1 and T2	5.9
	Quitting between T1 and T2	6.7
Donating to charity (n = 177,502)	No donating at T1 and T2	29.5
	Donating at T1 and T2	44.2
	Starting between T1 and T2	12.9
	Quitting between T1 and T2	13.4

Table 4.2 *Relative frequencies of labor market transitions, and transition rates from each status (N=348,006)*

		Labor market status at T2												Total			
		E		U		R		D		S		H				O	
Labor market status at T1	Employment	56.7	(91.4)	1.5	(2.5)	1.4	(2.2)	0.4	(0.7)	0.8	(1.2)	0.9	(1.4)	0.4	(0.7)	62.1	(100)
	Unemployment	1.7	(46.5)	0.9	(25.7)	0.2	(5.1)	0.1	(3.5)	0.2	(6.4)	0.3	(8.3)	0.2	(4.4)	3.6	(100)
	Retirement	0.5	(3.0)	0.1	(0.5)	15.6	(91.4)	0.6	(3.3)	0.0	(0.0)	0.2	(1.1)	0.1	(0.7)	17.1	(100)
	Disability/illness	0.2	(4.2)	0.1	(1.1)	0.6	(12.7)	3.6	(75.3)	0.0	(0.5)	0.1	(2.3)	0.2	(4.0)	4.8	(100)
	Schooling/training	1.4	(23.9)	0.4	(6.4)	0.0	(0.1)	0.1	(0.8)	3.7	(64.3)	0.1	(2.5)	0.1	(2.0)	5.8	(100)
	Household/family care	0.8	(15.9)	0.2	(4.4)	0.3	(6.5)	0.2	(3.0)	0.1	(2.3)	3.5	(65.6)	0.1	(2.2)	5.3	(100)
	Other NILF	0.4	(24.1)	0.1	(8.9)	0.3	(17.3)	0.3	(20.9)	0.1	(4.3)	0.2	(10.2)	0.2	(14.3)	1.4	(100)
Total		61.7	(61.7)	3.3	(3.3)	18.3	(18.3)	5.2	(5.2)	4.9	(4.9)	5.2	(5.2)	1.3	(1.3)	100	(100)

Notes: Rows denote labor market status at T1, columns denote labor market status at T2. The first number in each cell is the relative frequency (%) of the labor market transition in question, across our sample of analysis, and the second number is the transition rate (%) from the row status at T1 to the column status at T2.

Control variables

All analyses adjust for a basic set of socio-demographic characteristics: sex, race, years of education, logged household income, home ownership, marital status, and parental status.²⁸ These factors are well-known predictors of volunteering (Musick and Wilson 2008), while they also affect the likelihood of various labor market transitions. Racial minorities, for example, tend to be overrepresented amongst the unemployed, while women – and especially married women with young children – are more likely to be outside the labor force. Hence, without their inclusion in the analyses, our estimates for the associations between different labor market transitions and changes in civic participation may rather pick up the influence of these underlying socio-demographic characteristics. Table 4.3 presents descriptive statistics for all control variables.

4.3.4. Analytical strategy

Exploiting the two-wave panel design of the CPS, we apply the principles of the change-score method to study the associations between labor market and civic participation transitions (Allison 1990; Johnson 2005). Our analyses compare changes in civic participation among people who have the same labor market status at time T1 (i.e. at the first interview), but only some of whom remain in that particular state at time T2 (i.e. one year later). For all outcome variables, we estimate separate models for starting and stopping, recognizing that these events are distinct

²⁸ In addition, we experimented with controls measuring changes in household income and parental status between the two interviews. Because their inclusion does not alter our key findings, but does constrict the sample of analysis, they have been omitted from the analyses reported in the paper.

phenomena that may involve different social processes. Below we further explain the starting and stopping models, using volunteering as example.

Table 4.3 Descriptive statistics for the control variables (N=348,006)

<i>Independent variable</i>		<i>% / Mean (SD)</i>	
Gender	Female	53.2	
	Male	46.8	
Race	White	75.8	
	Black	8.2	
	Hispanic	9.8	
	Other	6.2	
Age (in years/10)		4.7	1.8
Years of education		13.2	2.9
Log household income		10.7	0.9
Housing tenure	Renting	21.1	
	Owning	78.9	
Marital status	Married/cohabiting	58.1	
	Widowed	6.5	
	Divorced	10.4	
	Separated	1.7	
	Never a partner	23.3	
Parental status	Not a parent	21.9	
	Children <18 at home	28.6	
	No children <18 at home	49.5	

Notes: For the categorical variables, relative frequencies (%) of each category are shown. For the continuous variables, we report means and standard deviations (latter in parentheses).

Equation (4.1) summarizes the regression model that we estimate for starting volunteering, modeling for individual i the log odds of volunteering (V) at T2, given that one was not yet volunteering at T1 (and thus at risk of experiencing a starting event). On the right-hand side of

Equation (4.1), there is a vector of dummy variables denoting the labor market trajectories (*LMT*) that people can follow between T1 and T2, and a vector of control variables (*X*), measured at T1.

$$\log\left(\frac{P(V_{i,T2} = 1)}{P(V_{i,T2} = 0)} \mid V_{i,T1} = 0\right) = \beta_0 + \boldsymbol{\beta}_{LMT}[\mathbf{LMT}]_{i,T1,T2} + \boldsymbol{\beta}_x \mathbf{X}_{i,T1} \quad (4.1)$$

For stopping volunteering, we estimate a similar model, as summarized in Equation (4.2). The left-hand side of this equation represents the log odds for individual *i* of not volunteering at time T2, given that one was volunteering at time T1 (and thus at risk of experiencing a stopping event). The right-hand side again consists of a vector of dummy variables for different labor force trajectories from time T1 to T2, and the same vector of control variables as in Equation (4.1).

$$\log\left(\frac{P(V_{i,T2} = 0)}{P(V_{i,T2} = 1)} \mid V_{i,T1} = 1\right) = \beta_0 + \boldsymbol{\beta}_{LMT}[\mathbf{LMT}]_{i,T1,T2} + \boldsymbol{\beta}_x \mathbf{X}_{i,T1} \quad (4.2)$$

While we summarize most of our findings in graphs depicting predicted probabilities of starting and stopping volunteering, regression tables of all underlying models are available in the supplement to this chapter.

We emphasize that our analyses are not able to establish a definite causal ordering or even a definite time ordering between labor market and civic participation transitions, since we cannot locate when exactly any civic transitions took place between T1 and T2. Moreover, although adjusting for labor market status and volunteering status at T1 (alongside a host of socio-demographic variables) reduces potential biases due to unobserved heterogeneity, it does not eliminate them entirely. That said, our study represents a valuable step forward in comparison to earlier cross-sectional research, because the joint occurrence of labor market and civic

participation transitions is a necessary condition for a causal relationship between these transitions. Furthermore, while some studies suggest that causality could run both ways (Ruiter and De Graaf 2009; Spera et al. 2015), labor market transitions probably have a greater influence on changes in civic participation than the other way around. After all, paid employment takes a more central place than volunteer work in most households, in terms of both prioritization and time use (Wilson and Musick 1997).

4.4. *Findings*

4.4.1. *Main labor market transitions and civic participation*

Table 4.4 examines how transitions in labor market status are associated with starting and stopping different civic activities, after adjusting for all control variables. The ‘stable employment’ group (i.e. respondents who are employed at both T1 and T2) serves as the omitted reference group. To facilitate interpretation, Figure 4.1 displays the average predicted probabilities of starting and stopping volunteering across our sample along with their 95% confidence intervals, based on models 1A and 1B in Table 4.4.

Contrary to previous studies that mostly suggest negative effects of unemployment on civic engagement (e.g. Erlinghagen 2000; Strauß 2008; Lancee and Radl 2014), we find no evidence that unemployment or becoming unemployed suppresses volunteering. If anything, our results demonstrate that unemployment boosts volunteering activities. For example, Table 4.4 indicates that the odds of starting volunteering for people who move from employment at T1 to

unemployment at T2 are 11% higher than for people who stay employed at T2, while their odds of stopping are not significantly different. Among the unemployed at T1, people who remain unemployed at T2 are more likely to start and less likely to stop volunteering than those who find a job at T2, or even than the stable employment group. Hence, the overall relationship between unemployment and volunteering appears positive rather than negative.

We find that moving into and out of the labor force is more consequential for volunteering than being or becoming unemployed. People who are employed at T1 but subsequently leave the labor force have a 20% higher odds of stopping volunteering than the stable employment group. Among the unemployed at T1, people who exit the labor force are significantly more likely to stop volunteering than those who remain unemployed. As Figure 4.1 illustrates, the former group is also less likely to start volunteering than the latter. In contrast, (re)entering the labor force reverses the negative effects of leaving the labor force. People who enter the labor force between T1 and T2 via taking up employment have a probability to start volunteering of 18%, about 5% points higher than for those who remain NILF at T2. The effect of (re-)entering the labor force is even larger for those who move into unemployment: their probability of starting volunteering equals 22%, significantly higher than for any other group. People who already volunteer at T1 and enter the labor force via unemployment are also less likely to stop volunteering than their counterparts who stay out of the labor force.

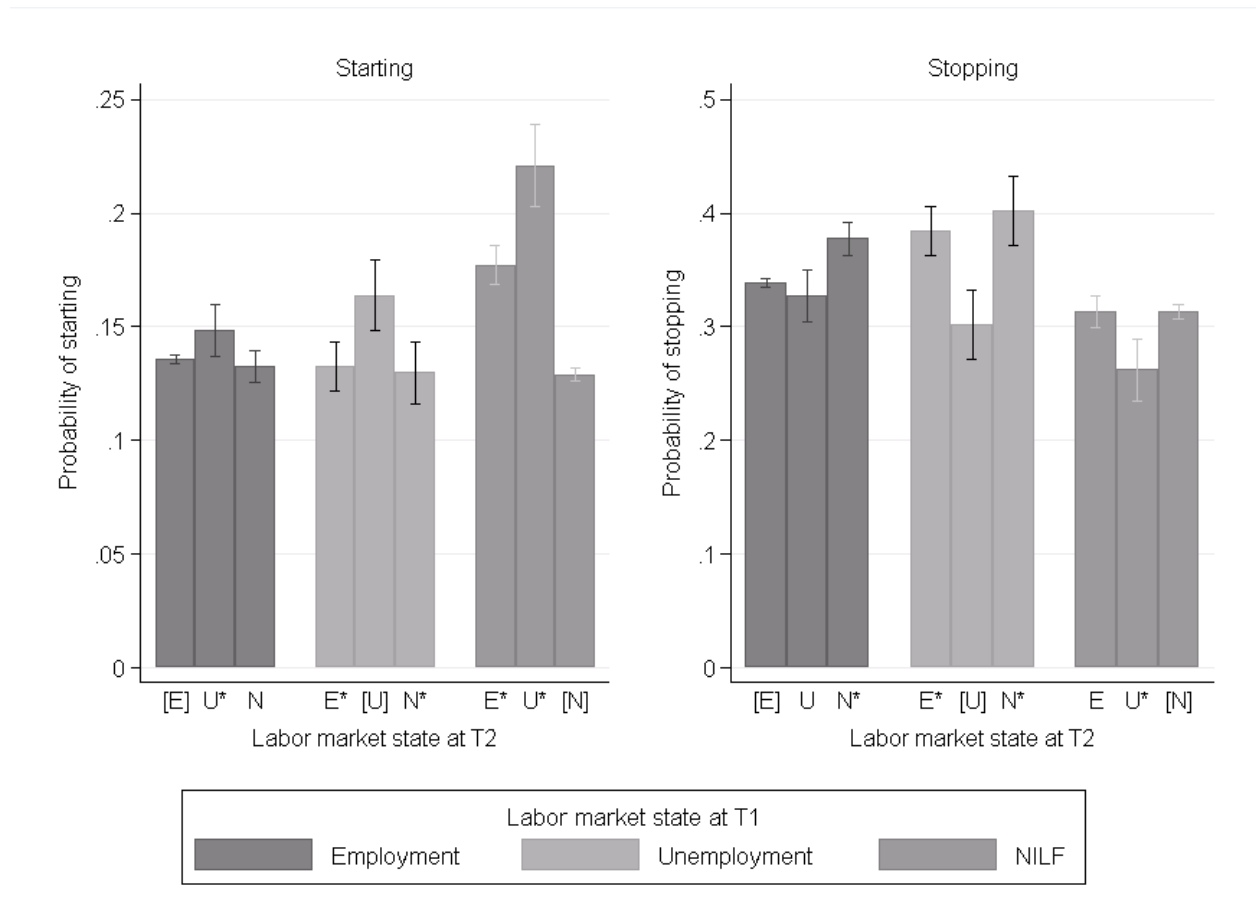
Table 4.4 Logistic regression models for changes in civic involvement (continued on the next page)

	Volunteering		Public meetings		Neighborhood work		Charity donations	
	Starting M1A	Stopping M1B	Starting M2A	Stopping M2B	Starting M3A	Stopping M3B	Starting M4A	Stopping M4B
Stable E	base	base	base	Base	Base	Base	Base	Base
E --> U	1.11 *	0.95	1.02	0.89	1.38 **	0.83	0.78 **	1.40 **
E --> NILF	0.97	1.20 **	0.87 **	1.16 *	0.97	1.11	0.73 **	1.52 **
U --> E	0.97	1.23 **	1.00	1.08	1.09	0.98	0.96	1.15 *
Stable U	1.26 **	0.84 *	1.11	0.92	1.32 **	0.90	0.65 **	1.54 **
U --> NILF	0.95	1.33 **	0.74 **	1.42 *	1.05	1.67 **	0.53 **	1.60 **
NILF --> E	1.39 **	0.89 **	1.31 **	1.02	1.30 **	1.01	0.98	1.15 **
NILF --> U	1.86 **	0.68 **	1.55 **	0.64 **	2.15 **	0.67 *	0.73 **	1.08
Stable NILF	0.94 **	0.89 **	0.88 **	1.15 **	0.92 **	1.03	0.68 **	1.31 **
Female	1.44 **	0.84 **	1.07 **	1.05 *	0.92 **	1.05	1.31 **	0.79 **
Age	0.80 **	0.89 **	1.46 **	0.58 **	1.44 **	0.69 **	1.17 **	0.69 **
Age ²	1.01 **	1.00	0.97 **	1.04 **	0.97 **	1.03 **	1.00	1.02 **
White	base	base	base	Base	base	Base	Base	Base
Black	0.87 **	1.59 **	1.01	1.36 **	0.95	1.11	0.94 *	1.35 **
Hispanic	0.64 **	1.71 **	0.57 **	1.64 **	0.51 **	1.60 **	0.85 **	1.60 **
Other	0.69 **	1.52 **	0.65 **	1.42 **	0.65 **	1.32 **	0.80 **	1.52 **
Years of education	1.12 **	0.92 **	1.16 **	0.92 **	1.14 **	0.91 **	1.12 **	0.88 **
Family income	1.20 **	0.90 **	1.11 **	0.99	1.07 **	1.00	1.36 **	0.77 **

Renting	0.80 **	1.28 **	0.79 **	1.26 **	0.77 **	1.26 **	0.82 **	1.32 **
Married / cohabit.	base	base	base	Base	base	Base	Base	Base
Widowed	0.82 **	1.03	0.83 **	0.94	0.84 **	1.07	0.81 **	1.21 **
Divorced	0.83 **	1.20 **	0.84 **	1.03	0.93 *	1.01	0.70 **	1.46 **
Separated	0.85 **	1.30 **	0.83 *	0.96	0.99	0.99	0.70 **	1.44 **
Never married	0.80 **	1.12 **	0.78 **	0.99	0.89 **	0.96	0.63 **	1.45 **
No parent	base	base	base	Base	base	Base	Base	Base
Kid(s) under 18	1.35 **	0.87 **	1.03	1.03	1.07	0.98	1.16 **	0.91 **
Parent w/o kids <18	0.92 **	1.12 **	0.91 **	1.06	1.00	1.00	0.99	1.07 *
Constant	0.01 **	7.48 **	<0.01 **	24.97 **	<0.01 **	19.58 **	<0.01 **	92.49 **
Number of events	32,073	37,479	14,419	16,745	13,866	15,701	22,819	23,811
Number of cases	235,413	112,593	206,821	29,026	211,145	24,782	75,248	102,254

Notes: Regarding the labor market trajectories, E denotes employment, U unemployment, and NILF not in the labor force; first letter refers to T1, second to T2. Coefficients represent odds ratios. ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, two-tailed tests.

Figure 4.1 Average predicted probabilities of starting and stopping volunteering across different labor market transitions



Notes: Predictions are derived from models 1A and 1B in Table 4.4. The control variables are held constant at their actual value for each respondent, and the plotted probabilities are the average predicted probabilities across all respondents. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Along the horizontal axes, E denotes employment, U unemployment, and N NILF status. Square brackets denote stable labor market trajectories, and asterisks signify predictions that are significantly different ($p < 0.05$) from the predictions for the stable trajectory from the same origin.

In summary, our results demonstrate that when it comes to volunteering, transitions out of the labor force have more negative effects than transitions from employment to unemployment, and transitions into the labor force have more positive effects than transitions

from unemployment to employment.²⁹ Indeed, moving from employment to unemployment is mostly positively associated with volunteering, while the opposite is true for moves in the other direction. We also observe that the transition from NILF status to unemployment is more beneficial for volunteering than the transition from NILF status to employment. These findings on the negative influence of employment vis-à-vis unemployment may reflect weaker incentives to volunteer as well as more stringent time constraints. We further investigate this issue later on.

Moving on to the other civic activities, models 2 and 3 in Table 4.4 show that our results for volunteering are largely mirrored by those for attending public meetings in one's community and working with neighbors to solve community problems. We find no evidence that being unemployed or transferring from employment to unemployment negatively affects these forms of civic participation. For collaborating with neighbors, being or becoming unemployed even yields significantly higher odds of participation, as compared with the stable employed. Transitions into and out of the labor force again turn out to be more consequential. In comparison to the stable employment group, people who move out of the labor force are less likely to start and more likely to stop attending public meetings, and the same is true for collaborating with neighbors if one was initially unemployed. As before, (re-)entering the labor force reverses these negative associations, particularly when the destination is unemployment rather than employment.

Charitable donations (models 4A and 4B in Table 4.4) exhibit different patterns. People who are not employed at both time points—whether they are unemployed or outside

²⁹ These findings are robust to restricting our sample to respondents of prime working age (25-55).

the labor force—are significantly less likely to start donating, and more likely to stop donating if they initially reported any donations. In addition, any disruption in employment between T1 and T2 is negatively associated with making charitable donations, compared to the stable employment group. Because our models already control for household income, the deficit in charitable donations among people without stable employment is not simply due to scarcer financial resources. The remaining deficit may reflect that people without stable employment feel more anxious financially, inducing them to save more. It is also possible that our household income measure fails to capture other financial resources, like savings and other assets. Finally, financial donations would not help job seekers for making connections or building skills, thus reducing their appeal from an instrumental perspective.

Altogether, Table 4.4 suggests that the relationship between labor market experiences and civic participation is more complicated than previous studies have indicated. Except for charitable donations, which require different kinds of resources, our results show that unemployment does not have any negative effects on civic participation, and that its effects are in fact often positive. Dropping out of the labor force, on the other hand, suppresses civic participation by discouraging non-participants from taking up civic activities, and by making existing participants terminate their involvement. Entering the labor force reverses much of these negative effects.

4.4.2. Decomposition of NILF by reason for being outside the labor force

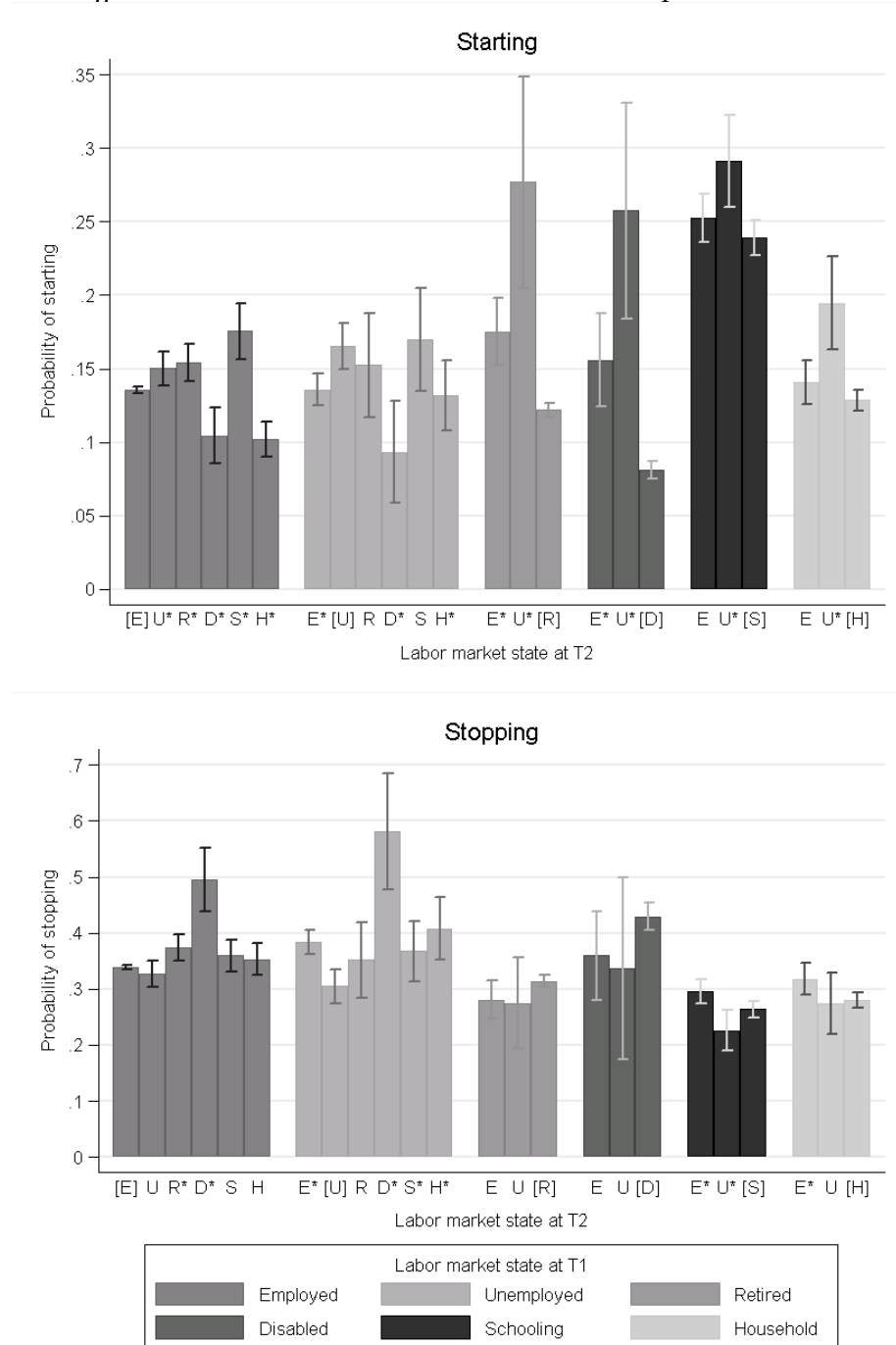
While our analyses so far have shown that civic participation is strongly related to labor force entry and exit, this relationship may well vary depending on people's reasons for

being outside the labor force. Therefore, our next analysis estimates similar regression models as in Table 4.4, except that we now distinguish more detailed origin and destination states for people outside the labor force. We make a distinction between people who are retired (52% of all NILF), disabled/ill (14%), in school (15%), taking care of house or family (15%), and those who are NILF for other reasons (4%). Because we have the largest sample size for volunteering, and given that other time-demanding civic activities display similar patterns, we focus on volunteering from here onwards. To make the regression results interpretable, Figure 4.2 shows the average predicted probabilities of starting and stopping volunteering across our sample, along with their 95 confidence intervals.³⁰ Full regression results can be found in the supplement to this chapter.

The findings that stand out most in Figure 4.2 concern the disabled/ill. Regardless of their labor market status at T1, people who transition to the disabled status at T2 are significantly less likely to start volunteering and, if they are volunteers at T1, much more likely to stop. This holds in comparison to practically everyone who shares the same labor market status at T1. For example, when volunteers who are employed or unemployed at T1 become disabled at T2, there is a 50% or even higher probability that they stop volunteering, a prediction that is substantially higher than for any other labor market transition. Conversely, among people who are classified as disabled at T1, labor force entry is associated with a large rise in the probability of starting volunteering, especially when they move into unemployment.

³⁰ In order to keep Figure 4.2 visually tractable, predictions for labor market trajectories originating from or ending in the least informative ‘Other NILF’ category have been omitted. Likewise, predictions for transitions between various NILF categories have also been omitted.

Figure 4.2 Average predicted probabilities of starting and stopping volunteering across different labor market transitions, NILF decomposition



Notes: The control variables are held constant at their actual value for each respondent, and the plotted probabilities are the average predicted probabilities across all respondents. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Along the horizontal axes, E denotes employment, U unemployment, R retirement, D disability, S schooling, and H care for household and/or family. Square brackets denote stable labor market trajectories, and asterisks signify predictions that are significantly different ($p < 0.05$) from the predictions for the stable trajectory starting from the same origin.

Other NILF states matter as well. Leaving the labor force to take up family or household work lowers the probability of starting volunteering, whereas labor force entry from that state increases the probability when the destination is unemployment. Among people who are unemployed at T1, the probability of stopping volunteering is also higher among those who exit the labor force to pursue household or family-related tasks. The patterns for the retirement category are more complex. People who retire from employment are somewhat more likely to start volunteering but also more likely stop than those who stay in employment. When they un-retire and re-enter the labor force, however, their probability of starting volunteering increases substantially, especially when moving into unemployment.

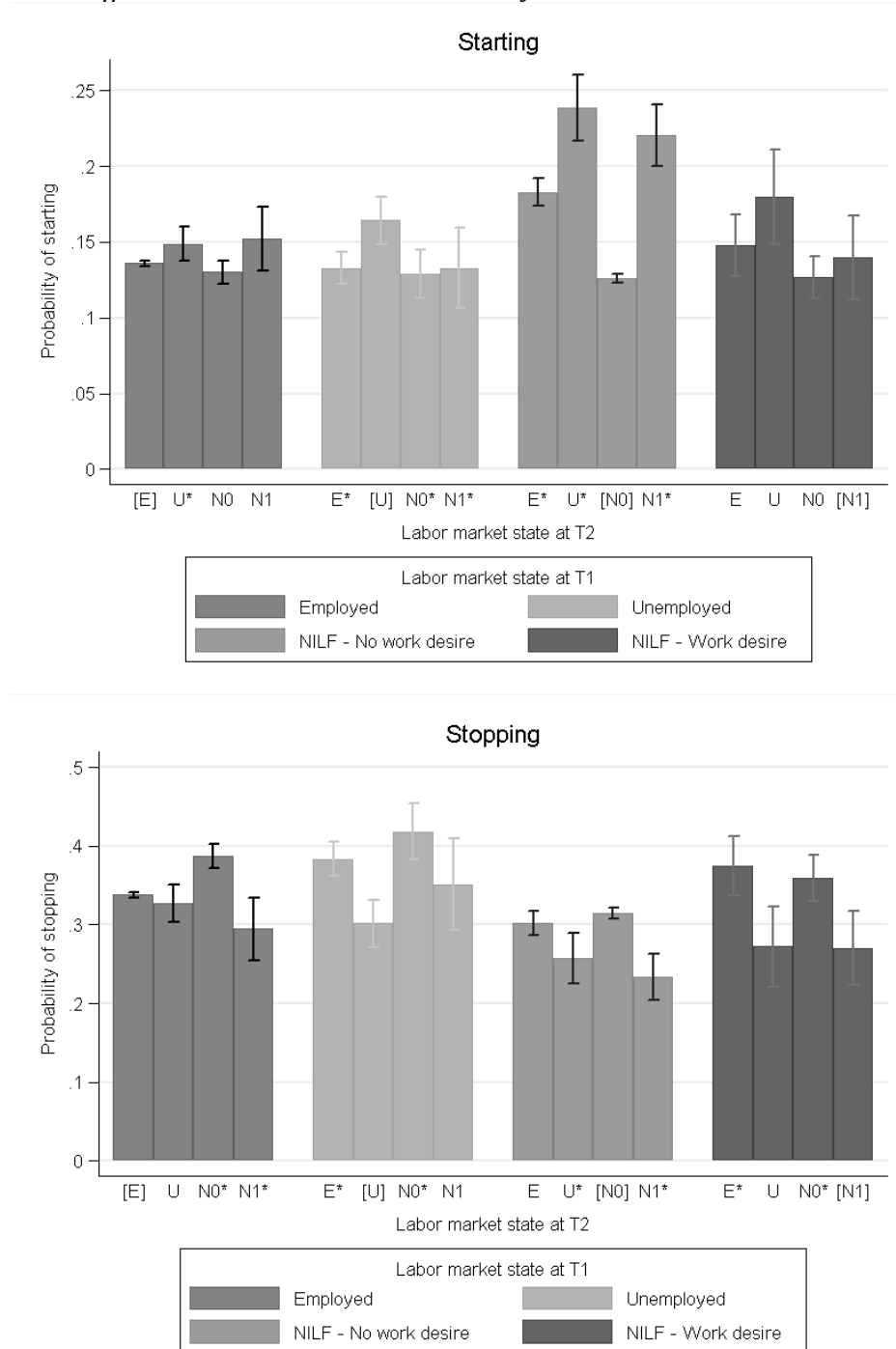
Overall, the transition from any NILF state to unemployment increases the probability of starting in comparison to people who remain in that same NILF state at T2. These increases are bigger than for moves from NILF status to employment. As hinted earlier, time constraints and weaker participation incentives may offset some of the positive effects of labor force entry when moving to employment. In the next subsections we address the influence of several such forces that may condition the relationship between labor market transitions and changes in volunteering. We broadly focus on motivation- and resource-related mechanisms, to tap into people's desires to be civically involved and their ability to act upon those desires.

4.4.3. The role of work desires and motivation

To get a grasp of the extent to which desires to do paid work and ambitions to participate in public life more generally contribute to the observed associations between labor market and volunteering transitions, we separate labor force non-participants who express that they want a job (5.2% of all NILF) from those who do not. The question about work desires (“Do you currently want a job, either full or part time?”) is not asked to people who are retired or disabled/ill, probably because it is assumed that they do not currently want a job. Given that only a small number of these people transition into the labor force a year later, we combine them with those with no desire for a job. The merging of these categories does not affect our results.

Roughly half of the non-participants with a desire to work engage in job search activities, and would probably be classified as unemployed in surveys that rely on self-identification for determining labor market status. However, they do not meet the BLS definition of unemployment, either because their job search is too passive or because they are not immediately available to take up a job. As such, they occupy on the spectrum of labor market attachment the space between the jobless with no desire to work and those who count as unemployed according to the BLS definition. Figure 4.3 illustrates the results of regressions that implement this decomposition of the NILF category by work desires. The graphs present average predicted probabilities of starting and stopping volunteering.

Figure 4.3 *Average predicted probabilities of starting and stopping volunteering across different labor market transitions, by desire to work*



Notes: The control variables are held constant at actual true value for each respondent, and the plotted probabilities are the average predicted probabilities across all respondents. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Along the horizontal axes, E denotes employment, U unemployment, N0 NILF status with a desire to work, and N1 NILF status with a desire to work. Square brackets denote stable labor market trajectories, and asterisks signify predictions that are significantly different ($p < 0.05$) from the predictions for the stable trajectory starting from the same origin.

As Figure 4.3 reveals, whether or not people desire a job plays a critical role in explaining the effects of labor force entry on becoming a volunteer. When non-volunteers who previously had no job desire move into the labor force, their probability to start volunteering increases by 45% (if employed at T2) or 89% (if unemployed at T2). In fact, merely reporting a desire for a job at T2 while still remaining outside the labor force is enough to magnify this starting probability by 75%. Conversely, for NILF people who already possess work ambitions at T1, labor force entry is associated with no further rise in their probability to start volunteering. Hence, labor force outsiders with a stronger attachment to the labor market closely resemble the unemployed in their civic behavior.

Our findings for stopping volunteering underscore this point. When people drop out of the labor force—from either employment or unemployment—, only the people who simultaneously lose their desire for a job are more likely to quit volunteering than those who remain in the labor force. For people who leave the labor force but still report a job desire, we observe no rise in the probability of stopping volunteering. Furthermore, among labor force outsiders who have no desire for a job but do volunteer at T1, those who (re)gain the desire are more likely to stay civically involved than those who still lack this desire at T2, even though the former have not officially entered the labor force. In contrast, labor force outsiders who lose their work ambitions between T1 and T2 are more likely to terminate their volunteer activities.

In short, Figure 4.3 suggests that the desire to participate in the labor market is deeply connected with the motivation to participate in civic life. As long as people keep a desire for paid work, labor force entry and exit do not matter much for starting and stopping

volunteering. It is when people lose or gain work ambitions that labor force entry and exit become relevant.

This pattern is consistent with economists' conceptualization of volunteering as an investment good: people who want to find a job have an incentive to participate in civic activities in order to improve their human capital, stock their resumes, and build connections that can lead to new job opportunities (e.g. Menchik and Weisbrod 1987). Without a desire to find a job, such instrumental incentives for civic participation would vanish, making people more likely to quit existing activities and less likely to take up new ones. These instrumental motives also weaken when work is found. This might explain why the unemployed and labor force outsiders with work ambitions are more likely to get and stay involved in volunteering than the employed.

At the same time, the connection between work ambitions and the motivation to take part in civic life may run deeper than instrumental incentives. Indeed, our findings could also be interpreted as support for the sociological arguments laid out earlier, according to which participation in the labor market bestows a sense of meaning, purpose, and self-efficacy on people, which in turn stimulates civic engagement (Jahoda et al. 2002[1933]; Wilensky 1961). From this perspective, the absence of work ambitions dents people's attachment to the labor market and could elicit feelings of superfluousness, remove the need to make productive use of one's time, and imply a general loss of aspirations. Thus, labor market inactivity could spill over to civic inactivity. Both the incentives-based and social integration-based arguments are therefore consistent with the results in Figure 4.3. While there is still also some room for other interpretations, the next section provides more evidence that the

sociological mechanisms are at least partly responsible for the link between labor market transitions and volunteering, especially with regard to labor force exits.

4.4.4. The role of work hours and time availability

In this section, we look more directly into the role that resources, especially time, play for the links between labor market experiences and volunteering. Figure 4.4 scrutinizes the influence of time availability on volunteering, by exploring how moving into and out of employment has different effects conditional on the number of work hours of the job(s) people start and leave. As before, the average predicted probabilities depicted in Figure 4.4 are computed using regressions that adjust for all control variables.

The solid lines in the first two panels of Figure 4.4 show that for people who are employed at both T1 and T2 increases in work hours go together with higher chances of starting volunteering, but are unrelated to stopping. Reductions in work hours, on the other hand, are unrelated to starting, but associated with higher rates of quitting. Neither of these patterns are in line with the hypothesis that one is more likely to volunteer the more time one has available.

For people entering employment—from either unemployment or NILF status—, longer work hours in their new job have a strongly negative effect on starting volunteering as well as a strongly positive effect on stopping. In other words, as the time demands of the new job rise, people become less likely to take up civic activities and more likely to give up existing engagements. These patterns corroborate the alleged role of work hours as a time

constraint that puts downward pressure on civic participation. People entering employment after having been outside the labor force appear more sensitive to work hours than people who were initially unemployed. This might be because the latter were already engaged in time-consuming job search activities at T1, which diminishes the relative decline in time available for volunteering upon finding a job.

Figure 4.4 tells a different story for people dropping out of employment. No matter whether they fall into unemployment or leave the labor force entirely, people who exit employment start volunteering less and stop more when their previous job was more time-demanding. In terms of time availability these patterns are puzzling, because people who lose a more time-demanding job gain more time, and thus we may expect them to volunteer more than—or at least as much as—people who lose a less demanding job. However, the former turn out to be *less* likely to start volunteering and *more* likely to quit than the latter.

These findings suggest that time availability alone is not sufficient to explain the relationship between job loss and civic participation. Time availability does matter, but how it matters is contingent on which type of labor market transition people experience. When people enter employment, work hours compete with volunteering hours, consistent with labor supply substitution theory. Among people in stable employment, however, an increase in work hours is associated with more, not less, volunteering. And when people lose their job, larger gains in work-free time go together with less volunteering. The last two findings directly contradict labor supply substitution theory. Why people who leave more time-consuming jobs are less likely to volunteer than those leaving less demanding ones is also difficult to explain from an instrumental perspective.

Instead, our results are more in line with the theories that emphasize the social and psychological damages associated with job loss (e.g. Jahoda et al. 2002[1933]). Such damages can be expected to be bigger as the number of hours on the previous job rise, given that losing a job with many work hours can be a more disruptive life event than losing a part-time job. Therefore, we would also expect that losing larger jobs has a more detrimental impact on civic involvement. In this light, the weaker association between work hours in the job lost and changes in volunteering for people ending up in unemployment rather than outside the labor force, may also be attributable to a stronger labor market attachment in the former group.

Figure 4.4 Average predicted probabilities of starting and stopping volunteering across different labor market transitions, by change in work hours (continued on next page)

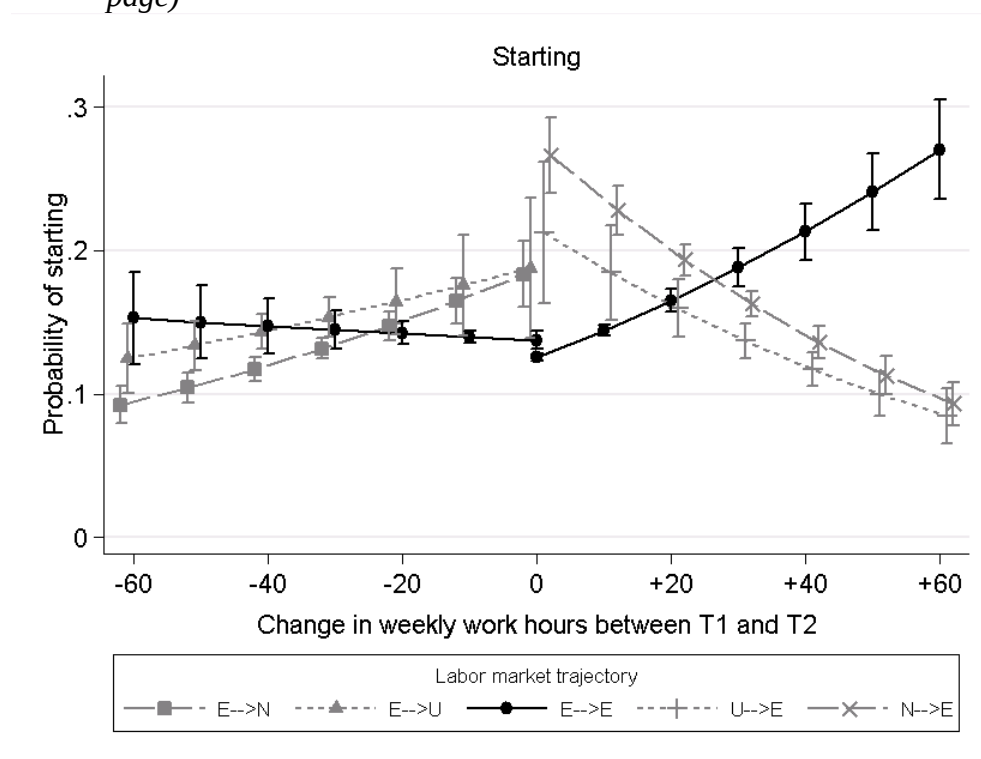
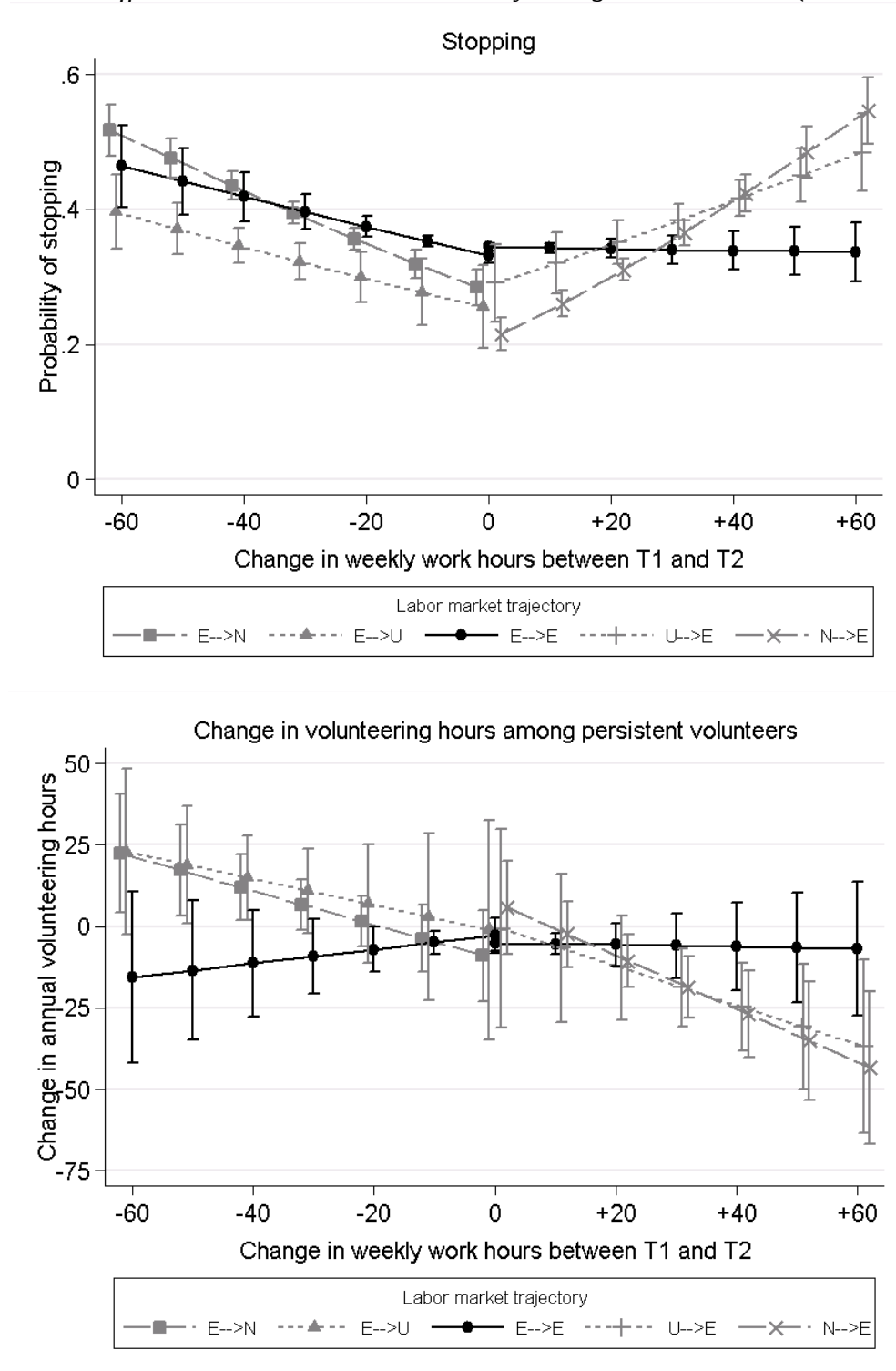


Figure 4.4 Average predicted probabilities of starting and stopping volunteering across different labor market transitions, by change in work hours (continued)



Notes: The control variables are held constant at their actual value for each respondent, and the plotted probabilities are the average predicted probabilities across all respondents. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. In the legend, E denotes employment, U unemployment, and N NILF status.

Altogether, these findings suggest that work hours as a time constraint on volunteering mainly come into play once there is a motivation to volunteer to begin with. This interpretation is borne out by the bottom panel of Figure 4.4, which illustrates what happens to the annual number of volunteering hours when experiencing different labor market trajectories, among people who volunteer at both T1 and T2.³¹ For volunteers who are stable employed, changes in work hours do not matter for the time they allocate to voluntary work. Volunteers who enter employment, on the other hand, tend to decrease their volunteering hours, and more so as their work hours rise. Crucially, volunteers who *leave* their job also adjust their volunteering hours in line with the time availability mechanism: people who leave more time-consuming jobs, and thus gain more time that can now be spent otherwise, increase their volunteering hours more than people who leave jobs with smaller time demands. So, among people who preserve their motivation to volunteer despite their job loss, time constraints do matter.

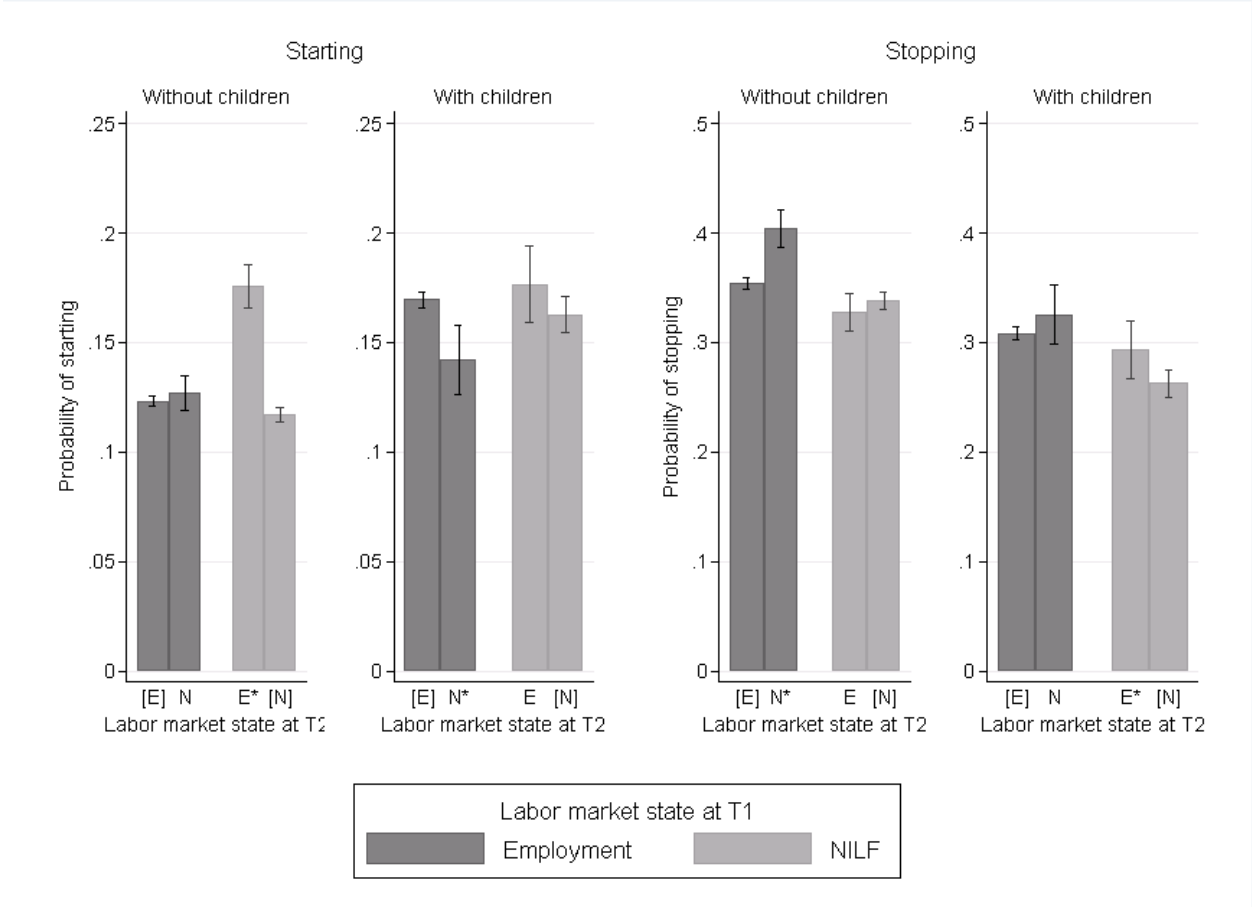
4.4.5. The role of parental status and household income

One's stock of work-free time is not the only resource that may shape the relationship between labor market trajectories and civic participation. In this section, we focus on parental status and household income as two additional factors that may be relevant. Figures 4.5 and 4.6 present average predicted probabilities that illustrate how the effects of labor market transitions on volunteering vary depending on these factors. Both figures are set up similarly to all previous graphs, except that they are restricted to

³¹ The predictions in this panel are based on OLS regressions for the change in volunteer hours between T1 and T2. The sample is restricted to respondents who report volunteering in both waves, and the dependent variable is capped to the range from -500 to 500 (1.7% of the sample otherwise falls outside this range).

transitions between employment and NILF status, in order to keep the patterns displayed traceable. The influence of parental status and household income on the associations between volunteering and labor force entry and exit does not differ substantially depending on whether employment or unemployment is the origin or destination.³²

Figure 4.5 *Average predicted probabilities of starting and stopping volunteering across different labor market transitions, by parental status*



Notes: ‘With children’ refers to parents living with children under the age of 18; ‘Without children’ refers to everyone else. The control variables are held constant at actual true value for each respondent, and the plotted probabilities are the average predicted probabilities across all respondents. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Along the horizontal axes, E refers to employment, and N to NILF status. Square brackets denote stable labor market trajectories, and asterisks signify predictions that are significantly different ($p < 0.05$) from the predictions for the stable trajectory starting from the same origin.

³² Similar regressions have been estimated interacting labor market transitions with *changes* in household income and parental status. Yet, the conditioning impact of those changes on the association between labor market transitions and starting or stopping volunteering turns out to be weaker than the conditioning impact of *initial* household income and parental status.

Although parenting demands time and energy, and thus needs to compete with other roles like paid work and volunteering, previous research finds that the presence of school-aged children promotes volunteering (Taniguchi 2006), acting “as a social magnet for their parents, drawing them into a wider range of extra-household activities, including volunteer work” (Wilson and Musick 2008:238). In line with this literature, Figure 4.5 shows that people on stable labor market trajectories (i.e. employed or NILF at both T1 and T2) are more likely to start volunteering and less likely to stop if they have children under the age of 18. In addition, the main associations between labor market transitions and changes in volunteering are more muted among parents than among non-parents (where parenthood is defined as living together with own children under the age of 18). That is, whereas entering employment from NILF strongly boosts the starting of volunteering among non-parents, there is no significant gain among parents, because people who remain NILF have a relatively high starting probability as well. Furthermore, exiting the labor force significantly increases the probability of stopping volunteering among non-parents, but not among parents.

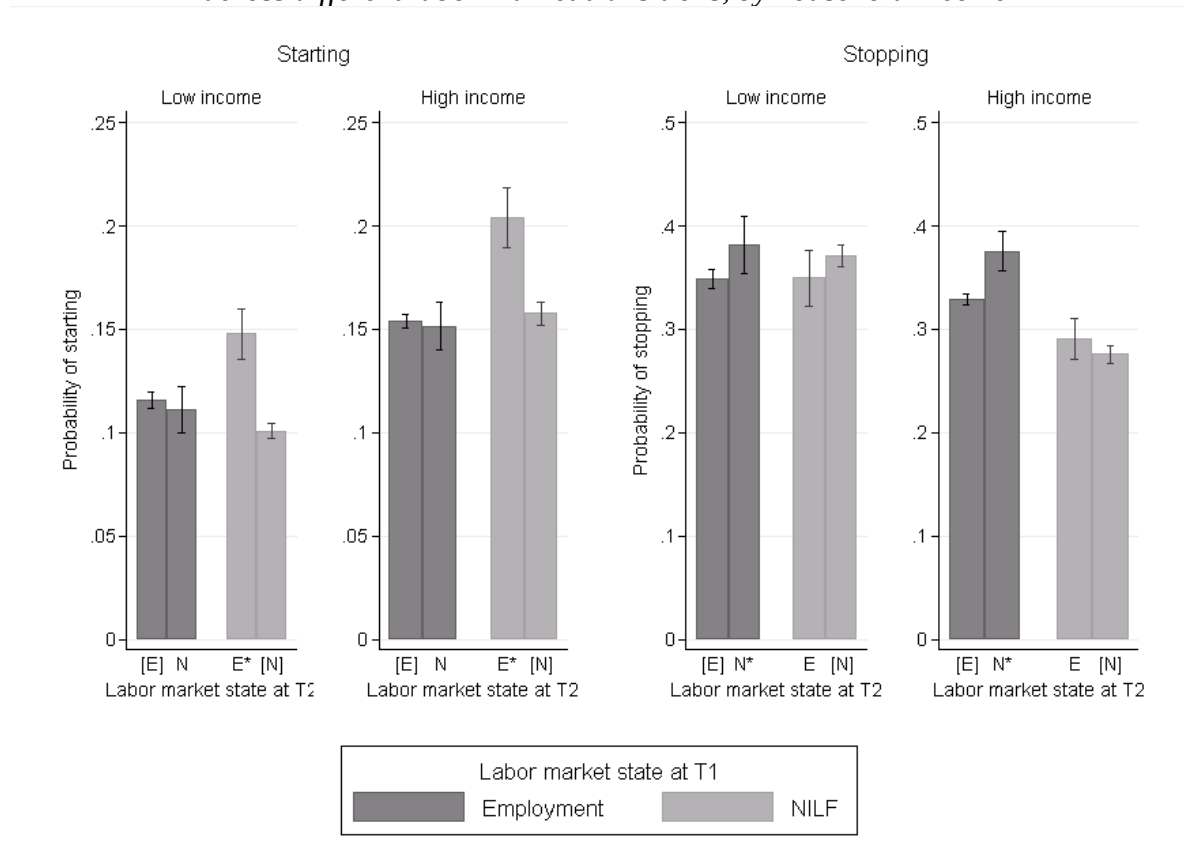
There are two minor exceptions to these patterns, with labor force exit being slightly negatively related to starting volunteering among parents (versus no effect for non-parents), and labor force entry being slightly positively associated to stopping volunteering among parents (versus no effect for non-parents). For these cases, the time and energy demands of parenting may trump the social integration effects of children. Nonetheless, even for these labor market transitions, the starting probabilities for parents are still higher, and their stopping probabilities lower, than for most non-parents. Overall, Figure 4.5 therefore suggests that children provide an additional source of motivation and connection to civic life. As such, the presence of children can act as a buffer against the

adverse civic effects of dropping out of the labor force, especially if one is already civically involved.³³

Figure 4.6 shifts the attention to the impact of household income on the link between labor market trajectories and volunteering, comparing people from households at the 10th and 90th income percentile. Household income could have an important influence on how intensely certain labor market transitions are experienced, and thus on their consequences for people's behavior in other life domains, including civic participation. In this context, Figure 4.6 firstly shows that household income is in general positively related to volunteering. People from high-income households have a higher starting probability and a lower stopping probability than those from low-income households, although there is no difference in stopping among people who are employed at T1. Yet, despite the positive general impact of household income, we find no evidence that the effects of labor market transitions vary across high- and low-income households. The transition from NILF to employment significantly increases the starting probability for both low-income and high-income respondents, whereas moving from employment to NILF does not affect the starting probability in either of the groups. For stopping, it is the transition from employment to NILF that matters for both income groups. In short, whereas work desires, work hours, and the presence of children do affect the relationships between labor market transitions and volunteering, household income is not a significant moderating factor.

³³ Similar results are obtained if we only look at the respondents with children aged 6 to 13.

Figure 4.6 *Average predicted probabilities of starting and stopping volunteering across different labor market transitions, by household income*



Notes: ‘Low income’ refers to the 10th income percentile; ‘High income’ to the 90th. The control variables are held constant at their actual value for each respondent, and the plotted probabilities are the average predicted probabilities across all respondents. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Along the horizontal axes, E refers to employment, and N to NILF status. Square brackets denote stable labor market trajectories, and asterisks signify predictions that are significantly different ($p < 0.05$) from the predictions for the stable trajectory that starts from the same origin.

4.5. Conclusion

The US labor market today is fundamentally different from how it was a few decades ago. There has been a marked decline in employment stability and a concomitant rise in precarious employment (Hollister 2001; Kalleberg 2001). Labor force participation has also been going down, only part of which can be explained by demographic changes (Aaronson et al. 2014). The drop has been substantial even among the prime working age

male population, from 94% in 1990 to about 88% in 2014. Add to this the labor market turmoil caused by the Great Recession, and the question arises whether all these employment-related developments leave a mark on other areas of American society.

Given that stable employment is thought to stimulate civic participation, these labor market trends have the potential to undermine civic life, which has long been regarded as a cornerstone of American society. In turn, declining civic involvement can have a longer-term impact on social cohesion and inequality, if only certain fragments of the population engage in civic life and have access to the benefits that civic participation can deliver (e.g. Borgonovi 2008; Ruiter and De Graaf 2009).

By zooming in on the associations between a wide range of labor market experiences and changes in civic participation over the period 2002 to 2014, our study yields new insights that can inform broader debates on the potential consequences of the aforementioned labor market trends. More specifically, we extend the literature in three ways. First, we adopt a dynamic approach, relating changes in labor market status to changes in civic participation, rather than relying on cross-sectional snapshots. Second, we consider many different labor market experiences, instead of narrowly focusing on the effects of unemployment or the general effect of not having a job. Third, we contrast several mechanisms that might account for the associations between labor market experiences and civic involvement, thus opening up the ‘black boxes’ containing the forces that drive these associations.

Taking advantage of the CPS with its rotated panel structure and rich labor market information, our analyses report a number of novel findings. Contrary to conventional wisdom, we find that the association between unemployment and civic participation is often positive rather than negative. Even though the unemployed may have no access to

work-related social resources, they seem to offset this deficit by having a stronger motivation to take part in civic activities and/or more time available for doing so. To the extent that the experience of losing a job harms people socially and psychologically, this damage does not seem sufficient to subvert their civic involvement in the short run, as long as they retain their desire for a job.

These findings are obtained from dynamic analyses that relate *changes* in labor market status to *changes* in civic participation, and that use a more fine-grained definition of unemployment (versus other forms of joblessness) than most previous work. Both factors probably play a role in explaining the divergence between our findings and those of previous studies. A cross-sectional rather than a dynamic approach may indeed obscure the impacts of different labor market experiences on civic behavior. However, we have neither found a negative effect of unemployment on volunteering in a cross-sectional analysis of the CPS data. This suggests that our measurement of unemployment using the BLS definitions as opposed to self-identification is also responsible for the discrepancy between our findings and those in previous work.

Although earlier research pays little systematic attention to the civic impacts of labor force entry and exit, some of our strongest findings concern these very transitions. We find that moving into the labor force is positively associated with becoming involved in civic activities, whereas people who leave the labor force are more likely to withdraw from civic life. Again, one's motivation to work seems to be the key. Leaving the labor force only hurts civic engagement when people also lose their desire for paid work. Similarly, recovering a desire for a job boosts people's involvement in civic life, even when they stay outside the labor force. Therefore, more than the experience of certain labor market transitions per se, it seems crucial whether such transitions cause a shift in

people's ambitions to participate in the labor market and in public life in general. Additional analyses not shown in the paper demonstrate that these patterns apply to both genders and all age groups, and that they are independent of occupation.

All of this underscores the idea that work and civic life are two closely related domains of public life, and that a weakening connection to the labor market can imply a retreat from public life more generally (cf. Jahoda et al. 2002[1933]). This is a disturbing observation in the context of declining labor force participation in the US, suggesting that people who drop out of the labor market may also lose touch with other domains of social life. Our findings are particularly troubling given that people who are out of the labor force are having a hard time re-entering employment, despite the economic recovery in recent years, especially if they have been out of work for a longer time (Kroft et al. 2014).

Our results also illuminate the complex interactions between motivations and resources in shaping the effects of labor market experiences on civic participation. Although our analyses demonstrate that resources such as time and money can facilitate or constrain civic participation, in line with dominant theoretical models (e.g. Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995), resources are on their own not sufficient for explaining the relationship between labor market experiences and civic involvement. When people lose their desire to participate in the labor market, additional work-free time does not motivate them to become civically more engaged. In fact, people who lose more time-demanding jobs and thus gain more work-free time are less likely to participate in civic activities. It is only when people enter employment that time constraints become relevant, with fewer work hours leading to more volunteering. In short, resources, especially time, only become relevant once there is a desire to participate in public life to begin with. Hence, rather than discarding any of the theories that we discussed in favor of another, our

findings reveal their complex interrelations. Mechanisms related to opportunity costs, instrumental motives, and the role of the labor market for social integration all work together in producing the observed associations between labor market experiences and civic participation.

The importance of labor market attachment probably has a wider reach than what has been studied in this paper. For example, among people who remain employed, those who have a stable job and work on contracts with attractive terms are more solidly attached to the labor market than those who hop from one job to another and work on temporary contracts with precarious terms (Wilensky 1961; Rotolo and Wilson 2003; Gundert and Hohendanner 2014). Considering the trends towards less stable and more precarious employment (Hollister 2001; Kalleberg 2001), such variation among the continuously employed deserves special attention in future research.

In addition, we encourage future research to improve upon the limitations of our study. Two issues are particularly pressing. Firstly, it would be enlightening if our analyses can be replicated on data with a longer time frame and more time points for each individual. Even just having one more time point than in the current analyses would allow for both substantive and methodological improvements. For one thing, this would permit us to better address to what extent the impacts of certain labor market transitions are reversible or permanent. While our analysis can compare the civic effects of, say, labor force entry and exit, we cannot compare these effects *within* individuals, nor can we address how long-lasting any effects are. Advancing our understanding of these issues is essential for gaining further insights into the longer-term civic consequences of trends such as declining labor force participation and diminishing employment stability, as well as events like the Great Recession. Moreover, analyses covering a larger time span could

shed more light on the influence of people's labor market and civic engagement histories, and allow us to get a firmer grip on how causality runs between labor market experiences and changes in civic participation.

Second, future research also needs to further explore the mechanisms that underpin the links between labor market experiences and participation in civic life. Our research takes a first step in this respect by exposing a complex interplay of motives and resources, which asks for more attention. Social and psychological mechanisms emerge in our analyses, for example, as an ostensibly influential force, but the CPS offers only limited opportunities to dig deeper into this explanatory channel. Other data sources and qualitative inquiries have more potential to elaborate on the working of such mechanisms. Likewise, future research needs to take a closer look at what happens in other domains of life (e.g. in the household) when people experience certain labor market transitions, in order to see whether social processes in other domains can explain their motivations (or lack thereof) to work and participate in civic life.

Pending these follow-ups, it is useful to take stock of the knowledge that we have gained in this study. We have brought strong evidence to the fore that refutes, at least for the US, commonly accepted claims about the civic effects of job loss and unemployment. Moreover, the evidence redirects our attention to the civic footprints of other labor market transitions, most notably labor force exit. Finally, our findings on the role of work desires, time availability, and family situation provide useful pointers as to what is underlying those effects, and what might be appropriate avenues for addressing them.

Supplementary materials to Chapter 4

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This supplement presents additional information about the regression analyses on which the tables and graphs in this chapter are based. Tables S4.1 and S4.2 present the same models as Table 4.4 in the main text, but this time also showing the t-values of each coefficient estimate. Tables S4.3 to S4.7 show the coefficient estimates of the regression models from which the predictions in Figures 4.2 to 4.6 in the main text are derived. All of these models include the same control variables as in Tables S4.1 and S4.2. However, since their coefficient estimates hardly change across the models, these estimates are not shown in Tables S4.3 to S4.7.

Table S4.1 More detailed output of the logistic regression models for changes in civic involvement in Table 4.4 (part 1)

	Volunteering				Public meetings			
	Start M1A		Stop M1B		Start M2A		Stop M2B	
Stable E	base		base		base		base	
E --> U	1.11*	2.26	0.95	-0.89	1.02	0.26	0.89	-1.06
E --> NILF	0.97	-0.85	1.20**	5.38	0.87**	-2.74	1.16*	2.20
U --> E	0.97	-0.66	1.23**	4.26	0.99	-0.08	1.08	0.74
Stable U	1.25**	3.71	0.85*	-2.16	1.11	1.11	0.92	-0.59
U --> NILF	0.94	-0.89	1.34**	4.28	0.73**	-2.82	1.42*	2.42
NILF --> E	1.39**	10.08	0.89**	-3.23	1.31**	5.20	1.02	0.23
NILF --> U	1.85**	10.83	0.69**	-4.97	1.54**	4.69	0.64**	-2.69
Stable NILF	0.94**	-3.47	0.89**	-6.19	0.88**	-2.74	1.15**	3.87
Female	1.43**	28.59	0.84**	-12.74	1.07**	3.90	1.05*	2.08
Age	0.79**	-10.28	0.89**	-4.28	1.46**	10.69	0.58**	-9.95
Age ²	1.01**	6.01	1.00	0.77	0.97**	-7.38	1.04**	7.44
White	base		base		base		base	
Black	0.87**	-5.94	1.60**	17.60	1.01	0.26	1.36**	5.98
Hispanic	0.64**	-19.17	1.72**	19.41	0.57**	-13.80	1.64**	7.23
Other	0.69**	-14.28	1.52**	14.36	0.65**	-10.70	1.42**	5.79
Years of education	1.12**	43.32	0.92**	-28.74	1.16**	42.53	0.92**	-16.93
Household income	1.19**	19.46	0.90**	-10.50	1.11**	7.78	0.99	-0.54
Renting	0.80**	-12.81	1.28**	12.52	0.79**	-8.66	1.26**	5.47
Married / cohabit.	base		base		base		base	
Widowed	0.85**	-4.99	0.98	-0.69	0.86**	-3.49	0.92	-1.51
Divorced	0.85**	-7.19	1.15**	5.86	0.87**	-4.67	1.01	0.22
Separated	0.87**	-2.79	1.26**	3.93	0.85*	-2.00	0.95	-0.47
Never married	0.83**	-9.01	1.06*	2.46	0.80**	-6.94	0.97	-0.72
No kid(s) under 18	base		base		base		base	
Kid(s) under 18	1.44**	22.93	0.79**	-13.87	1.12**	4.82	0.98	-0.65
Constant	0.01**	-39.89	7.95**	16.68	<0.01**	-39.64	26.01**	12.92
Number of events	32,073		37,479		14,419		16,745	
Number of cases	235,413		112,593		206,821		29,026	

Notes: Coefficients represent odds ratios, t-values displayed in italics. ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, two-tailed tests.

Table S4.2 More detailed output of the logistic regression models for changes in civic involvement in Table 4.4 (part 2)

	Neighborhood work				Charity donations			
	Start M3A		Stop M3B		Start M4A		Stop M4B	
Stable E	base		base		base		base	
E --> U	1.38**	<i>4.92</i>	0.83	<i>-1.64</i>	0.78**	<i>-3.98</i>	1.40**	<i>5.61</i>
E --> NILF	0.97	<i>-0.68</i>	1.11	<i>1.41</i>	0.73**	<i>-6.74</i>	1.52**	<i>10.47</i>
U --> E	1.09	<i>1.19</i>	0.98	<i>-0.20</i>	0.96	<i>-0.75</i>	1.15*	<i>2.27</i>
Stable U	1.32**	<i>3.24</i>	0.90	<i>-0.74</i>	0.65**	<i>-5.93</i>	1.53**	<i>5.72</i>
U --> NILF	1.05	<i>0.50</i>	1.67**	<i>3.38</i>	0.53**	<i>-7.90</i>	1.60**	<i>6.14</i>
NILF --> E	1.30**	<i>5.00</i>	1.01	<i>0.16</i>	0.98	<i>-0.39</i>	1.15**	<i>2.59</i>
NILF --> U	2.15**	<i>9.37</i>	0.67*	<i>-2.36</i>	0.73**	<i>-6.74</i>	1.07	<i>0.74</i>
Stable NILF	0.92**	<i>-3.32</i>	1.03	<i>0.79</i>	0.68**	<i>-16.59</i>	1.31**	<i>11.90</i>
Female	0.92**	<i>-4.30</i>	1.05	<i>1.63</i>	1.31**	<i>15.53</i>	0.79**	<i>-14.56</i>
Age	1.44**	<i>10.29</i>	0.69**	<i>-6.36</i>	1.17**	<i>5.55</i>	0.69**	<i>-12.46</i>
Age ²	0.97**	<i>-8.21</i>	1.03**	<i>4.31</i>	1.00	<i>-0.17</i>	1.02**	<i>5.56</i>
White	base		base		base		base	
Black	0.95	<i>-1.57</i>	1.11	<i>1.88</i>	0.94*	<i>-1.99</i>	1.35**	<i>10.34</i>
Hispanic	0.51**	<i>-15.75</i>	1.60**	<i>6.11</i>	0.85**	<i>-6.18</i>	1.60**	<i>16.62</i>
Other	0.65**	<i>-10.66</i>	1.32**	<i>4.15</i>	0.80**	<i>-6.67</i>	1.52**	<i>13.16</i>
Years of education	1.14**	<i>35.37</i>	0.91**	<i>-16.42</i>	1.12**	<i>31.40</i>	0.88**	<i>-40.01</i>
Household income	1.07**	<i>4.91</i>	1.00	<i>-0.01</i>	1.36**	<i>26.61</i>	0.77**	<i>-22.61</i>
Renting	0.77**	<i>-9.70</i>	1.26**	<i>5.01</i>	0.82**	<i>-9.41</i>	1.32**	<i>13.24</i>
Married / cohabit.	base		base		base		base	
Widowed	0.84**	<i>-3.82</i>	1.07	<i>0.95</i>	0.82**	<i>-5.13</i>	1.19**	<i>4.89</i>
Divorced	0.93*	<i>-2.52</i>	1.01	<i>0.13</i>	0.70**	<i>-12.57</i>	1.44**	<i>13.95</i>
Separated	0.99	<i>-0.10</i>	0.99	<i>-0.09</i>	0.70**	<i>-5.85</i>	1.42**	<i>5.58</i>
Never married	0.89**	<i>-3.79</i>	0.96	<i>-0.83</i>	0.63**	<i>-17.11</i>	1.43**	<i>13.35</i>
No kid(s) under 18	base		base		base		base	
Kid(s) under 18	1.07**	<i>2.91</i>	0.98	<i>-0.57</i>	1.18**	<i>7.20</i>	0.85**	<i>-7.79</i>
Constant	<0.01**	<i>-34.48</i>	19.62**	<i>11.06</i>	<0.01**	<i>-38.47</i>	97.72**	<i>31.18</i>
Number of events	13,866		15,701		22,819		23,811	
Number of cases	211,145		24,782		75,248		102,254	

Notes: Coefficients represent odds ratios, t-values displayed in italics. ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, two-tailed tests.

Table S4.3 *Logistic regression models for starting and stopping volunteering, while decomposing the NILF group (see Figure 4.2)*

	Volunteering			
	Start		Stop	
Stable Employment	base		base	
E --> Unemployment	1.13**	2.62	0.95	-0.95
E --> Retirement	1.17**	2.92	1.18**	2.93
E --> Disability	0.74**	-2.86	1.97**	5.62
E --> Schooling	1.38**	4.52	1.10	1.37
E --> Household	0.72**	-4.82	1.07	0.94
E --> Other NILF	0.88	-1.32	1.25*	2.07
U --> Employment	1.00	-0.01	1.23**	4.09
Stable Unemployment	1.27**	3.95	0.85*	-2.05
U --> Retirement	1.15	0.96	1.06	0.39
U --> Disability	0.64*	-2.06	2.87**	4.66
U --> Schooling	1.32*	2.07	1.14	1.05
U --> Household	0.97	-0.31	1.37*	2.53
U --> Other	0.63*	-2.38	1.35	1.53
R --> Employment	1.37**	3.78	0.75**	-3.17
R --> Unemployment	2.56**	4.80	0.73	-1.47
Stable Retirement	0.88**	-4.37	0.89**	-4.04
D --> Employment	1.19	1.34	1.10	0.54
D --> Unemployment	2.30**	3.99	1.00	-0.01
Stable Disability	0.55**	-13.54	1.50**	7.30
S --> Employment	2.25**	16.76	0.81**	-3.79
S --> Unemployment	2.76**	12.19	0.55**	-5.32
Stable Schooling	2.08**	19.97	0.69**	-9.09
H --> Employment	1.05	0.68	0.90	-1.48
H --> Unemployment	1.57**	4.14	0.73*	-2.14
Stable Household	0.94	-1.76	0.75**	-7.93
O --> Employment	1.00	0.02	1.08	0.67
O --> Unemployment	1.06	0.32	0.91	-0.42
Stable Other NILF	0.78	-1.59	1.05	0.29
Constant	0.01**	-41.31	7.82**	16.29
Number of events	32,073		37,479	
Number of cases	235,413		112,593	

Notes: ‘E’ refers to employment, ‘U’ to unemployment, ‘R’ to retirement, ‘D’ to disability/illness, ‘S’ to schooling/training, ‘H’ to household/family care, and ‘O’ to other NILF. The models control for the same covariates as shown in Tables S4.1 and S4.2; they also estimate the effects of transitions between the various NILF states. Coefficients represent odds ratios, t-values are displayed in italics. ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, two-tailed tests.

Table S4.4 *Logistic regression models for starting and stopping volunteering, while dividing the NILF group by work desires (see Figure 4.3)*

	Volunteering			
	Start		Stop	
Stable Employment	base		base	
E --> Unemployment	1.12*	2.29	0.95	-0.90
E --> NILF no work desire	0.95	-1.51	1.25**	6.39
E --> NILF with work desire	1.15	1.56	0.81*	-2.05
U --> Employment	0.97	-0.62	1.23**	4.24
Stable Unemployment	1.25**	3.74	0.85*	-2.17
U --> NILF no work desire	0.94	-0.87	1.44**	4.64
U --> NILF with work desire	0.97	-0.26	1.07	0.53
N0 --> Employment	1.45**	10.60	0.84**	-4.35
N0 --> Unemployment	2.06**	11.03	0.67**	-4.46
Stable NILF no work desire	0.91**	-4.90	0.89**	-5.66
N0 --> NILF with work desire	1.84**	9.57	0.58**	-6.22
N1 --> Employment	1.10	1.12	1.18	1.90
N1 --> Unemployment	1.41**	3.01	0.73*	-2.33
N1 --> NILF no work desire	0.92	-1.28	1.10	1.45
Stable NILF with work desire	1.03	0.25	0.72**	-2.65
Constant	0.01**	-39.94	7.99**	16.71
Number of events	32,073		37,479	
Number of cases	235,413		112,593	

Notes: ‘E’ refers to employment, ‘U’ to unemployment, ‘N0’ to NILF without a desire for a job, and ‘N1’ to NILF with a desire for a job. The models control for the same covariates as shown in Tables S4.1 and S4.2. Coefficients represent odds ratios, t-values displayed in italics. ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, two-tailed tests.

Table S4.5 Logistic regression models for starting and stopping volunteering, and OLS model for change in annual volunteering hours, interacting the labor market experiences with changes in work hours (see Figure 4.4)

	Volunteering					
	Start		Stop		Change in hours	
Stable Employment - Hours equal or up	base		base		base	
Stable Employment - Hours down	1.12**	3.55	0.95	-1.77	2.25	0.75
E --> Unemployment	1.65**	2.87	0.64*	-2.55	4.03	0.23
E --> NILF	1.60**	5.63	0.75**	-4.01	-3.87	-0.53
U --> Employment	1.94**	4.18	0.77	-1.72	4.44	0.28
Stable Unemployment	1.36**	5.06	0.83*	-2.46	21.68**	2.71
U --> NILF	1.03	0.47	1.30**	3.82	-4.65	-0.57
N --> Employment	2.66**	13.05	0.51**	-8.87	10.9	1.47
N --> Unemployment	2.03**	12.33	0.67**	-5.35	16.66*	2.19
Stable NILF	1.05*	2.35	0.85**	-7.54	6.13**	2.93
Change in work hours between T1 and T2	1.18**	9.95	0.99	-0.33	-0.29	-0.16
Change hours * Stable E hours equal/up	base		base		base	
Change hours * Stable E hours down	0.83**	-6.14	0.91**	-2.92	2.41	0.76
Change hours * E --> Unemployment	0.92	-1.69	0.90*	-2.20	-3.71	-0.76
Change hours * E --> NILF	0.97	-0.99	0.85**	-5.81	-4.95	-1.64
Change hours * U --> Employment	0.70**	-7.41	1.16**	3.32	-5.73	-1.20
Change hours * Stable Unemployment	-		-		-	
Change hours * U --> NILF	-		-		-	
Change hours * N --> Employment	0.68**	-12.75	1.30**	8.11	-7.89*	-2.31
Change hours * N --> Unemployment	-		-		-	
Change hours * Stable NILF	-		-		-	
Constant	0.06**	-43.23	2.99**	15.27	-3.11	-0.42
Number of events/changes	28,933		33,770		59,835	
Number of cases	215,751		100,311		62,466	

Notes: ‘E’ refers to employment, ‘U’ to unemployment, and ‘N’ to NILF. Change in work hours refers to people’s weekly work hours, and is measured in units of 10 hours. For the stable employed, we estimate separate effects for work hours increases (including no change in hours) and work hours decreases. The models control for the same covariates as shown in Tables S4.1 and S4.2. Coefficients represent odds ratios, t-values are displayed in italics. ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, two-tailed tests.

Table S4.6 *Logistic regression models for starting and stopping volunteering, interacting labor market experiences with parental status (see Figure 4.5)*

	Volunteering			
	Start		Stop	
Stable Employment	base		base	
E --> Unemployment	1.13*	1.99	1.02	0.23
E --> NILF	1.03	0.91	1.25**	5.77
U --> Employment	1.00	0.00	1.24**	3.43
Stable Unemployment	1.16	1.93	0.90	-1.10
U --> NILF	0.93	-0.93	1.31**	3.26
N --> Employment	1.54**	11.44	0.88**	-2.82
N --> Unemployment	1.90**	9.70	0.67**	-4.49
Stable NILF	0.94**	-2.85	0.93**	-3.29
Kid(s) under 18	1.47**	21.65	0.81**	-11.67
Kid(s) under 18 * Stable Employment	base		base	
Kid(s) under 18 * E --> Unemployment	0.97	-0.26	0.84	-1.45
Kid(s) under 18 * E --> NILF	0.78**	-3.20	0.87	-1.83
Kid(s) under 18 * U --> Employment	0.91	-0.87	0.99	-0.14
Kid(s) under 18 * Stable Unemployment	1.28	1.95	0.86	-0.98
Kid(s) under 18 * U --> NILF	1.06	0.39	1.10	0.67
Kid(s) under 18 * N --> Employment	0.69**	-5.07	1.05	0.59
Kid(s) under 18 * N --> Unemployment	0.92	-0.69	1.14	0.78
Kid(s) under 18 * Stable NILF	1.01	0.23	0.85**	-3.79
Constant	0.01**	-39.77	7.57**	16.17
Number of events/changes	32,073		37,479	
Number of cases	235,413		112,593	

Notes: 'E' refers to employment, 'U' to unemployment, and 'N' to NILF. The parental status variable measures whether one is living together with any own children under the age of 18. The models control for the same covariates as shown in Tables S4.1 and S4.2. Coefficients represent odds ratios, t-values are displayed in italics. ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, two-tailed tests.

Table S4.7 Logistic regression models for starting and stopping volunteering, interacting the labor market experiences with household income (see Figure 4.6)

	Volunteering			
	Start		Stop	
Stable Employment	base		base	
E --> Unemployment	1.11*	<i>2.10</i>	0.97	<i>-0.55</i>
E --> NILF	0.97	<i>-1.03</i>	1.20**	<i>5.28</i>
U --> Employment	0.94	<i>-1.24</i>	1.26**	<i>4.63</i>
Stable Unemployment	1.20**	<i>2.75</i>	0.86	<i>-1.88</i>
U --> NILF	0.95	<i>-0.70</i>	1.37**	<i>4.46</i>
N --> Employment	1.38**	<i>9.89</i>	0.91**	<i>-2.63</i>
N --> Unemployment	1.72**	<i>8.93</i>	0.68**	<i>-4.94</i>
Stable NILF	0.94**	<i>-3.38</i>	0.91**	<i>-4.82</i>
Household income (mean-centered)	1.17**	<i>12.14</i>	0.96**	<i>-3.06</i>
Household income * Stable Employment	base		base	
Household income * E --> Unemployment	0.96	<i>-0.67</i>	0.95	<i>-0.74</i>
Household income * E --> NILF	1.01	<i>0.35</i>	1.03	<i>0.70</i>
Household income * U --> Employment	0.92	<i>-1.73</i>	0.94	<i>-1.22</i>
Household income * Stable Unemployment	0.94	<i>-1.10</i>	0.92	<i>-1.20</i>
Household income * U --> NILF	1.08	<i>1.14</i>	0.95	<i>-0.80</i>
Household income * N --> Employment	1.03	<i>0.83</i>	0.92*	<i>-2.11</i>
Household income * N --> Unemployment	0.86**	<i>-2.83</i>	0.82**	<i>-2.57</i>
Household income * Stable NILF	1.09**	<i>4.78</i>	0.85**	<i>-8.46</i>
Constant	0.07**	<i>-43.05</i>	2.65**	<i>14.53</i>
Number of events/changes	32,073		37,479	
Number of cases	235,413		112,593	

Notes: 'E' refers to employment, 'U' to unemployment, and 'N' to NILF. The variable for logged household income is centered around its sample mean. The models control for the same covariates as shown in Tables S4.1 and S4.2. Coefficients represent odds ratios, t-values are displayed in italics. ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, two-tailed tests.

Conclusion

This thesis has sought to gain insights about the factors that make people start and stop volunteer work. Expanding our knowledge in this regard sheds further light on the capacity of volunteering and voluntary associations to foster social cohesion. In particular, my goal has been twofold: first, to reveal to what extent voluntary associations function as meeting places for people from different social backgrounds, and second, to assess the resilience of civic participation in the face of labor market experiences that might undermine such engagement. These issues are of immediate relevance to vivid debates on the ‘bridging potential’ of voluntary associations and on the civic consequences of the Great Recession as well as longer-term labor market trends. The core ambition of this thesis is to contribute to a stronger base of evidence to ground such discussions upon. Its findings help to assess whether volunteering and voluntary associations are able to live up to their promise of boosting social cohesion, or whether fulfilling this grand role is a bridge too far.

In this chapter I will first restate the main findings of the previous chapters. Next, I will discuss their implications for the potential of volunteering and voluntary associations to strengthen social cohesion. Finally, I will return to a couple of outstanding questions, which inspire my recommendations for future research.

5.1. *Summary of main findings*

Chapter 2 ('Volunteering Trajectories in The Netherlands 1980-2009; Starting and Quitting for Different Types of Associations') set out to give an impression of the degree to which people with different characteristics in terms of educational attainment, religiosity, and gender sort themselves across voluntary organizations. In doing so, the chapter made several contributions to the literature on volunteering. First, its use of retrospective life course data from the Family Survey Dutch Population (FSDP) and its focus on starting and quitting transitions provided insights into the dynamics behind the commonly observed cross-sectional relationships between education, religiosity, gender, and volunteering. In addition, the chapter did not lump together volunteering for all sorts of different organizations, as is done in most other research, but directly investigated how the relationships between the aforementioned factors and volunteering varies across different types of organizations. Related to this, special attention was paid to the understudied influence of the social composition of different association types for explaining volunteering behavior.

As a result of these contributions, we were able to learn that the commonly observed positive association between educational attainment and being active as a volunteer at a single point in time solely reflects the higher propensity among the higher-educated to take up volunteering. Once they have joined, higher-educated volunteers do not prove to be any more 'durable' than their lower-educated counterparts. This is a relevant qualification to the common observation that educational level is the single most important determinant of voluntary association involvement (Musick and Wilson 2008). We also learned more about the influence of religiosity, as another usual suspect when it

comes to explaining involvement in volunteer work. My analyses in Chapter 2 demonstrated that this factor does not stimulate volunteering across the board, but only for religious-minded organizations. Women turned out to be more likely to start volunteering for school organizations, but less likely to get involved in most other organizations. Moreover, after getting involved, they are more likely to stop volunteering for practically all organization types. This indicates that women lag behind men as far as participation in civic life is concerned; especially if we consider that volunteering for school organizations strongly relates to childrearing tasks, which are traditionally seen as part of the female domain. Strikingly, and contrary to general emancipation trends, I did not observe any trend across birth cohorts towards more gender equality in volunteering patterns. Yet, this finding is compatible with research arguing that gender emancipation in The Netherlands has stagnated (Poortman and Van der Lippe 2009).

My analysis further showed that the social composition of voluntary association types (as measured by the typical characteristics of their volunteers) helps to account for people's decisions to start and quit volunteering for different associations. More specifically, and in line with the principle of homophily, people are more likely to join organizations of which the current volunteers are more similar to themselves with respect to educational attainment and religiosity, while they are more likely to leave organizations that are dominated by the opposite gender. Such sorting tendencies can have important effects on how the social composition of voluntary organizations evolves over time, exacerbating any pre-existing segregation across voluntary associations, or slowing down emancipation trends. For example, the finding that people are more likely to disengage from organizations dominated by the opposite gender comes on top of the finding that women are less likely to start volunteering for most associations (except school associations), jointly implying an obstacle to further gender emancipation in civic life.

While the analyses in Chapter 2 were subject to several data-induced limitations, particularly with respect to how the role of the social composition of voluntary associations was addressed, Chapter 3 ('Segregation in Civic Life: Ethnic Sorting and Mixing across Voluntary Associations in The Netherlands') managed to improve upon most of these points. This chapter exploited two-wave panel data from the Netherlands Longitudinal Life Course Study (NELLS), and shifted the focus to the influence of ethnicity on volunteering and membership decisions. Crucially, as compared with Chapter 2, it measured the social composition of voluntary associations at a more precise level, and tested various mechanisms that could drive any sorting tendencies across voluntary organizations. By measuring the ethnic composition of voluntary associations at the level of individual organizations rather than organization types (e.g. sports, leisure, neighbourhood organizations), Chapter 3 was able to do more justice to the actual organizational contexts in which participants are embedded. After all, composition measures at the level of organization types may hide considerable variation that exists among organizations of the same type. Confronting potential mechanisms to each other is subsequently essential in order to not just observe any sorting tendencies, but to start understanding them.

By looking at starting and quitting involvement (as opposed to static involvement patterns), Chapter 3 delivered new insights about ethnic differences in civic participation. In the first place, I found that ethnic minorities' lower involvement rates at any point in time exclusively reflect their higher quitting rates, while they are not any less likely to join associations. This is an important result that raises questions about what it is that prevents ethnic minorities from staying involved for longer periods of time. Another disturbing implication of this finding is that ethnic minorities may have worse access to the benefits that voluntary association involvement could offer in the form of labor market

rewards and increased well-being (Borgonovi 2008; Ruiter and De Graaf 2009). Furthermore, the high turnover rates among ethnic minority participants reduce the scope for the formation of ties that cut across ethnic boundaries, thus weakening the bridging capacity of voluntary associations.

An additional threat to this bridging potential comes from the observation that there is strong ethnic sorting in people's decisions to join organizations of different ethnic composition. It turned out that the odds for Dutch natives of joining an organization with no ethnic minority members are about five times as high as their odds of joining an organization with many ethnic minority members, and the reverse holds true for ethnic minorities. This imposes a tight limit on the amount of inter-ethnic meeting opportunities within voluntary associations. On the other hand, this strong sorting on the joining side is not matched by equally strong sorting on the leaving side. My analyses showed in fact no signs at all of selective disengagement from voluntary associations of different ethnic composition. This is one of the more puzzling findings of this thesis. Multiple candidate explanations can be identified, related to amongst others intra-organizational socialization processes and biased selection into out-group dominated organizations, but I was at this stage unable to firmly reject or corroborate any of these explanations. That said, it became clear that the lack of ethnic sorting on the quitting side is at least not purely a matter of selection effects.

Concerning the mechanisms that I tested as potential drivers of the ethnic sorting with regard to the joining of voluntary associations, factors related to the local context stood out. The menu of involvements options available to potential participants and especially the amount of contact with different ethnic groups in one's neighbourhood have the most explanatory power, out of a large set of alternative mechanisms. Together

they can account for most of the sorting in the joining patterns for people of Turkish and Moroccan origin. On the other hand, for Dutch natives there are large residual amounts of sorting that so far remain unaccounted for. This stresses the need for more research on the explanatory mechanisms behind the sorting tendencies; an issue to which I will come back later in this chapter.

In Chapter 4 of this thesis ('Out of the Labor Force, Out of Civic Life; Labor Market Transitions and Civic Participation in the United States 2002-2014'), I employed data from the Current Population Survey to address how labor market experiences and changes in volunteering are interrelated, in order to investigate the connection between participation in the labor market and participation in civic life. The ultimate goal here is to determine whether civic engagement is resilient to adverse labor market experiences, cushioning their impact on people's social lives and keeping victims of economic hardship involved in society, or whether such unfavorable experiences erode civic participation along the way. Once again, a dynamic perspective was chosen, analyzing the starting and quitting of civic activities. In addition, this chapter went beyond earlier work in this area by carefully recognizing differences among the jobless population and distinguishing a wide range of labor market transitions. Moreover, close heed was paid to the mechanisms that could underlie the observed relationships.

Combining the abovementioned strengths, Chapter 4 revealed findings that are at odds with the majority of earlier work covering the nexus between the labor market and civic life. Contradictory to conventional wisdom (e.g. Brand and Burgard 2008; Strauß 2008; Lim and Sander 2013), I did not find any evidence of a negative effect of unemployment or becoming unemployed on civic participation. In comparison to employment, unemployment rather seems to promote civic engagement. Dropping out of

the labor force altogether (i.e. not working nor looking for work) – whether after a period of employment or unemployment – appears much more damaging for civic participation. (Re-)Entering the labor force is in turn highly positively associated with involvement in civic activities. While neither of the latter two transitions has received much attention in previous research, they are more decisive for volunteering and other forms of civic participation than movements within the labor force. Indeed, the civic sphere and the labor market emerge as two strongly intertwined domains of participation in public life, with changes in both domains occurring in conjunction.

Nonetheless, Chapter 4 also demonstrated that being outside the labor force does not automatically imply less participation in civic life. As long as people maintain a desire to work, there is no detrimental effect whatsoever; instead, the civic behaviour of those labor force outsiders very much resembles that of the unemployed. Therefore, for understanding the civic effects of labor market transitions, it seems crucial whether such transitions bring about a change in people's work aspirations and their ambition to participate in public life in general. It is only when those aspirations get tainted that people tend to withdraw from civic activities.

Time constraints, family situations, and financial resources all matter as well for explaining how labor market transitions and volunteering are linked, but only come into play once people have or acquire some motivation to take part in civic life. In this context, I found for example that losing a job with more work hours is not a greater stimulus for volunteering than losing a job with fewer work hours, despite the former yielding a larger gain in time available for volunteering. I even observed the opposite pattern, which suggests that the disruptive effect of losing a bigger job, and its possible consequences for people's motivation to participate in public life, more than offsets the positive effect

of the extra time available for volunteering. This again points at the fact that integration in the labor market and integration in civic life tend to go hand in hand.

5.2. *Implications of the findings*

Where do all these findings leave us regarding the role of volunteering and voluntary associations for nurturing social cohesion? I argue that they primarily serve as a cautionary note to temper the highly optimistic expectations that some people (not least politicians in times of economic austerity) entertain in this respect. Overall, it looks like delivering all of their alleged benefits for social cohesion is a bridge too far for volunteering and voluntary associations.

Whilst I refrained from directly addressing the consequences of volunteering and voluntary associations for different indicators of social cohesion, my analyses scrutinize several conditions that need to be satisfied for any social cohesion payoffs to materialize. By doing so, they expose limits to the integrative capacity of voluntary association involvement. In particular, Chapters 2 to 4 reveal that voluntary associations often do not fit their rosy portrayal as meeting places for people from different social backgrounds, and that they are of limited value for drawing labor force outsiders into public life.

My findings in Chapters 2 and 3 demonstrate that the civic landscape is more strongly segregated than might be inferred from simply looking at whether people are in any way civically involved (i.e. regardless of their organizational attachments). As it turns out, people tend to sort into voluntary associations where they mostly meet people with similar characteristics as themselves. Such sorting occurs along multiple social

dimensions, including educational attainment, religiosity, gender, and ethnicity. This constrains the opportunities for building relationships that cut across existing social boundaries. Indeed, these sorting processes could reinforce segregation in society as a whole, by reproducing in the civic domain fault lines that prevail in other spheres of life. This is most likely not the result that policymakers have in mind when making pleas for increased civic participation (Cameron 2010; Dutch Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations 2013), but my findings suggest that in reality it may well be the most plausible outcome of increased participation levels. Anecdotal evidence for the UK underscores this point, reporting a ‘Big Society gap’ that opened up due to the failure of the government’s Big Society campaign to mobilize people from disadvantaged backgrounds to step up their civic engagement (Civil Exchange 2015).

Chapter 4 has furthermore shown that participation in civic life and labor market participation can be considered complimentary goods, rather than being substitutes for each other as source of social integration. The implication is that civic participation is not very effective in providing an alternative avenue through which labor force outsiders can build social networks and stay involved in public life. As such, volunteering and other civic activities do not represent a buffer that attenuates the broader social consequences of dropping out of the labor force, but rather dissolve when labor force exits occur. This gives rise to a group of labor force outsiders who are simultaneously also civic outsiders, and who thus face increased risk of falling prey to social exclusion and isolation more generally. However, as emphasized in Chapter 4, we have to recognize variation amongst labor force outsiders. The above described chain of events does not necessarily need to unfold when labor force outsiders retain aspirations to participate in social life, for instance when they are eager to quickly move to employment.

Aside from labor force outsiders, Chapters 2 and 3 have identified women and ethnic minorities as additional groups that lag behind in terms of civic engagement. As a consequence, these groups may miss out on the labor market and well-being benefits that volunteering offers to volunteers (e.g. Borgonovi 2008; Ruiter and De Graaf 2009), and are more vulnerable to social exclusion. This is especially true for people who possess multiple of these characteristics. In this context, it is well-known that both women and ethnic minorities – and particularly ethnic minority women – lag behind in labor force participation (Bevelander and Groeneveld 2012; Khoudja and Fleischmann 2015). Many ethnic minority women thus face a ‘triple disadvantage’ when it comes to civic engagement.

Nevertheless, not being active on the labor market and in voluntary organizations should not be confused with, and does not necessarily imply, inactivity in social life more generally. For one thing, women and ethnic minorities tend to have higher rates of involvement in informal volunteering and informal helping of neighbors, friends, and family members (Wilson and Musick 1997), and these activities could constrain the time and energy that they have left for organized forms of civic participation. Yet, a priori it is unclear to what degree these more informal activities can deliver the same benefits as volunteering for organizations and provide an equally fruitful pathway to social integration. It thus remains a task for future research to establish whether involvement in such activities can compensate for lower levels of civic participation among women, ethnic minorities, and labor force outsiders.

In addition to identifying a number of obstacles that need to be overcome for volunteering and voluntary associations to live up to their promise of enhancing social cohesion, this thesis has also uncovered several hopeful signs. First, Chapters 2 and 3

have shown that people who go against the odds and pass the threshold of joining voluntary associations where they run higher chances of meeting fellow participants of a different ethnicity, level of education, or degree of religiosity, are not any more likely to quit their involvement than people who join organizations where they mostly meet in-group members. This can be interpreted as tentative evidence that the bridging potential of voluntary associations goes up once people somehow cross the border of getting involved in an organization with a sizeable representation of out-group members.

Moreover, while Chapter 4 has unveiled the negative effects of labor force exits on civic engagement, it has also disproven claims that unemployment damages participation in civic life. There is plenty of space for the unemployed in the civic landscape, and the experience of unemployment does not discourage them from entering or occupying this space. As such, the diversity of civic life is widened, and some of the hardship faced by the unemployed following job loss gets alleviated. I have also found that, to the same extent as labor force exit challenges civic participation, labor force entry stimulates such participation. Although data limitations prevented me from examining the involvement trajectories of people who first leave the labor force and later on re-enter, this finding proposes that a retreat from civic life following labor force exit does not need to be irreversible.

Thinking about the policy implications of this thesis, several lessons can be drawn. I have in this respect already noted that policymakers' intense optimism regarding the impact of voluntary associations on social cohesion seems somewhat misplaced given my findings. That said, while I have exposed several unsatisfied conditions for voluntary associations to fulfil their cohesion-enhancing role, policymakers could take aim at turning this around. In the first place, this would boil down to stimulating people to get

involved in voluntary organizations containing participants with different characteristics than themselves, as well as to stimulate labor force outsiders to keep civically engaged.

Directly stimulating voluntary association involvement is complicated, however, because of its intrinsically voluntary nature. Several studies demonstrate how active government policies to promote civic participation are often unsuccessful and may even backfire (Warburton and Smith 2003; Henderson et al. 2007). Therefore, government intervention taking the form of ‘nudging’ or ‘soft paternalism’ may be more suitable (Thaler and Sunstein 2008), by setting up conditions that are conducive to volunteering. Knowledge of the mechanisms driving civic involvement will help policymakers target their efforts in this regard. Chapter 3 suggests, for example, that facilitating more inter-ethnic neighbourhood contact has a higher payoff for promoting ethnic mixing across voluntary associations than facilitating more inter-ethnic contact at the workplace. Likewise, based on Chapter 4, it seems most efficient if any policies aimed at making volunteering easier and more attractive for labor force outsiders are being directed towards those without children. We have namely seen that labor force outsiders from childless households are more prone to drop out of civic life (and less likely to take up new civic activities) than those with children.

5.3. Outstanding questions and recommendations for future research

Whereas the contributions of this thesis have translated into interesting new knowledge regarding the explanatory factors and mechanisms behind people’s involvement in voluntary organizations, the thesis has also left some important questions unanswered and raises additional questions for further research. This final section

highlights several of these issues, and puts forward recommendations for future work in this area.

To begin with, it remains to be established to what degree the findings reported in this thesis can be generalized in various ways. Given that all chapters represent single-country studies, there is first of all the common issue of generalizability to other geographic areas. I argue in this regard that the type of dynamics and mechanisms studied in this thesis are in principle not bound to specific geographic contexts, and thus likely to apply in other countries as well. However, this does not alter the fact that the importance of particular social divides and thereby the strength of particular relationships may well vary across countries. As noted in Chapter 3, the strength of ethnic sorting across voluntary associations can be expected to be relatively stronger in, for example, the United States than in The Netherlands. Conversely, the opposite is expected to hold true for the centrality of work in people's lives (cf. Kalleberg 2009), which can have a bearing on the associations between labor market transitions and civic participation that were the topic of Chapter 4.

A second generalizability concern relates to potential effect heterogeneity across individuals (Xie et al. 2012). This issue particularly applies to the effects of the social composition of voluntary associations on individuals' decisions to join and leave them. I have reported average effects across individuals in this respect, but it is entirely plausible that some individuals respond differently to certain constellations than others. For instance, higher-educated ethnic minorities may be more inclined to mix with members of the native majority than their lower-educated counterparts. Likewise, the civic effects of exiting the labor force for married individuals may well depend on the labor market trajectory of their spouse. Addressing such heterogeneity was beyond the immediate

scope of this thesis, but represents a logical follow-up step. The same applies to exploring potential interactions of the social composition of organizations across multiple dimensions.

Apart from generalizability considerations, another set of remaining questions and recommendations concern the exact mechanisms underlying the relationships presented in this thesis, since I have been unable to firmly pin down all of these mechanisms (notwithstanding the question whether this is ever possible to begin with). Chapter 2 did not engage in testing any explanations in its empirical analysis at all. Chapters 3 and 4, on the other hand, made a serious effort, but were still limited by the data available for operationalizing the various mechanisms. As a consequence, there remain some uncertainties regarding how people get involved in voluntary associations, what precisely happens within those organizations, and how organization-level and individual-level dynamics mutually affect each other.

Focusing on the first of these items, one could criticize the indicators used in Chapter 3 for measuring inter-ethnic attitudes and the local supply of involvement opportunities. Similarly, Chapter 4 would have benefitted from the availability of more attitudinal information to dig deeper into the role of people's aspirations to take part in public life. Consequently, there is room for speculation as to whether the lack of empirical support for homophilous preferences as driver of the ethnic sorting in Chapter 3 reflects that this mechanism is imperfectly operationalized or genuinely can be discarded as an explanation. In Chapter 4 the desire to work variable may pick up the influence of various other factors that I cannot tease out with the current data. It would in this context be interesting to know more about the reasons why labor force outsiders express a desire to

work. Given these unresolved issues, I recommend future research to continue looking for more and better measures to test potential mechanisms.

In addition, it would be particularly helpful to apply more distinctions to the routes through which people enter voluntary associations. For example, do they join out of their own initiative, or do they join in response to a recruitment request? Knowing more about this would clarify how social sorting across voluntary organizations comes about, and elucidate its likely implications for the longer-run evolution of organizations' volunteer armies. It would also offer further insight into the causes of the lower civic involvement levels among labor force outsiders, and especially the extent to which these relate to social network resources or individual motivation.

On a related note, it would be valuable to examine more thoroughly the role of current participants of voluntary associations for attracting new participants. In my framework of the market for volunteering, these current participants form an essential bridge between the supply and demand side of the market, but the data employed in this thesis did not allow for a comprehensive test of this argument. Future research could from this perspective draw inspiration from Walgrave and Wouters' (2014) illuminating study of the recruitment behaviour of social movement participants. Contrary to most of the literature, these authors do not only focus on whether current participants initially got involved in response to a recruitment request (and from whom), but additionally shift the attention to the question which current participants are more likely to ask others, and whom they do ask. Amongst others, they find that participants who were themselves recruited via a weak tie, are much more likely to become active recruiters than those who were themselves recruited via a strong tie. Therefore, they argue, "asking others with whom one has weak ties, although with a smaller chance of being successful, leads if

successful (the recruit decides to join) to a potentially larger ripple effect because the recruit will most likely turn out to be a more active recruiter himself, extending the mobilizing message to more different others” (Walgrave and Wouters 2014:1699). Whether similar dynamics occur with regard to volunteering for associations is an exciting question for future work, with again implications for how associations develop over time, in terms of size as well as internal diversity.

In addition to investigating more closely the recruitment behaviour of current participants, a more general focus on what happens within voluntary associations would be valuable for gaining a better understanding of involvement patterns. In Chapter 3 I already mentioned that more attention for intra-organizational practices may help explain why no ethnic sorting is observed with respect to quitting volunteer work and memberships, while we do see pronounced sorting with respect to starting these roles. This focus enables us to test whether intra-organizational socialization processes are going on that enhance tolerance towards ethnic out-groups and foster inter-ethnic ties. In this context, Braunstein et al. (2014) elegantly reveal the importance of ‘bridging cultural practices’ (related to prayer procedures and their content) for enhancing intra-organizational cohesion in American faith-based organizations. Furthermore, a survey of intra-organizational practices would be able to uncover any form of discrimination and opaque structures that help explain the higher volunteer and member turnover rates among ethnic minorities. This argument could be generalized to participant turnover more generally, with Corrigan-Brown (2013) offering qualitative evidence that the quality of intra-organizational interaction and the presence of friends help explain participant turnover in protest movements.

My recommendations for increased attention for the role of current volunteers in recruiting new participants, and of intra-organizational practices and structures in shaping the experiences of volunteers, neatly fit into a broader recommendation to connect the supply and demand side of the market for volunteering more closely with each other. This thesis has already partially responded to this, but plenty remains to be addressed. Amongst others, research on the determinants of voluntary association involvement has so far neglected the influence of the menu of involvement opportunities available to potential participants. Chapter 3 substantiated why this supply of opportunities is worth taking into account, and also provided some preliminary evidence, showing that individuals are more likely to join organizations that have a stronger local representation.

Such evidence warrants a more comprehensive analysis of the interplay between the supply of organizational opportunities and individuals' involvement decisions. The existence of any such supply effects could give rise to feedback loops, according to which organizations with a strong local representation attract more new participants, thus becoming even stronger represented, leading to the joining of even more people, and so on and so forth. Dynamics like this can leave a heavy mark on local civic infrastructures, which have in turn proved to be an important determinant of community cohesion and well-being (Sampson 2012). In order to make progress in addressing the links between individual involvement decisions and local organizational landscapes, future work could consider zooming in on particular cities or regions, and combining citizen and volunteer surveys with a mapping of the local organizational landscape (cf. Maloney and Roßteutscher 2006). Alternatively, already existing larger-scale surveys on volunteering can be utilized, and matched up with registry data on voluntary organizations (such as from the National Centre for Charitable Statistics in the US).

Finally, it is worthwhile to return to the payoffs of volunteering and voluntary associations for social cohesion, as those represented the point of departure of my thesis. In the previous section of this chapter, I have already stressed the useful lessons that can be drawn in this light based upon my analyses, but I should also acknowledge the main limitation of my analyses in addressing this overarching issue. This limitation derives from the fact that my thesis ultimately only addresses the explanatory factors behind voluntary association involvement. Narrowing down the focus to these determinants has enabled me to closely zoom in on them, gaining new insights that tell us a lot about the *potential* value of volunteering and voluntary associations for strengthening social cohesion. Yet, ‘potential’ is a key word in the last sentence. It signifies that this thesis is only a partial source of information for enlightening public debates on the payoffs of voluntary association involvement, since it cannot directly comment on the question whether these potential payoffs are actually realized. My analyses may strongly suggest that achieving all of its alleged payoffs for social cohesion is a bridge too far, but there are some important loose ends that prevent a firmer answer to the question posed in the title of this thesis.

Future work should ideally combine equally thorough analyses of the determinants of voluntary association involvement with additional analyses on the same data to examine whether any potential payoffs of such involvement indeed materialize. In comparison to much earlier work on the consequences of volunteering, research that conforms to those ideal criteria will provide a superior basis to assess these consequences against. Such research will have more appropriately accounted for selection processes into volunteering in general, and specific voluntary organizations in particular. This thesis has demonstrated that we can learn an immense amount about such selection processes by supplementing earlier cross-sectional findings with evidence on the dynamics

underlying those static patterns, by recognizing distinctions across the organizational contexts in which volunteers are embedded, and by attempting to explain observed relations between voluntary association involvement and its determinants rather than merely describing these relations.

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