



UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

# A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF VOLUNTEERING AND GIVING

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# A Comparative Study of Volunteering and Giving

**For Rosie and my parents**

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## **A Comparative Study of Volunteering and Giving**

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### **Abstract**

The main research question in this thesis explores why some people volunteer and give money compared to those that do not. The thesis builds on existing research that explains volunteering and giving, but is primarily concerned with showing how the social environment – or the context – in which people live can explain individual decisions to volunteer and give. This thesis answers three main research questions with this central theme in mind. First, how do the background characteristics of people explain whether they volunteer or give? Second, net of background characteristics of people, how does the social environment (context) that people live in explain volunteering and giving? Third, how do background characteristics of people and the social environment in which they live interact to explain volunteering and giving? Each of the four empirical chapters focuses on research questions that have received limited attention in the literature, while also utilizing relatively unique data, in relatively unique contexts.

The main results of this study are as follows. Comparatively, the shared profile of a volunteer and charitable giver is someone who is middle aged, more educated, married, richer, healthier, and a religious service attendee. Contextual country characteristics also displayed an independent effect of these individual-level characteristics: religious diversity and belonging to a religious minority group was associated with a greater likelihood of volunteering, but are not associated with giving. Income inequality is associated with a decreased likelihood of

## A Comparative Study of Volunteering and Giving

volunteering and giving for respondents in developed countries, whereas the opposite is true for respondents in developing countries, supporting Wilkinson's relative income hypothesis. A curvilinear relationship exists between national devoutness and volunteering, whereas a strong positive correlation exists between national devoutness and giving. Females are more likely to volunteer and give in societies that exhibit more gender equality; and the lower educated are more likely to volunteer in more educated societies, but that they are not more likely to give in these societies. There is no support for the idea that income disparities in volunteering and giving are exacerbated in more socially unequal societies.

In England, there was no support for the idea that a stable residential area promotes volunteering and giving among adults, while neighbourhood deprivation and ethnic diversity were strong negative predictors of both behaviours. Among the youth demographic in England, religious diversity of schools is not associated with any form of civic engagement. Ethnic diversity is positively related to school extra curricular activities, but negatively with youth club participation. Youths attending private schools were more likely to take part in school-based extra-curriculars, but less likely to take part in out of school clubs and groups.

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## CONTENTS

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<i>List of tables and figures</i>	<b>-9-</b>
<b>Chapter 1: Introduction</b>	<b>-12-</b>
1.1 Study rationale	-12-
1.2 Analytical framework	-15-
1.2.1 Exploring the social environment as an explanation of volunteering and giving	-15-
1.2.2 Social context as an explanation of volunteering and giving	-17-
1.2.3 Reconciling the contextual findings	-26-
1.2.4 Background explanations of volunteering and giving	-27-
1.2.5 Other background explanations of volunteering and giving	-33-
1.2.6 Background explanations in comparative perspective	-35-
1.3 Chapter summaries	-35-
1.4 Overview of data used in empirical chapters	-41-
1.4.1 The Gallup World Poll	-41-
1.4.2 The Citizenship Survey	-43-
1.4.3 The Longitudinal Study of Young People in England	-43-
1.5 Summary	-44-
<b>Chapter 2: Volunteering and Giving Worldwide</b>	<b>-45-</b>
2.1 Abstract	-45-
2.2 Introduction	-46-
2.3 Explanations of volunteering and giving	-49-
2.3.1 Background explanations	-50-
2.3.1 Contextual explanations	-52-
2.4 Data and Methods	-62-
2.4.1 Dependent variables	-62-
2.4.2 Independent variables	-63-
2.4.3 Bivariate relationships between contextual-level variables and volunteering and giving	-74-
2.5 Results	-83-
2.5.1 Predictors of volunteering	-83-
2.5.2 Predictors of giving	-89-
2.6. Conclusion	-94-

**Chapter 3: How do Gender, Education, and Income as Explanations of Volunteering and Giving Vary Across Countries? -104-**

3.1 Abstract	-104-
3.2 Introduction	-105-
3.3 Social context and gender differences in volunteering and giving	-107-
3.4 Social context and educational differences in volunteering and giving	-111
3.5 Social context and income differences in volunteering and giving	-113-
3.6 Data and Methods	-115-
3.6.1 Dependent variables	-116-
3.6.2 Independent variables	-117-
3.7 Results	-119-
3.7.1 Gender differences in volunteering and giving across countries	-119-
3.7.2 Educational differences in volunteering and giving across countries	-121-
3.7.3 Income differences in volunteering and giving across countries	-123-
3.8 Conclusion	-125-

**Chapter 4: Context, Volunteering and Giving in England: A Multilevel Study of 313 Neighbourhoods -132-**

4.1 Abstract	-132-
4.2 Introduction	-133-
4.3 Previous volunteering and giving research in Britain	-136-
4.4 Substantive contributions of chapter	-139-
4.4.1 Area Residential stability	-139-
4.4.2 Neighbourhood deprivation	-141-
4.4.3 Other previous contextual explanations of volunteering and giving	-143-
4.5 Data and Methods	-145-
4.5.1 Dependent variables	-146-
4.5.2 Independent variables	-147-
4.5.3 Control variables	-151-
4.6 Results	-153-
4.6.1 Predictors of Volunteering	-160-
4.6.2 Predictors of charitable giving	-169-
4.7 Conclusions	-171-

**Chapter 5: School Characteristics and Youth Civic Engagement in England -176-**

5.1 Abstract	-176-
5.2 Introduction	-177-
5.3 School diversity and youth civic engagement	-181-
5.4 Data and Methods	-184-
5.4.1 Dependent variables	-184-
5.4.2 Independent variables	-187-

5.5 Results	-198-
5.6 Conclusion	-200-
<b>Chapter 6: Conclusion</b>	<b>-206-</b>
6.1 Introduction	-206-
6.2 Contributions	-207-
6.2.1 Substantive contribution	-207-
6.2.2 Methodological contribution	-210-
6.3 Empirical Findings	-211-
6.3.1 Volunteering and giving worldwide	-211-
6.3.2 Gender, educational and income cross-level interactions	-213-
6.3.3 Volunteering and giving in England	-215-
6.3.4 Youth engagement and school effects	-217-
6.4 Bringing the contextual findings together	-222-
6.5 Data and methodological caveats	-224-
6.5.1 Measurement error in volunteering and giving	-225-
6.5.2 Measurement error in contextual characteristics	-227-
6.6 Suggestions for future research	-228-
6.6.1 Demand-side explanations in volunteering and giving	-228-
6.6.2 The geographical distribution organizations as a demand-side explanation of volunteering and giving	-230-
6.6.3 Testing social network mechanisms	-230-
6.6.4 Cross-classified models	-232-
6.6.5 Improving the measurement of volunteering and giving	-232-
6.6 Final note	-233-
<b>APPENDICES</b>	<b>-235-</b>
APPENDIX 2.1: GALLUP WORLD POLL SAMPLING AND METHODOLOGY	-236-
APPENDIX 2.2: ROBUSTNESS OF CONTEXTUAL-LEVEL PARAMETER ESTIMATION	-247-
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>-255-</b>

## LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

---

### List of Tables

Table 2.1. Descriptive statistics for dependent and independent variables	-65-
Table 2.2. Mean percentage of volunteers in the past month per country	-67-
Table 2.3. Mean percentage of donators in the past month per country	-68-
Table 2.4. Correlation matrix between contextual-level variables	-69-
Table 2.5. Multilevel logistic regression results predicting volunteering and giving	-79-
Table 3.1. Multilevel logistic regression results predicting volunteering and giving cross-level interaction effects for females and males across levels of economic development and gender inequality.	-120-
Table 3.2. Multilevel logistic regression results predicting volunteering and giving cross-level interaction effects for levels of education across levels of educational expansion	-122-
Table 3.3. Multilevel logistic regression results predicting volunteering and giving cross-level interaction effects for levels of income across levels of income inequality	-124-
Table 3.4. Multilevel logistic regression results predicting volunteering and giving cross-level interaction effects for levels of income across levels of income inequality for countries above and below Wilkinson’s income threshold	-125-
Table 4.1. Descriptive statistics for dependent and independent variables	-149-
Table 4.2. Correlations between contextual-level variables	-150-
Table 4.3. Multilevel logit regression models predicting volunteering	-156-
Table 4.4. Multilevel logit regression models predicting charitable giving	-165-
Table 5.1. Descriptive Statistics for dependent and independent variables	-186-
Table 5.2. Correlation matrix between school characteristics	-187-
Table 5.3. Henderson’s operationalization of Lareau’s Concerted Cultivation	-193-
Table 5.4. multilevel logit odds ratios predicting the likelihood of youth civic engagement in the past month.	-195-

## A Comparative Study of Volunteering and Giving

Table 6.1 Summary of empirical findings	-220-
Table A2.1.1 Gallup World Poll sampling and methodology information	-240-
Table A2.2.1 Separate estimation of country-level parameters for multilevel logistic regression results predicting volunteering.	-247-
Table A2.2.2 Separate estimation of country-level parameters for multilevel logistic regression results predicting giving.	-251-

## List of Figures

Figure 2.1. Relationship between ethnic diversity, volunteering and giving across countries.	-76-
Figure 2.2. Relationship between religious diversity, volunteering and giving across countries.	-76-
Figure 2.3. Relationship between income inequality and volunteering across countries below and above Wilkinson's income threshold.	-77-
Figure 2.4. Relationship between income inequality and giving across countries below and above Wilkinson's income threshold.	-77-
Figure 2.5. Relationship between age-dependency ratio, volunteering and giving across countries.	-78-
Figure 2.6. Relationship between rural population, volunteering and giving across countries.	-78-
Figure 2.7. Effect of income inequality on the likelihood of volunteering for countries above and below Wilkinson's income threshold	-86-
Figure 2.8. Effect of religious diversity on the likelihood of volunteering	-87-
Figure 2.9. Effect of religious devoutness on the likelihood of volunteering	-88-
Figure 2.10. Effect of income inequality on the likelihood of donating money for countries above and below Wilkinson's income threshold	-92-
Figure 2.11. Effect of religious devoutness on the likelihood of donating money	-93-
Figure 4.1. Residential stability and levels of volunteering and giving across local authorities	-155-
Figure 4.2. Effect of area residential stability on likelihood of volunteering	-163-
Figure 4.3. Effect of area deprivation on likelihood of volunteering	-164-
Figure 4.4. Effect of area deprivation on likelihood of charitable giving	-171-

## Chapter 1: Introduction

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### 1.1 Study rationale

Volunteering and charitable giving are considered important parts of social life, and are indicative of committed citizens (Brady et al. 1995; Verba et al. 1995), particularly with regards to social cohesion (Putnam 1993, 2000). The discussion among government officials and policy makers often focuses on how best to prevent the decline of these activities and stimulate their growth. As a result, such involvement has been studied extensively and a wide body of literature exists that documents the explanations of volunteering and giving (for extensive overviews see Bekkers and Wiepking 2011a; 2011b; Wiepking and Bekkers 2012; Wilson 2000, 2012; Musick and Wilson 2008). This study builds on this literature by investigating why people volunteer and give money and, more specifically, how the social environment - or context - in which they live explain these behaviours, in relatively novel settings, thus expanding knowledge on the role of social context as explanations of these behaviours.

There is no single definition of volunteering and giving, making this area of study all the more challenging to investigate. Definitions vary between surveys within a country as well as between them. Similarly, such activities are typically not included in official statistics with consistent measures over time, meaning that information is captured in a variety of surveys conducted by government agencies and private corporations. For example, the UN defines voluntarism as a behaviour: a) undertaken for no financial gain; b) undertaken by freewill; c) and benefits a third party as well as the individuals volunteering. The International Labour Organization (ILO) defines volunteering 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” (ILO 2011).

In reality, a number of the conditions highlighted above may not be met when individuals claim to engage in volunteering, or indeed they may muddy definitions of volunteering for survey respondents. For example, engagement may not be a requirement or obligatory, however there may remain elements of peer pressure and social obligation given that individuals will be embedded in social networks that encourage volunteering. Likewise, while volunteering might be regarded as “non-compulsory”, such activity may indeed be the only form of employment for some participants or a compulsory mechanism through which they hope to gain paid employment at a later date. Lastly, research continues to find a wide range of tangible outcomes for volunteers beyond the direct “warm glow” of providing an unpaid contribution of time and effort, ranging from employment and increased occupational mobility (Musick and Wilson 2008; Prouteau and Wolff 2008; Ruiter and De Graaf 2009; Wilson and Musick 1999, 2003) to subjective and physical wellbeing (Binder and Freitag 2013; Li and Ferraro 2005; Meier and Stutzer 2006; Wilson and Musick 2003; Piliavin 2002; Thoits and Hewitt 2001).

Donating money, or charitable giving, is another important aspect of civic engagement and has been studied extensively across the social sciences (for extensive overviews see Bekkers and Wiepking 2011a; Bekkers and Wiepking 2011b; Wiepking and Bekkers 2012). It is, however, different from volunteering in a number of important ways. Charitable giving is relatively more impersonal as the giver typically does not physically invest time in the same way that a volunteer does, and the recipient of the donation is typically unknown to the donor. Like volunteering, however, it does not mean that donations are not influenced by social

pressure and obligation. For example, a regular churchgoer may be under pressure from other members of their congregation or leaders to tithe.

With the above in mind, this thesis defines volunteering broadly as engagement in formal organizations without direct monetary payoffs. As such, this definition incorporates a variety of voluntary engagement opportunities including political groups, labour unions, environmental organizations and other forms of community organization representation. Likewise, this thesis defines giving as a voluntary charitable donation of money to organizations (Bekkers and Wiepking 2012). This thesis thus investigates the individual and contextual explanations of these behaviours.

There is a long tradition in this area of research that focuses on the background characteristics of civic engagement, however relatively limited work has investigated the context and social environments that also influence these behaviours, which has led to increased calls for research to focus efforts on contextual or ecological explanations of volunteering and giving (Smith 1994:246, Wuthnow 1998:112; Wilson 2000:229, 2012: 201). As such, this thesis considers the social contexts that influence these behaviours, and makes a number of substantive contributions to what academics and policy makers know about the antecedents of these behaviours. To reiterate, while volunteering and giving are the focus of this thesis, the role of social networks and the nature of social environments and interactions provide important theoretical contributions to these behaviours throughout the thesis. Another unique feature of this thesis is that it investigates the role of background and social context in people's decision to volunteer and give in unique settings that have received limited or indeed no attention in the literature.

## **1.2 Analytical framework**

As mentioned, the cross-national literature regarding volunteering is well established, however the cross-national literature on giving is relatively limited. The literature in both fields does overlap in places and does indeed test similar explanations or mechanisms, particularly with respect to human, social and cultural capital background resources available to people. The logic behind the contextual explanations of volunteering can often intuitively and theoretically applied to other forms of prosocial behaviour or civic engagement. Thus, the contextual explanations of volunteering will be discussed, applied and tested to giving. Lastly, the literature regarding the contextual explanations of giving is not as developed as the research in the volunteering literature.

### **1.2.1 Exploring the social environment as an explanation of volunteering and giving**

Research documenting the explanations of volunteering and giving has traditionally focused on the role of the background characteristics of people that are associated with these behaviours. However, a growing body of work has taken advantage of methodological innovations (such as multilevel modeling techniques), and the increasing availability of hierarchical data (individuals nested in geographical units such as neighbourhood, cities and countries) to make theoretical contributions regarding the role of contextual characteristics in influencing decisions to volunteer and give (Bielefeld et al. 2005; Borgonovi 2008; Curtis et al. 1992; Curtis et al. 2001; Lim and MacGregor 2012; Parboteeah et al. 2004; Reitsma et al. 2006; Rotolo and Wilson 2012; Ruiter and De Graaf 2006; Scheepers and Te Grotenhuis 2005). While explaining volunteering and giving with attributes associated with people is important, and more powerful

in terms of substantive and statistical effects, these behaviours happen in a social environment that can also affect the decision to volunteer or give. Key to this research is how variations in across social environments are associated with changes in volunteering and giving among individuals. This approach also enables researchers to differentiate between *contextual-level* effects from *compositional effects* (discussed in more detail below).

There remains a caveat to this approach concerning causality as it is not possible to randomly assign individuals to differing levels of a social context before measuring differences in volunteering and giving, e.g. low, medium and high levels of ethnic diversity. Likewise, the data used in the empirical chapters are cross-sectional as opposed to panel or longitudinal data, which would enable one to assess how changes in context for an individual over time affect their volunteering and giving. The use of cross-sectional data therefore requires deductive theory building and testing outlined by Goldthorpe (1998, 2001, 2007) in what he refers to as “causality as a generative process”. According to this approach, a “causal narrative” is used to derive hypotheses about individual rational action based on the changes across levels of an empirical variable.

Goldthorpe’s (1998, 2001, 2007) analytical strategy can be highlighted with the following example that relates to investigating contextual explanations of volunteering and giving. Explaining the geographic variation in volunteering and giving can be done at two-levels. Firstly, rates of volunteering and giving may differ because areas are composed of different types of people. For example, people with lower levels of socioeconomic status are less likely to volunteer and donate than those from higher socioeconomic backgrounds (Bekkers and Wiepking 2011a, 2011b Musick and Wilson 2008; Wiepking and Bekkers 2012; Wilson 2000, 2012). Given that socioeconomic status among people varies across localities,

where some areas have more people from lower socioeconomic groups in them, controlling for (holding constant) this will account for some of the differences between areas. Secondly, contextual factors associated with certain characteristics of an area rather than an aggregate of individuals can explain the variation in volunteering and giving between areas. For example, it may be that having controlled for individual-level (compositional) socioeconomic status, the level of deprivation of an area may explain the variance because it promotes certain values or provides fewer opportunities. In other words, all citizens in a deprived area are affected by this context and are thus less likely to volunteer irrespective of their own socioeconomic status. To reiterate this point, Musick and Wilson (2008) argue that people from low socioeconomic groups are more likely to meet the immediate concrete needs of people as they arise, while people from higher socioeconomic groups are more likely to mobilize and commit to a community oriented outcome. Self-selection of groups into geographical areas such as neighbourhoods and wards means that some areas will be composed of people with more human, social, and cultural capital resources that in turn increase the likelihood that they will give and volunteer (Wilson and Musick 1997). This method thus allows researchers to test for robust independent effects of context, over and above individual background characteristics, in the volunteer and giving behaviours of individuals.

### **1.2.2 Social context as an explanation of volunteering and giving**

The thesis builds on existing research that explains volunteering and giving, but is primarily concerned with showing how the social environment – or the context – in which people live can explain individual decisions to volunteer and give. The relatively more novel contextual explanations are discussed in the relevant empirical chapters; however, this next section serves

as an overview of some of the most prominent contextual explanations in the literature. Musick and Wilson (2008) label these explanations as either “structural” or “cultural” theories of volunteering [and giving], however, as will be seen from the discussion, this dichotomy negates the role of social networks and how interactions between people within social environments influence decisions to volunteer and give. The section ends by discussing how the data used in the empirical chapters can be utilized to bring the previous findings and inconsistencies highlighted together.

### *Democracy*

It is assumed that the level of democracy of a country provides the foundations of civil society and therefore the infrastructure necessary for voluntary organizations to proliferate (freedom of speech, the right to assemble, free association, etc.) It may be that in democratic societies there is more of an expectation to contribute to charitable causes or public projects. Voluntarism and charitable giving will be limited in countries that lack a democratic foundation. Thus, a higher level of democracy will be associated with a higher instance of volunteering and donating.

With regards to volunteering, Halman (2003) and Parboteeah et al. (2004) both find significant positive effects for their measures of democracy (years of continuous democracy and political rights, and degree of liberal democracy, respectively), however, both studies are hampered by small country samples and limited variation between countries. In their larger sample, Ruiters and de Graaf (2006) actually find that democracy is negatively related to volunteering for both general volunteering and voluntary memberships, but is significant only in the former analysis. Musick and Wilson (2008) find a negative association – more volunteering in less democratic countries. The relationship between charitable donations and

democracy has not been looked at before, namely because the cross-national studies that have been conducted have only included a small sample of OECD countries that are homogenous in terms of level of democracy. Norris (2002) finds no association between the Freedom House measurement of political rights and civil liberties, but does find an association when the number of years of continuous democracy was used. Thus, stable democracies are most conducive to volunteering.

*Welfare state expenditure*

There are two competing explanations regarding the role of welfare spending – “crowding in” vs “crowding out” - with inconsistent evidence for both (Arts et al. 2003; Salamon and Sokolowski 2003; Van Oorschot and Arts 2005). First, the “crowding out hypothesis” suggests that the welfare state provides substitutes for individual efforts of volunteering. Following this logic, it is also plausible that individuals in a welfare state are also less likely to donate money, as they perceive the state to be providing funds for social benefits and public goods, and thus decreasing the incentive to donate their own money. Second, and alternatively, the “crowding in hypothesis” suggests that more state involvement in social welfare activities would lead to more volunteering due to state support of such activities. It may be that citizens growing up in such an environment internalize similar norms and are more likely to volunteer and give to charity themselves.

In terms of charitable donations, Scheepers and Te Grotenhuis (2005) do find that the type of welfare regime is predictive of willingness to donate money. They use categorical variables to classify their country types (liberal, social-democratic, conservative-corporatist, Latin rim). However, overall, most studies fail to find support for the crowding out hypothesis

(Ruiter and De Graaf 2006; Salamon and Sokolowski 2003; Van Oorschot and Arts 2005; Van Oorschot et al. 2006).

*Economic Development*

National economic development is hypothesized to have a positive effect on rates of volunteering for two reasons. Firstly, it can lead to occupational development resulting in more diverse interest groups in which people could volunteer (Curtis et al. 2001: 785; Salamon et al. 1999). Secondly, affluent countries would provide people with more resources to volunteer and donate money in terms of more disposable income and financial stability. Alternatively, according to Putnam (2000), modernization also increases the likelihood that people use technology, including television and the Internet, and women are also more likely to be active in the labour market in such countries. Putnam (2000) also argues that much of this is due to cohort replacement – younger cohorts are less likely to be engaged civically. Likewise, Inglehart (1990) argues that economic development increases levels of modernization, which brings a shift from traditional to secular values that discourages volunteering. This is the first time that economic development has been applied to charitable giving, but it makes theoretical sense that it is a relevant explanation of this activity. The above competing explanations suggest that citizens in more affluent societies will have more resources, in this case financial resources, enabling them to donate more money.

In terms of voluntarism, there are mixed findings associated with this indicator: Parboteeah et al. (2004) found a positive effect, but Curtis et al. (2001) found no effect. Ruiter and De Graaf (2006, 2010) found a significant positive effect for voluntary membership, but no relationship for general volunteering. Norris (2002: 157) confirms a correlation between Gross

Domestic Product (GDP) in Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) and volunteering across 46 countries. Musick and Wilson (2008) used the World Bank categorization of wealth, dividing countries into low, lower-middle, upper middle, high gross national income. Only advocacy volunteering was related, and only in low-income countries.

### *Devoutness*

The religious background of people is an important explanation of volunteering and giving, which can be broken down into believing “believing” and “belonging” mechanisms (c.f. Bekkers and Wiepking 2012). Religious affiliates are more likely to internalise the norms of stewardship and altruism common to their religious texts (“believing”), thus increasing the likelihood that they will engage in prosocial acts. Religious service attendance (“belonging”) may not only be indicative of greater religious commitment, but also captures the role of social networks that diffuse information about and opportunities to volunteer and give, thus increasing the giving and volunteer activities of service goers. Religious background is indeed a robust explanation of volunteering and giving (cf. Bekkers and Schuyt 2008; Bekkers and Wiepking 2011a; Musick and Wilson 2008; Ruiter and De Graaf 2006; Wilson 2000).

Network theories can be applied to the social context of an environment to extend the role of religion in voluntarism and giving. Kelley and De Graaf (1997) demonstrate that respondents raised by secular parents are more religious when brought up in a devout country than similar respondents with the same upbringing in secular countries. Two intuitive mechanisms are responsible for these findings. Firstly, in a devout country, respondents are more exposed to religious norms of altruism and stewardship. Secondly, respondents are more likely to have religious people in their networks in devout countries.

These two mechanisms are directly applicable to the likelihood of volunteering and giving for nominal members and the non-religious alike: if living in a more devout religious context, they should also volunteer more because there is a higher likelihood that members of their social network will be churchgoers. Ruiter and De Graaf (2006) did find that the devoutness of a country has this positive effect: non-members volunteer less, but when nested within a highly religious context they will have more friends and family that are religious and volunteer and will thus be more likely to volunteer themselves due to increased opportunities. Musick and Wilson (2008), however, only find this effect for religious volunteering. This network argument can also be extended to charitable giving. This explanation has been challenged more recently (c.f. Van der Meer et al. 2010; Ruiter and De Graaf, 2010; Lim and MacGregor 2012), and is discussed in more detail in chapter 2.

### *Ethnic Diversity*

Ethnic diversity has been argued to be negatively associated with trust nationally (Putnam 2007) and cross-nationally (Knack and Keefer 1997). The larger the relative ethnic out-group size, the larger the degree of threat that is hypothesised to be experienced by members of an in-group. The threat can be economic in terms of resources but also ideological in terms of differing ethnic and religious norms and values. The threat is said to cause the level of in-group bias and group solidarity to increase (bonding social capital), resulting in less trust between groups and more prejudice. According to this perspective, out-group hostility should be highest in diverse areas. It is assumed that a lack of trust can undermine the foundations of civil society and engagement among its citizens to contribute to collective causes that would otherwise benefit wider society. Studies, however, are far from conclusive. On the one hand, researchers

have pointed out negative associations between ethnic diversity and aspects of social cohesion as varied as civic engagement, social connectedness, and interpersonal trust and reciprocity (c.f. Van der Meer and Tolsma 2012 for an overview). On the other hand, some researchers have found no such negative associations (e.g. Gesthuizen et al. 2009; Hooghe et al. 2009; Lancee and Dronkers 2011), whilst others still have suggested that diversity offers an opportunity for contact, which can improve social cohesion (e.g. Stolle et al. 2008; Wagner et al. 2006).

There does appear to be a greater consensus regarding the negative role of ethnic diversity in the “civic engagement” literature. While these studies define civic behaviours differently depending on the country and the time period under investigation, the consensus is that diversity is negatively related to civic participation (c.f. Costa and Kahn 2003 for an overview of single nation studies). Likewise, Musick and Wilson (2008) also find that ethnic diversity is associated with less volunteering at the metropolitan level.

The comparative research documenting the relationship between ethnic diversity and trust is relatively established, although the comparative research investigating this link in civic participation is less so. Costa and Kahn (2003) demonstrate that aggregate levels of civic participation are negatively associated with ethnic diversity. However, their study may fall victim to the ecological fallacy as it fails to account for other background factors, as well as other contextual factors, that are also associated with volunteering.

### *Religious diversity*

Borgonovi (2008) argues that religious diversity is associated with a *greater* – not lower – likelihood that individuals will volunteer and give money. Borgonovi (2008) argues that the religious diversity of a community is associated with an increased likelihood of volunteering.

The author extends the Rational Choice approach applied by some scholars in the Sociology of Religion who claim that religious diversity increases the level of religious commitment (Finke and Stark 1988, 1992; Iannaccone 1998). According to this perspective, the demand for religion is constant in a population, but an increase in religious competition between religious groups requires them to produce a better quality religious product to encourage more participation in their religious group. Religious group survival in a diverse religious context is somewhat dependent on increased efforts by the religious leadership and members alike, including volunteering efforts of members to sustain the group. The level of religious competition between religious firms can be extended to create incentives among church leaders and congregation members alike to raise money and request extra-religious goods such as volunteering to sustain the organization, respectively (Stark and Finke 2000). As all religious groups seek to optimize their product, there will be a higher likelihood of volunteering. Similarly, religious groups are more likely to be smaller in a diverse religious context, making it easier to monitor and sanction fellow members thus decreasing the occurrence of free-riding (benefitting from a public or club good without contributing directly towards it), and increasing the likelihood that members will respond to social pressures to fully commit to and take part in the religious groups' activities, including volunteering. Borgonovi (2008) did find that religious diversity in a sample of US counties is associated with a greater likelihood of religious volunteering, but found no significant association with secular volunteering.

### *Opportunity structure*

The percentage of a society's population living in rural areas may be associated with the level of volunteering and giving. It is likely that respondents in rural areas lack the availability of

voluntary organizations and thus the opportunity to volunteer their time. This measure may also capture the degree of “traditionalism” and be correlated with the degree of agricultural development of a country, and therefore kin based volunteering that other formal measures do not capture. Similarly, the measure of donating to an organization may also miss the degree of kinship lending that occurs in a society, and may mean that respondents living in a rural area have fewer opportunities to donate money to organizations (informal outlets similar to rolling credit associations may, however, flourish in these areas). However the opposite may be true when investigating the opportunity structure in a single-nation study. It has been suggested that living in a rural area can explain civic engagement because these areas are associated with more homogenous communities and greater shared values, thus encouraging the likelihood of mobilizing among individuals in rural areas (Sundeen and Raskoff, 1994, 2000).

### *Social deprivation*

This explanation has already been used in the above explanation of compositional and contextual effects. Musick and Wilson (2008) argue that people from low socioeconomic groups are more likely to meet the immediate concrete needs of people as they arise, while people from higher socioeconomic groups are more likely to mobilize and commit to a community oriented outcome. Self-selection of groups into geographical areas such as neighbourhoods means that some areas will be composed of people with more human, social, and cultural capital resources that in turn increase the likelihood that they will give and volunteer (Wilson and Musick 1997). Normative expectations to volunteer and give may be higher in socially affluent neighbourhoods compared to social deprived ones. Similarly, hearing about volunteering and giving opportunities may be greater in socially affluent areas due to the

increased likelihood that affluent people comprise a given social network, thus increasing opportunities to volunteer by word of mouth. Research also suggests that there are stark differences between neighbourhoods and the funding of Third Sector Organizations (TSO) (Clifford 2012). TSOs are more likely to receive public money and their survival is more likely to be affected by funding cuts (Clifford 2012). Fewer TSOs in a deprived area may thus also result in fewer opportunities to engage in volunteering and giving for residents of these areas.

### **1.2.3 Reconciling the contextual findings**

The literature review above highlights a number of inconsistencies between the data sources used. The results vary for a number of different reasons. Firstly, some of the studies do not estimate individual and contextual effects simultaneously or consider the clustering of data within level 2 units (Snijders and Bosker 1999). These studies essentially conduct country-level analyses that are in danger of falling foul to the ecological fallacy. For example, studies that find that economic development is associated with volunteering and giving ignores the distribution of financial resources among individuals within and between countries. To highlight another example, religious diversity may be positively associated with volunteering and giving, and is assumed to increase competition between church organizations, when in actual fact, this contextual-level measure may be capturing a higher degree of individual-level religiosity or service attendance, which are both associated with a higher degree of prosocial behaviour (Bekkers and Schuyt 2008; Bekkers and Wiepking 2011a; Musick and Wilson 2008; Ruiter and De Graaf 2006; Wilson 2000).

Second, the countries included in comparative studies vary greatly depending on the data source used (such as the European/World Values Surveys, European Social Survey,

International Social Survey Programme, European Social Survey, Eurobarometer), which is affected by survey methodology (Rooney et al. 2004; Musick and Wilson 2008), but also the fact that different countries are included in each study. This also means that when a contextual measure from an external source (even the same external source) is included between these surveys the variation and distribution of these contextual characteristics changes, which may significantly change the substantive results. Prior studies are also problematic as they often investigate 5-30 countries, which significantly increases the likelihood of outlying or influential country cases (Van der Meer et al. 2010). Lastly, as mentioned earlier, this also challenges the generalizability and robustness of findings and theories.

A unique feature of this thesis is that the large number of countries used allows independent contextual information to be merged from external sources, but unlike previous studies, captures a more representative amount of contextual variation among these countries. Similarly, as mentioned, one of the problems with comparative studies is the degrees of freedom problem (Snijders and Bosker 1999), which limits the number of contextual measures (variables) that can be included in a single analysis. This limits the number of potential theories / explanations (and thus predictors) that can be tested simultaneously. However, the large number of countries contained in the Gallup World Poll (GWP) addresses these problems more appropriately, which will result in the most representative and authoritative comparative findings to date.

### **1.2.4 Background explanations of volunteering and giving**

This section discusses some of the background explanations of volunteering and giving. These explanations are important control variables in the empirical chapters, and are not discussed in

the same detail as the contextual explanations. A wealth of growing research documents the role of these explanations and the empirical findings in relation to the various scope conditions and measures of volunteering and giving analysed. It is beyond the scope of this overview to discuss them all here, but readers interested in extensive general overviews should consult: Bekkers and Wiepking (2011a, 2011b), Musick and Wilson (2008), Wiepking and Bekkers (2012), and Wilson (2000, 2012). However, I will briefly discuss these explanations outlined in Wilson and Musick's (1997) "integrated theoretical approach". Wilson and Musick's (1997) integrated framework groups the explanations of voluntary behaviour together into three broad human, social and cultural resources for civic engagement. This framework has been applied to adult and youth populations. Human, social and cultural capital resources vary between people and help explain differences in volunteering and giving activity.

### *Human Capital*

Human capital describes resources relating to skills, knowledge, and experience. Access to human capital resources enables respondents to engage in civic behaviours. These resources can be used by individuals to participate, but also increases the likelihood that they will be asked or invited to take part in volunteering and giving. Previous studies have indeed found that *socioeconomic* status is positively associated with a greater likelihood that adults (Bekkers and Wiepking 2011a, 2011b; Musick and Wilson 2008; Wilson 2000; Wiepking and Bekkers 2012) and children will volunteer (Sundeen and Raskoff 1994, 2000). Socioeconomic status is indicative of beneficial resources available to individuals. For example, wealthier people can afford the transport needed to take part in activities, or the equipment or membership fees needed to join voluntary clubs or organizations.

Higher levels of *education* are also a human capital resource that is beneficial to groups. It signals more skill sets that an individual can bring to the group and is also associated with higher levels of reliability. The desirability of these resources increases the likelihood that the higher educated will be asked to engage in civic activities, which in turn is the strongest predictor of getting involved in civic behaviours (Musick and Wilson 2008). Education increases the civic skills of agents by making them more informed about social issues, institutions and organizations, but also more emphatic and confident (Brady et al. 1995). Awareness of social need also increases the likelihood of charitable giving (Bekkers and Wiepking 2011; Brady et al. 1995). Education is reported to have a robust and consistent positive effect on volunteering (cf. Wilson 2000; Musick and Wilson 2008), and charitable giving (cf. Bekkers 2004; Bekkers and Wiepking 2011a: 344; Bekkers and De Graaf 2006; Brown and Ferris 2007). Cross-nationally, the higher educated volunteer more (Ruiter and De Graaf 2006). The higher educated also donate more money (Scheepers and Te Grotenhuise 2005; Reitsma et al. 2006). Wilson and Musick (1997) also argue that *health* status can also be seen as a resource conducive to participation as lower levels of health inhibit civic engagement.

### *Social Capital*

Social capital resources are those that are available to people via the networks in which they are embedded. Social connections increase the information available to individuals regarding opportunities to volunteer and give, as well as the likelihood that they will be asked to take part in these opportunities. Indicators of social capital include: number of close *friends*, number of *children* in the household and the *size of the household*. An increase in each of these components likely represents more social connections, weak ties, and ultimately resources that

can be drawn upon to consciously invest in civic skills or indeed be recruited into civic activities (Coleman 1988; Granovetter 1973). Number of friends, and interactions with friends, are positively related to volunteering among adults (McPherson 1992; Wilson and Musick 1997), and friends are the greatest source of volunteering opportunities among youths (Sundeen and Raskoff 2000). The number of children in the household increases the likelihood of parents getting involved in formal and informal volunteering (Wilson and Musick, 1997) and the likelihood and amount of money donated (Banks and Tanner 1999; Tiehen 2001; Carrol et al. 2006). Limited research has investigated the role of household size, however, it is reasonable to assume that an increased number of people in a household increases the potential number of social ties available through their household network.

*Employment* status is also considered a measure of social capital. Time squeeze theory suggests that if individuals lack the time and the resources to volunteer, they will not do so; hence this theory predicts that the employed are less likely to volunteer. However, the opposite may be true: social integration theory suggests that employment increases their network ties and the likelihood that they will hear about opportunities to give and volunteer (Musick and Wilson 2008). There does appear to be more support for the social integration theory (Wilson 2000; Musick and Wilson 2008:150) and financial resources are positively related to the likelihood and amount donated (Barrett et al. 1997; Steinberg 1990; Auten et al 2002). On average, fulltime employees are more likely to volunteer than the unemployed, but part-time workers are more likely to volunteer than fulltime employees (Musick and Wilson 2008; Wilson 2000).

*Cultural Capital*

The integrated model explains how human and social resources available to individuals encourage civic participation; however, it also highlights this behaviour as guided in part by ethical principles (Wilson and Musick 1997). While social relationships may elicit pressures and obligations to engage civically, doing so also requires participants to donate their time and effort. The decision to take part is often morally guided by ideals of social responsibility, care, and altruism. These moral ideals may be derived from religious beliefs and religious participation. Religiosity is a robust predictor of civic engagement (c.f. Bekkers and Schuyt 2008; Bekkers and Wiepking 2011a; Musick and Wilson 2008; Ruiter and De Graaf 2006; Wilson 2000). The religious volunteer more than the secular, and frequent service attendees volunteer more than nominal members and the secular, which can be decomposed into “believing” and “belonging” explanations (c.f. Bekkers and Wiepking 2012). On the one hand, *religious affiliates* are likely to internalise to a greater degree the norms of stewardship and altruism common to their religious texts (“believing”). On the other hand *service attendance* is a better gauge of religious commitment (“belonging”). While Wilson and Musick (1997) include service attendance as a form of cultural capital, it must be acknowledged that regular service attendees may volunteer or give more because they are more integrated in church networks, increasing their chances of being asked and hearing about volunteer and donation opportunities that their religious organisation is involved in, or being put under more pressure to take part or contribute in some way. As such, religious service attendance is also considered a form of social capital.

The literature suggests that Protestants volunteer more (Dekker and De Hart 2001; Lam 2002; Musick and Wilson 2008; Ruiter and De Graaf 2006; Wilson 2000; Wuthnow 1991) and

donate money more (Bekkers and Schuyt 2008; Hoge and Yang 1994; Reed and Selbee 2001; Wiepking and Bekkers 2008; Zaleski and Zech 1992, 1994) compared to other religious groups (however these studies can typically only compare these effects between Protestants and Catholics because data are restricted to western countries). Dekker and De Hart (2001) argue that this may be because the Protestant church is not as hierarchically organized as the Catholic church and the that Protestant churches are smaller (better for monitoring and sanctioning) and increasing the level of solidarity and commitment among congregations. Lam (2002) argues that the Protestant church encourages an entrepreneurial spirit and social responsibility relative to other denominations.

All organized religions stress the importance of stewardship and giving alms to the poor. Frequent churchgoers volunteer and give more than nominal members and the non-religious (Becker and Dhingra 2001; Bekkers and Schuyt 2008; Brooks 2003; Bryant et al. 2003; Hodgkinson 2003; Lam 2002; Lunn et al. 2001; Musick and Wilson 2008; Ruiters and De Graaf 2006; Wilson 2000; Wilson and Janoski 1995; Wuthnow 1991). Again, this may be because they are more religiously committed and have thus internalized the altruistic norms of their religious group, or it could be because they are more integrated in church networks, increasing their chances of being asked and hearing about volunteer opportunities and donations, or being put under more pressure to do either activity.

### **1.2.5 Other background explanations of volunteering and giving**

Before moving on to the chapter summaries, it is valuable to include a number of the other background characteristics that will be considered throughout the empirical chapters.

#### *Gender*

There is no clear consensus on the differences between male and female respondents and their voluntary and donating activities. The philanthropic differences between men and women might be because they are integrated differently in family, church and work. Women are more involved in caring tasks, go to church more often, and do not have jobs. Thus, their social networks differ from men. Likewise, females have higher levels of empathy and altruism compared to males (Wilson 2000; Wilson and Musick 1997). The lack of consensus may reflect the type of philanthropy being done (i.e. informal vs. formal philanthropy) or different types of organizations (i.e. church volunteering, political advocacy, environmental activity). Another reason could be the institutional and structural conditions between countries results in different levels of female empowerment between countries (Themudo 2009).

In general, women volunteer more than men in the US (Boraas 2003; Hayghe 1991), but in Europe this pattern is not consistent (Cameron 1997). Similarly, there are no consistent findings in single nation studies that investigate donating (cf. Bekkers and Wiepking 2011a: pp. 14-15 for an overview). Cross-nationally Ruiter and De Graaf (2006) and Musick and Wilson (2008) find that females volunteer less. Scheepers and Te Grotenhuis (2005) find that females donate more than males in their multilevel study of 15 countries, while Reitsma et al. (2006) find that females donate less in their study of seven countries.

*Age*

Middle-aged people are more integrated in work and family than the young and old (Ruiter and De Graaf 2006; Wilson 2000), which increases the availability of volunteering and giving opportunities. Younger and older respondents have more time to devote to volunteering in general, while the young are more likely to be encouraged to volunteer as a part of school and extra-curricular organizations, and the old are more likely to value social responsibility. The likelihood of donating increases with age because people have more financial resources due to occupational mobility, which then tapers off into later life due to retirement and pensions. The relationship between age and volunteering and giving is typically positive, but also curvilinear (See Bekkers and Wiepking 2011a: 349; Boraas 2003; Curtis et al. 1992; Ruiter and De Graaf 2006; Wilson 2000; Belfield and Beney 2000; Bryant et al. 2003; Wunnava and Lauze 2001).

*Marital status*

Married people are said to have higher levels of social capital, such as work and family integration, which increases their opportunities to volunteer and give (Musick and Wilson 2008; Wilson 2000). With regards to charitable giving, marriage is also a consistent predictor of donating in the majority of single-nation studies (cf. Bekkers and Wiepking 2011:11). Married people volunteer more than unmarried people in the US (Sundeen 1990; Wilson 2000); however, in Europe the difference is less clear (Cameron 1997). Cross-nationally, Ruiter and De Graaf (2006) find that the married do volunteer more, however this has not been looked at cross-nationally in terms of donating money.

### **1.2.6 Background explanations in comparative perspective**

A unique feature of the comparative component of this thesis is that it also provides an opportunity to test the above individual-level background explanations in a large heterogeneous sample of countries. This provides generalizations of prior findings as well as how these characteristics vary cross-nationally. For example, the role of religion varies between countries: Protestantism is different in America than it is in Ethiopia or Sweden; however, is there a general pattern among Protestants, or indeed all religious affiliates, across countries? Similarly, the role of gender and education vary between countries: thus, are there main effects and interaction effects for these characteristics? As such, the data can; a) test the generalizability of these findings in a sample of countries that captures more representative information on structural, institutional, and cultural characteristics worldwide; and b) can also test how these background explanations vary according to the structural, institutional, and cultural characteristics of countries. This gives researchers and policy makers a richer picture of the antecedents of volunteering and giving.

### **1.3 Chapter summaries**

The primary focus of this thesis is to build on the existing research in this area and contribute towards the theoretical and empirical understanding of how the social environment (context) in which people live explain decisions to volunteer and give. In the first part of this thesis I focus on a broad comparative picture of volunteering and giving with respect to how the country characteristics explain differences in these activities among people. The literature review above highlights a lack of consistency between studies that investigate comparative contextual explanations, and my subsequent discussion underscores the substantive and methodological

improvements this thesis makes. As such, increasing the comparative understanding of volunteering and giving motivates chapters 2 and 3. The second half of this thesis focuses on England, and allows me to investigate contextual explanations of volunteering and giving in smaller, more localized, geographical units such as neighbourhoods (discussed in more detail below), which may be more accurate measures of the social environment that people live in.

Each chapter uses data that capture individual and contextual information in relatively novel empirical settings. Chapters 2 and 3 utilize the comparative data of 119 countries contained in the Gallup World Poll, and test the theoretical claims of previous research to this heterogeneous sample of countries. Chapter 4 shifts the focus of the thesis to England and the study of individuals nested in neighbourhoods. Lastly, chapter 5 investigates school effects on the likelihood that youths aged between 14 and 15 engage in volunteering and other forms of civic participation. This study is also motivated by a number of factors beyond investigating the antecedents of volunteering and giving in relatively novel situations. Firstly, there is consistency between the chapters as, where possible, they include the same individual and contextual-level explanations. This allows researchers to assess how, for example, ethnic diversity is associated with volunteering and giving across countries, across neighbourhoods and across schools. This is an interesting opportunity to evaluate the effects of this measure across varying sizes of ecological units (i.e. contexts). For example, smaller, more localized geographical units, such as neighbourhoods or schools, may be better proxies for local context and the substantive effects may in fact be stronger therein (Bielefeld et al 2005), or may actually better capture volunteering and giving behaviours for causes and organisations in local contexts (Borgonovi 2008). Second, the data used in the two English datasets are richer in terms of the measures that they capture and can also be merged to a wider variety of contextual

measures that do truly capture characteristics of a respondent's locality. This is harder to infer when merging contextual data for countries i.e. according to this approach, the level of ethnic diversity for respondents living in the USA will be the same regardless of whether they live in the Bronx, NY or in Madison, WIS. Third, the more extensive availability of contextual measures in England also allows one to test theories using data that are impossible to collect at the country level. For example, testing the effect of neighbourhood residential stability on volunteering and giving would not be possible in across-countries, but is possible in England. The basic structure of the remainder of the thesis follows.

## **Chapter 2: Volunteering and Giving Worldwide**

This chapter explores the explanations of volunteering and giving cross-nationally, using nationally representative samples of 119 countries from the Gallup World Poll (GWP). These explanations include the background (individual-level) characteristics of people and the social environment (contextual-level) of the countries in which they live. Six relatively novel contextual explanations of volunteering and giving are tested simultaneously: ethnic diversity, religious diversity, income inequality, age-structure, minority religious group status, and rural population. Multilevel modelling techniques are used to account for the clustering of individual-level data in countries; distinguish between compositional and contextual-level effects; and assess the substantive effect size associated with the individual and contextual measures. The GWP will be discussed in more detail below.

The theoretical and empirical investigation regarding the comparative analysis of volunteering and giving are relatively under-developed (Musick and Wilson 2008; Wilson 2012). Relatively little is known about this participation outside of the western world and the

literature that focuses on these behaviours in developing countries is even less clear: official statistics regarding the activity of the third sector are limited or non-existent and often contradictory in such societies (cf. Govaart et al. 2001). This chapter contributes to the literature by describing and testing the explanations of this behaviour. Likewise, this chapter also contributes substantively to theory development by simultaneously testing prior explanations of volunteering and giving at the individual and contextual levels alongside theories that have received limited attention in other comparative projects. Most comparative social theories of volunteering and giving are based on evaluating survey research conducted on only a fraction of the world's population. The GWP is a unique data source, which allows the testing of these explanations empirically on a sample of countries that are more representative of the world's population. Other cross-national datasets under represent regions and religions around the world, making descriptions in these areas problematic, let alone theory testing. For example, in its last wave, the World Values Survey still only samples eight Muslim majority countries and four others with a significant Muslim minority presence, making cross-country comparisons and generalizations regarding the Muslim world insufficient.

Methodologically the GWP also allows for more reliable macro-level inferences due to increased number of cases at the country level (Snijders and Bosker 1999; Meuleman and Billie 2009), improving an important problem that affects almost all international comparative social research investigations – the “degrees of freedom problem”. For serious descriptive research and hypothesis testing at the contextual level it is important to be able to estimate reliable parameters. Meuleman and Billiet suggest that;

“...[to] detect large ( $>0.50$ ) structural effects at the between level, at least 60 groups are required. To have an acceptable probability of detecting smaller effects, more than 100 groups are needed” (2009: 45).

Likewise, with a low number of country cases, researchers typically encounter problems with influential cases as well. The *American Sociological Review* published a debate related to the robustness of findings with outlying cases in Ruiter and De Graaf's 2006 volunteering study (Van der Meer et al. 2010; Ruiter and De Graaf 2010), illustrating how sensitive estimates can be with few cases (53 in this instance – a far larger sample than is typically criticized). The GWP reduces the significance of this problem due to its power at the country level and also enables researchers to test an extensive number of country-level covariates.

### **Chapter 3: How do Gender, Education, and Income Explanations of Volunteering and Giving Vary Across Countries?**

This chapter focuses on the interplay between individual and contextual-level explanations of volunteering and giving using the GWP. It builds on the findings of chapter 2, and indeed previous studies, and asks three questions relating to the interplay between country-level contextual characteristics and the instance of volunteering and giving by the individual-level characteristics – gender, level of education, and income. Firstly, are females more likely to volunteer and give in societies with more gender equality? Second, do the lower educated volunteer and give more in societies with higher levels of education? Third, are income differentials in the likelihood of volunteering and giving more pronounced in more unequal societies? The chapter uses multilevel modeling techniques to test these cross-level interactions. This research provides a better understanding of the antecedents of volunteering and giving by exploring how individual-level and contextual-level characteristics interact.

#### **Chapter 4: Context, Volunteering and Giving in England: A Multilevel Study of 313 Neighbourhoods**

To date there remains no research investigating how volunteering and giving are influenced by the social environment that people live in in England. This chapter fills this gap in the literature and provides a comprehensive analysis of the background and contextual explanations of volunteering and giving in England. It also explores how residential stability, a relatively novel aspect of neighbourhood context, affects these civic behaviours alongside prior individual and contextual explanations. At the contextual level the chapter also includes measures for religious, ethnic and social class diversity, social deprivation, and urban location of neighbourhoods. Multilevel modeling is again used to analyse representative data on 13,370 individuals living in 313 areas, which are merged to census contextual measures.

#### **Chapter 5: School Characteristics and Youth Civic Engagement in England**

The empirical literature regarding the explanations of youth civic engagement using large-scale representative survey data is non-existent among the youth demographic in England. Likewise, more generally, the role of the social environment of the schools that youths attend as an explanation of their civic activity has also received limited attention. This chapter fills this gap and tests the individual-level, household-level and school-level explanations of civic engagement (volunteer, youth club and school-based extracurricular involvement) among 13,573 youths aged 14 and 15 years old in 637 English schools. This chapter is interested in the ethnic, religious and social class diversity of schools as well as the differences between public and private schools. At the individual level the chapter investigates the influence of social and cultural capital resources predictive of youth engagement in terms of religious affiliation,

subjective religiosity, religious class attendance, role-modelling and parenting strategies. Once again, this chapter uses multilevel modelling techniques to analyse the data.

## **Chapter 6: Conclusion**

The concluding chapter provides an overview of the findings from each empirical chapter. Lastly, it discusses the limitations of the study and suggests directions for future research. In what follows, I outline the data used in the empirical chapters.

### **1.4 Overview of data used in empirical chapters**

This section gives a brief overview of the secondary individual-level data used to assess the questions set out above. Further details are also given in the individual chapters, as is information regarding the data sources used for the various contextual-level data that are matched to the individual-level data.

#### **1.4.1 The Gallup World Poll**

The first two chapters use data contained in the 2007 and 2008 waves of the Gallup World Poll (Gallup Inc. 2010, 2011). The Gallup World Poll is a series of cross-sectional data sets that have been collected annually by Gallup since 2005. Individual-level data were gathered via phone or face-to-face interviews in the main language of each country, based on nationally representative samples, capturing a standardized set of questions. Face-to-face interviews lasted approximately one hour, while telephone interviews were about 30 minutes. The data capture self reported demographics, attitudes, and behaviours of respondents, including volunteering. See the appendix 2.1 for more sampling and methodology information.

## A Comparative Study of Volunteering and Giving

A Random-Digit-Dial (RDD) telephone survey design was used in countries with +80% landline coverage, and face-to-face “Area Frame” surveys were used if the country where this condition was not met. The sample is representative of *all* parts of each country, including rural areas. Respondents were eligible for interview if aged at least 15. Respondents were selected from households using either a random latest birthday method of Kish Grid.

The face-to-face surveys were sampled using census listings of Primary Sampling Units (PSU), consisting of clusters of households, and random route procedures were used to select sampled households. Interviewers made three attempts to survey the sampled household, unless an outright refusal occurs. If unsuccessful in gathering an interview from a sampled household, interviewers selected the household to the immediate right of the initial household, and then the immediate left of the original household if that was also unsuccessful. In the RDD survey, at least five call attempts are made to reach a person, aged 15 and older, in each household. Typically the design is not stratified, but otherwise the other processes and procedures follow those used in the face-to-face design.

The data are privately funded by Gallup and sold for predominantly commercial purposes, resulting in less accessibility to the data. However, a growing body of research has emerged using the data in fields including entire books devoted to the subject of wellbeing (Diener et al. 2010) and Muslim area studies (Esposito 2007). Journal articles include areas of wellbeing (Biswas-Diener et al. 2010; Calvo et al. 2012; Kahneman and Deaton 2010; Ng et al. 2009) and health (Stone et al. 2010), poverty (Deaton 2008; Deaton et al. 2010), and politics (Clausen 2011; Halliwell and Huang 2008). More recently studies investigating volunteering (Bennett forthcoming; Lim and MacGregor 2012) and giving (Aknin et al. 2013) have also been written using the GWP.

### **1.4.2 The Citizenship Survey**

The third empirical chapter uses data contained in the 2008/2009 Citizenship Survey (CS2008). CS2008 is one survey from the series of Citizenship surveys that was conducted biannually from 2001-2011. The survey series was initially funded and managed by the Home Office before it's shift to the Communities and Local Government department. The survey contains 10,000 adults in England and Wales, and an ethnic minority booster sample of 5,000 adults (selected from neighbourhood wards where more than 1% of the population was from a minority ethnic group). The survey captures data regarding a range of issues, including race equality, faith, feelings about their community, volunteering and participation. Sampling for the study was achieved via a stratified random sample. More information about the survey series can be found on the National Archive's webpage for the survey:

(<http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20120919132719/www.communities.gov.uk/communities/research/citizenshipsurvey/>)

### **1.4.3 The Longitudinal Study of Young People in England**

The final empirical chapter uses data contained in the Longitudinal Study of Young People in England (LSYPE). The LSYPE was funded and managed by the Department for Children, Schools and Families (now the Department for Education), and is a multi-site panel study of school children across England, which captures self-reported demographics, attitudes, and behaviours of the youth sample and also their parents, schools, and households. The data contain 15,500 students from 634 schools. Sampling for the study was achieved via a stratified random sample with disproportionate sampling for deprived schools. Schools were the primary sampling units, then children within schools. The sampling procedure was weighted to ensure

that children from ethnic minority backgrounds had the same chance of being selected than their white counterparts, resulting in a substantial oversampling of non-white children. Data collection for the LSYPE began in 2004 when children were in Year 9 of school (aged 13/14), and continued for seven waves, stopping in 2010. The data used in this chapter are from wave 1, primarily because the collection and organization of the survey shifted between government departments, which resulted in inconsistent questions across waves for a large number of variables, including basic sociodemographic indicators, but also because of significant attrition rates across the waves of data. More information about the study can be found on the Department for Education website ([www.education.gov.uk](http://www.education.gov.uk)) and the LSYPE user guide (NatCen 2009).

## **1.5 Summary**

The focus of this thesis is on the explanations of volunteering and giving. Overall, it is guided by an understanding that these behaviours are influenced by both individual-level and contextual-level factors, and indeed the interaction between these factors. Within this framework, this thesis examines the antecedents of volunteering and giving in three novel contexts, using either new or unique individual-level data, matched to contextual-level information. This approach highlights the importance of considering individual and contextual-level characteristics when conducting volunteer and giving research, with an emphasis on the role of social network theories at the contextual level. The following chapter begins by examining some of the individual and contextual-level explanations of volunteering and giving worldwide.

## Chapter 2: Volunteering and Giving Worldwide

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### 2.1 Abstract

This chapter explores why people volunteer and give globally. It examines the role of the background characteristics of people as well as the social environment (context) of the countries that they live in that explain these behaviours, using nationally representative samples of 119 countries from the Gallup World Poll (GWP). Six relatively novel contextual explanations of volunteering and giving are tested simultaneously: ethnic diversity, religious diversity, income inequality, age-structure, minority religious group status, and rural population. Religious diversity and belonging to a religious minority group are associated with a greater likelihood of volunteering, but are not associated with giving. There is support for Wilkinson's (1996, 1991) relative income hypothesis: income inequality is associated with a decreased likelihood of volunteering and giving for respondents in countries that exceed Wilkinson's income threshold, whereas the opposite is true for respondents in developing countries below this threshold. There is a curvilinear relationship between national devoutness and volunteering, challenging network arguments, but a strong positive correlation between national devoutness and giving, supporting network arguments. Ethnic diversity is not associated with a decreased likelihood of volunteering or giving, and the level of economic development, democracy and age-structure of a society were also not associated with volunteering or giving.

## 2.2 Introduction

Volunteering and donating money are central elements of civic engagement and are often considered important parts of social life (Verba et al. 1995; Putnam 2000). Such involvement has been studied extensively and, as such, a growing body of literature explains these activities (Bekkers and Wiepking 2011a, 2011b; Musick and Wilson 2008; Wiepking and Bekkers 2012; Wilson 2000, 2012). The focus of this chapter is on the comparative study of two forms of civic engagement – formal volunteering and charitable giving. The main aim of this chapter is to explore why some people engage in these behaviours and how the social context of the countries that they live influences engagement. This research builds on previous studies and tests a number of explanations of volunteering and giving among a diverse sample of 172,725 people living in 119 countries. It tests six relatively novel contextual explanations of volunteering and giving simultaneously: ethnic diversity, religious diversity, income inequality, age-structure, rural population, and minority religious group status.

There are a number of motivations that justify this study. Firstly, it explores the role played by background and contextual explanations across both forms of civic engagement and whether these factors influence volunteering and giving in the same way. While a growing number of single nation studies exist explaining volunteer and giving behaviour, none exist that look at these behaviours simultaneously. Not only does this study address this gap, but also in doing so, it offers politicians and policy makers an opportunity to construct a cross-national profile of “prosocial” or civically engaged citizens.

Second, while the cross-national study of volunteering is relatively well established, the cross-national study of giving is less so. Ruiter and De Graaf (2006) sought to explain

volunteering using data from people living in 53 countries, however, the largest comparative studies of donating only contain 15 and 7 countries, respectively (Scheepers and Te Grotenhuis 2005; Reitsma et al. 2006). One consequence of the lack of availability of comparative data is that scholars are limited in their understanding of the geographical context in which people live and how this influences volunteering (Smith 1994:246, Wuthnow 1998:112; Wilson 2000:229), although previous studies demonstrate that they are important (Curtis et al. 1992; 2001; Parboteeah et al. 2004, Ruiters and De Graaf 2006; Lim and MacGregor 2012). This research builds on prior theoretical contextual claims of volunteering and introduces new contextual explanations that are applied to volunteering and giving. The study employs a unique cross-sectional data set that is representative of an unusually large number of countries, enabling the test of these new contextual explanations simultaneously with the established theoretical explanations. The use of such a worldwide data set makes it possible to test these theoretical claims in a diverse range of cultures.

Third, relatively little is known about volunteering and giving outside of the Western world, let alone the factors that influence it in such countries. The extent of volunteering and giving in developing countries is unclear as official statistics are limited or non-existent and often contradictory in such societies (cf. Govaert et al. 2001). Musick and Wilson (2008) stress the importance of the comparative study of volunteering:

“... the comparative study of voluntarism, now flourishing, is a relatively underdeveloped area of scholarly investigation in the field of philanthropy. Progress in this area has been slowed by: the difficulty of gathering comparable data; wide cultural variations in the understanding of the volunteer role; and lack of theoretical development. Recent work has altered this picture quite dramatically. A number of cross-national surveys using standardized definitions of volunteer work and other socio-demographic variables make comparisons easier.” (Musick and Wilson 2008: 368).

Fourth, most social theories of volunteering and giving are based on evaluating survey research conducted on only a fraction of the world's population. The data used here, however, allow the testing of theories empirically on a sample of countries that is more representative of the world's population. As such, the generalizability of prior theories can be tested among a more representative portion of the world. This allows researchers to explore whether previous explanations associated with religion applied to single nation or comparative studies with a smaller number of countries can be generalized to a larger number of religions. For example, the study uses data that is more representative of all the world's major religious traditions, such as Islam, Orthodox Christianity, Hinduism, Judaism and Buddhism, as well as the Catholic and Protestant Christian denominations that have typically been the focus of prior studies. These religions clearly vary widely in terms of their doctrine and the religious practices, however, these qualitative differences aside, this research can assess if there is something about being affiliated with a religion or attending a religious service that is common to all religions in terms of the effects on volunteering. Ruiter and De Graaf (2006) highlight the importance of such a study in the conclusion to their earlier work:

“Keep in mind though that only 7 percent of the data population is non-Christian and that questions pertaining to religion in the World Values Surveys might be better applicable to Christians than to non-Christians. Therefore, we cannot make strong claims with respect to non-Christian countries.” (Ruiter and De Graaf 2006: 207).

Fifth, methodologically the GWP also allows for reliable macro-level inferences due to increased number of cases at the country level (Snijders and Bosker, 1999; Meuleman and Billie, 2009). The recent debate related to the robustness of findings with outlying cases in Ruiter and De Graaf's (2006) volunteering study illustrates how sensitive estimates can be with few cases (Van der Meer et al. 2010; Ruiter and De Graaf, 2010; Lim and MacGregor 2012).

However, while the research design and potential contributions of this study come with many positives, the earlier comments of Musick and Wilson highlight a number of caveats and reasons to remain cautious. How do different survey designs or question wordings (and even orderings) affect survey responses? How can Western concepts of “volunteering” be applied to non-Western contexts and how translatable are these terms cross-culturally? These and other issues will be discussed in more detail throughout the study as they arise.

In what follows I discuss the relevant individual and contextual-level religious explanations of volunteering and giving, before describing the data and methods used for this study. After testing the hypotheses I finally discuss the results and the implications for future research.

### **2.3 Explanations of volunteering and giving**

While a growing body of literature exists that investigates the comparative study of volunteering (Curtis et al. 1992; Curtis et al. 2001; Parboteeah et al. 2004; Ruiter and De Graaf 2006), there is only a limited amount of research on the comparative study of donating money (Scheepers and Te Grotenhuis 2005; Reitsma et al. 2006). However, when comparing the literature on single nation studies that document these behaviours it is striking to see how closely the explanations and findings match each other (c.f. Bekkers and Wiepking 2011a, 2011b; Musick and Wilson 2008; Wiepking and Bekkers 2012; Wilson 2000). As such, this literature review draws upon both areas of research, to derive hypotheses, and also generates contextual-level hypotheses using the much more extensive literature on formal volunteering.

### **2.3.1 Background explanations**

#### *Religious affiliation and service attendance*

A wide body of literature highlights the importance of individual religiosity as a robust and consistent predictor of volunteering and giving (Bekkers and Schuyt 2008; Bekkers and Wiepking 2011a, 2011b; Musick and Wilson 2008; Putnam and Campbell 2010; Ruiter and De Graaf 2006; Wilson 2000; Wuthnow 1991, 2004). The positive association between religion and volunteering and giving is attributed to two mechanisms: religious norms and social networks (Bekkers and Schuyt 2008; Curtis et al. 2001; Lam 2002; Ruiter and De Graaf 2006; Watt 1991; Wilson and Musick 1997; Wuthnow 1991). On the one hand, religious norms associated with religious doctrine and religious texts stress the importance of helping others and those in need. People with a religious affiliation are more likely to internalize these norms, thus increasing their likelihood of being prosocial, or in the current case, of volunteering and giving. On the other hand, religious networks stress the role of social connections between religious people. According to this argument, religious service attendance increases the connectedness of religious people, and as religious organizations are more likely to engage in and encourage volunteering and giving (Ruiter and De Graaf 2006: 191), service attendance increases the likelihood of being asked and hearing about opportunities to volunteer.

However, the literature has thus far been built on data capturing religious traditions in Western or developed countries, where comparisons and descriptions are made explicitly between Christian denominations, while non-Christian religions get combined into a single “other” category. Previous research finds that Protestants volunteer more than affiliates of other religions (Lam 2002; Ruiter and De Graaf 2006; Wuthnow 1991; Wilson 2000; Musick and Wilson 2008). This has been attributed to a number factors such as the Protestant church is not

hierarchically organized and typically subdivides itself into smaller parishes (better for social sanctioning), (Dekker and De Hart 2001), but also encourages the pursuit of social responsibility among its members relative to other religions (Lam 2002).

The data used in this research provide researchers with an interesting opportunity to describe patterns of volunteering between religious traditions and assess how the mechanisms associated with norms and networks might be applicable and generalized to each, despite a wide range of differences in doctrine and religious participation. Such a project is not without its problems. Measuring the objective level of religiosity in a comparative study is problematic. For example, for both Hindus and Buddhists, worship is considered a relatively more individual rather than communal act. Hindus and Buddhists often worship in homemade shrines, where the former make personal offerings to the deities. Whether collective service attendance has the same universal validity across countries and faiths is hard to garner, however, given the importance stressed on social relations it assumes that religious service attendance does increase the knowledge of, and opportunities for, individuals to volunteer. Qualitative doctrinal and collective worship differences aside, this research tests the generalizability of previous research in the current study. Accordingly, it can be hypothesized that:

*People who report a religious affiliation are more likely to volunteer (H1a) and donate money (H1b) compared to unaffiliated respondents.*

*People who attend religious services are more likely to volunteer (H2a) and donate money (H2b) than non-attendees.*

As mentioned, studies have suggested that volunteering is not driven by church membership per se but rather by service attendance (Bekkers and Schuyt 2008; Bekkers and Wiepking 2011a, 2011b; Ruiters and De Graaf 2006; Watt 1991; Wilson and Musick 1997). As

service attendance increases the connectedness of religious people and thus the likelihood that they hear about and are asked to volunteer, service attendance should moderate the initial effect of religious affiliation. A Durkheimian explanation of the role of service attendance would be that service attendance is a measure of cohesion or attachment to a religious group (Durkheim 1897). As such, a higher level of integration in a church increases the likelihood of following the norms of the group. Accordingly, it can be hypothesized that:

*The initial differences between religious members and non-members in the likelihood of volunteering (H3a) and donating money (H3b) will decline controlling for service attendance.*

### **2.3.2 Contextual explanations**

Previous work has made substantive progress in theorizing why aspects of context may influence volunteering. For example, Ruiter and De Graaf (2006) hypothesized that the level of religious devoutness in a country is associated with the likelihood that individuals volunteer. The authors argue that a greater proportion of religious service attendees in a country provides an additional “boost” within a country, over and above the individual-level effect of service attendance, affecting the likelihood that the religious and non-religious will volunteer. This is regarded as a network extension to the role of service attendance as a country with a higher proportion of service attendees increases the likelihood that these individuals will be in any given social network, thus increasing the likelihood of being asked or hearing about volunteering for everyone. Similarly, the possibility of having more service attendees in one’s network potentially increases the exposure to the religious norms of altruism and stewardship. Ruiter and De Graaf (2006) do find that the average devoutness of a country influences

volunteering and also that there is a “spillover” effect whereby the non-religious are more likely to volunteer in religious countries as they may be more likely to have religious people in their networks, relative to the non-religious in a secular country, thus increasing the opportunities of the non-religious to get involved in volunteering in a devout country.

The findings have received some criticism due to influential country cases that influence the relationship (Van der Meer et al. 2010). Lim and MacGregor (2012) explicitly test the mechanisms involved in the religious “spillover” effect, and highlight the incorrect ecological inferences that can be made when using religious network data at the individual level to make inferences about the measurement of religious context at the country and county level – common practice in this area of research. The authors also argue that contradictory theoretical mechanisms could produce similar aggregate findings. Lim and MacGregor (2012) use network data and find that having religious friends does increase the likelihood of volunteering for the non-religious, but that this relationship cannot be inferred empirically with county or country-level data. In fact, at the country level, the authors find a curvilinear relationship between country devoutness and volunteering at the contextual level (i.e. a greater probability of volunteering in secular and devout countries and lower likelihoods in countries with relatively moderate levels of religiosity), while they find a negative relationship between devoutness and volunteering at the county level (i.e. the likelihood of volunteering decreases with contextual county-level devoutness). However, it should also be noted that the data used by Lim and Macgregor, only captures self-reported “strong-tie” network data and cannot test the notion that religious “weak ties” may also increase the likelihood that the non-religious will volunteer.

With the above in mind, the current research is cautious with any theoretical claims that highlight possible mechanisms that explain the link between context and volunteering. This chapter considers these issues and where possible tests contextual explanations that have been found to influence volunteering among smaller geographical units and also does so by using independent measures of context that do not rely upon aggregating individual-level data to the country level. As such, while testing the causal mechanism at a lower level of analysis is beyond the scope of this chapter, the explanations have been tested at a lower level of analysis in previous studies. While, these prior studies do, then, lend support to the current research, the cautions outlined by Lim and MacGregor must be acknowledged. With this in mind, this research now begins discussing the contextual-level explanations in the comparative literature of volunteering.

### *Ethnic Diversity*

Some researchers have pointed out negative associations between ethnic diversity and aspects of social cohesion as varied as civic engagement, social connectedness, and interpersonal trust and reciprocity (c.f. Van der Meer and Tolsma 2012 for an overview). However, other researchers have found no such negative associations (e.g. Gesthuizen et al. 2009; Hooghe et al. 2009; Lancee and Dronkers 2011), whilst others still have suggested that diversity offers an opportunity for contact, which can improve social cohesion (e.g. Stolle et al. 2008; Wagner et al. 2006).

Ethnic heterogeneity has been argued to be negatively associated with trust nationally (Putnam 1993; 2000; 2007) and cross-nationally (Knack and Keefer 1997). It has been suggested that a lack of trust can undermine the foundations of civil society and engagement

among its citizens to contribute to collective causes that would otherwise benefit wider society. There does appear to be a greater consensus regarding the role of ethnic diversity in the “civic engagement” literature. While these studies define civic behaviours differently depending on the country and the time period under investigation, the consensus is that diversity is negatively related to civic participation (c.f. Costa and Kahn 2003 for an overview of single nation studies). Likewise, Musick and Wilson (2008) also find that ethnic homogeneity is associated with less volunteering at the metropolitan level, while Rotolo and Wilson (2011) find the same at the state level.

The comparative research documenting the relationship between ethnic diversity and trust is relatively established, however, the comparative research investigating this link in civic participation is less so. Costa and Kahn (2003) demonstrate that aggregate levels of civic participation are negatively associated with ethnic diversity. However, their study fails to account for individual-level factors, as well as other contextual-level factors, that are also associated with volunteering. This leads to the following hypothesis:

*Ethnic diversity is associated with a lower likelihood of volunteering (H4a) and donating money (H4b).*

#### *Social inequality*

Given the debates over the role of social inequality in developed countries in generating a wide range of social ‘bads’ (c.f. Wilkinson and Pickett 2009; Van De Werfhorst and Salverda 2012), it is surprising that this is a relatively unexplored explanation of volunteering. Wilkinson (1996, 2001) argues that it is not only individual characteristics and the resources available to individuals, such as income, that are responsible for all manner of social outcomes (such as

health, crime, educational attainment and life expectancy, to name but a few), but that the social inequality of a society also has an independent effect over and above these individual characteristics. Wilkinson (1996, 2001) argues that social relationships are the key to understanding the link between inequality and negative outcomes and that "...income inequality is strongly and systematically related to the character of social relations and the nature of the social environment in a society" (Wilkinson 1999:526). He argues that social inequality promotes competition and fosters "insecurities, anxieties and chronic stress" as members negotiate their social status in relation to others on the wider social hierarchy. In short, inequality increases the psycho-social mechanism of status anxiety among individuals who compare themselves to others in the social hierarchy, which leads to negative health and social outcomes. In terms of social outcomes such as civic engagement, inequality can lead to stress and the "unrelatedness" of individuals (Van de Werfhorst and Salverda 2012). Musick and Wilson (2008) also class this explanation as part of the homogeneity argument where people engage with people like themselves. In a more unequal society there is a greater probability that people in a locality are different and this explanation suggests that this would result in lower levels of interaction between citizens of different social groups. The more similar the level of income among members of a society, the more volunteering that will occur. If the social outcomes are influenced by the social inequality of a context, the psycho-social stress would result in a sense of lack of power and a retreat from civic participation.

While a large body of literature exists examining the effects of social inequality on health outcomes, there remains limited work on other social outcomes (for an overview see Van De Werfhorst and Salverda 2012). In single-nation studies there does appear to be more support for Wilkinson's relative income hypothesis in terms of outcomes such as trust

(Rothstein and Ulsaner 2005; Ulsaner and Brown 2005), political activity (Solt 2008; Scervini & Segath 2013), life satisfaction (Alsen et al. 2004; Delhey & Kohler 2011). The limited cross-national work on civic engagement also supports the relative income hypothesis in terms of democratic support among 35 countries (Anderson 2012) and feelings of solidarity across 25 countries (Paskov & Dewilde 2012). Lancee and Van De Werfhorst and Salverda (2012) find individual and ecological resources explain the lack of participation, however, social inequality also has an effect over and above the material resources available to citizens in their longitudinal study of individuals in 24 European countries.

Income inequality has been hypothesized to be associated with low levels of voluntarism. Curtis et al. (2001) argue that a large middle class is needed to encourage the donation of money and time in a thriving Third Sector, corroborating case studies of developing regions (c.f. Govaart et al. 2001). Shared values and goals are harder to establish in a society where the wealth is concentrated among a relatively small amount of people. Woolley (2003) found that income inequality is negatively related to volunteering in Belgium, however Musick and Wilson (2008) fail to find an association in their study of countries using the World Values Survey, and Ulsaner and Brown (2005) find limited support for a direct association between social inequality and volunteering and charitable giving in the US, albeit at the state level of analysis. As such, it can be hypothesised that:

*Social inequality is associated with a lower likelihood of volunteering (H5a) and donating money (H5b).*

*Religious diversity*

Contrary to social homogeneity explanations, Borgonovi (2008) argues that religious diversity is associated with a *greater* – not lower – likelihood that individuals will volunteer and give money. Borgonovi (2008) builds on the literature in the sociology of religion that applies a Rational Choice framework and argues that religious diversity encourages volunteering and giving. Supply side theorists argue that in a diverse religious society, competition arises among religious firms, and that a higher quality product (church), given the choice of alternative products, typically increases the likelihood that members will commit to and be more committed to that church (Finke and Stark 1988, 1992; Iannaccone 1998). Likewise, a higher degree of religious pluralism will result in smaller churches, increasing the degree of monitoring and sanctioning within a given church, and thus reducing the degree of free-riding – increasing commitment both voluntarily and involuntarily (Stark and Finke 2000). Competition creates incentives among church leaders and congregation members alike to raise money and request extra-religious goods such as volunteering and monetary donations to sustain the organization or compete against other organizations, respectively (Stark and Finke 2000). Similarly, the distribution of religious groups in a local context increases the salience of religious members' identity and thus perpetuates the in-group bias that is fostered in group membership (Tajfel 1979; Tajfel and Turner 1979), again, strengthening the commitment of members to their specific religious group. As all religious groups seek to optimize their product, Borgonovi (2008) argues that there will be a higher likelihood of volunteering and giving. In her sample of counties in the USA, Borgonovi (2008) does find that religious competition increases the likelihood of volunteering. However, this is the first time that this

explanation has been applied beyond “local-level contexts” to a comparative study at the country-level. This leads to the next hypothesis:

*Religious diversity is associated with greater likelihood of volunteering (H6a) and donating money (H6b).*

*Religious minority*

Borgonovi (2008) again derives testable hypotheses regarding the impact of belonging to a religious denomination that represents the minority group in a population. Again, Borgonovi (2008) borrows from research in the sociology of religion that finds that belonging to a religious minority group is associated with increased commitment to that group by its members (Iannaccone 1991; Stark 1992; Stark and McCann 1993), and more religious giving (Perl and Olson 2000; Zaleski and Zech 1995). Similarly, group solidarity and the sense of in-group bias should be stronger in a minority religion (Tajfel 1979; Tajfel and Turner 1979), again, strengthening the commitment of members to their specific religious group. If the majority of pro-social behaviours happen via religious membership, and more specifically, to regular service attendees, then it is reasonable to assume that minorities are more likely to volunteer and give as doing so is for religious causes. Borgonovi (2008) fails to find this effect, however, Wiepking et al. (2012) find support for this in terms of secular and religious charitable giving.

*Belonging to a religious minority group in a country is associated with greater likelihood of volunteering (H7a) and donating money (H7b).*

*National devoutness*

Ruiter and De Graaf (2006) hypothesized that the level of religious devoutness in a country is associated with the likelihood that individuals volunteer. The authors argue that a greater proportion of religious service attendees in a country provides an additional “boost” within a country, over and above the individual-level effect of service attendance, affecting the likelihood that the religious and non-religious will volunteer. This is regarded as a network extension to the role of service attendance as a country with a higher proportion of service attendees increases the likelihood that these individuals will be in any given social network, thus increasing the likelihood of being asked or hearing about volunteering and giving for everyone. Similarly, the possibility of having more service attendees in one’s network potentially increases the exposure to religious norms of altruism and stewardship. As already discussed, Lim and MacGregor (2012) challenge the findings of this explanation for volunteering, particularly in terms of the ecological mechanisms. The data used here will not allow the testing of this mechanism at multiple levels, however, the following hypothesis can be derived in terms of charitable giving, although any results will need to be interpreted with caution in terms of the ecological inferences that can be made.

*A higher level of national devoutness will be associated with a greater likelihood of donating money (H8a).*

*Age structure*

The age structure of a society may be associated with a greater likelihood of volunteering and giving. Societies with large numbers of dependents (the proportion of children and pensioners in a society, relative to the working-age population) may have higher rates of volunteering and

giving. If there is a greater demand in a country to provide for and look after a significant number of the population, that country should see a greater degree of voluntary mobilization and monetary donations from its citizens to satisfy the need. A country with a high proportion of children and a high proportion of old people has a strong demand for volunteers and monetary donations. Musick and Wilson (2008) used the 1999-2001 World Values Survey (WVS) and created a mean score for each of country by combining the inverse of the fertility rate with the percentage of the society over the age of 60. This measure was a strong predictor of all types of volunteering.

*The dependency-ratio is associated with greater likelihood of volunteering (H9a) and donating money (H9b).*

#### *Rural Population*

The percentage of a societies population living in rural areas may be associated with the level of volunteering and giving in a country. It is likely that respondents in rural area lack the availability of organizations to volunteer and give money to and thus the opportunity to engage in these behaviours. This measure may also capture the degree of “traditionalism” and be correlated with the degree of agricultural development of a country, and therefore kin based volunteering and giving that other formal measures do not capture:

*A higher proportion of a society’s population living in rural areas will be associated with a lower likelihood of volunteering (H10a) and donating money (H10b).*

## **2.4 Data and Methods**

The hypotheses are tested using pooled data from the 2007 and 2008 waves of the Gallup World Poll (Gallup Inc. 2010, 2011). Individual-level data were gathered via phone or face-to-face interviews in the main language of each country, based on nationally representative samples. The data capture self reported demographics, attitudes, and behaviours of respondents, including volunteering. The GWP is a useful data source as it not only contains an unusually large sample of countries, but it also contains a standardized set of questions across all countries. Data were selected only for countries where complete information for the dependent and independent variables were available: accounting for 172, 725 individuals living in 119 countries in this study.

Two dichotomous dependent variables measuring the instance of formal volunteering and monetary donations, making logistic regression the most appropriate technique for analysing the data. All of the continuous variables are mean centred. The data are clustered where individuals live in countries, making multilevel logistic regression the most appropriate method to analyse the data (Snijders and Bosker 1999). The data contain two levels: level one is the lowest level and accounts for individual respondents; level two accounts for countries.

### **2.4.1 Dependent Variables**

The questions of interest in this study gauge whether the respondent reported any unpaid volunteering for an organization in the past month (“Have you done any of the following in the past month? How about volunteered your time to an organization?”) and any monetary donations in the past month (“Have you done any of the following in the past month? How about donated money to an organization?”). The outcome measures take the value 1 if the

respondent reported “yes” and a 0 to respondents who reported “no”. The dichotomous outcome measure accounts for the instance of volunteering and monetary giving. The descriptive statistics for this variable are displayed in Tables 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3. The average country-rate of volunteering was 23% and ranged from 5% to 47%, while the average country-rate of giving was 33% and ranged from 4% to 84%.

### **2.4.2 Independent Variables**

Basic descriptive statistics for all independent variables are displayed in Table 2.1 and the correlation matrix for contextual-level variables is displayed in Table 2.4. I first describe the independent variables of substantive interest. At the individual-level, *Religious denomination* membership was measured by the question asking respondents which religion they belonged to. I was able to create 9 categories from this question: Protestant, Catholic, Orthodox, Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, Jewish, other, and non-religious. Protestants have been found to volunteer and give more than members of other denominations, however, prior studies are typically biased towards Christian countries (Bekkers and Schuyt 2008; Bekkers and Wiepking 2011a, 2011b; Lam 2002; Ruiter and De Graaf 2006; Wuthnow 1991; Wilson 2000; Musick and Wilson 2008).

*Service attendance* was measured with the question “Have you attended a place of worship or religious service within the past seven days?”, where “yes” was coded as 1 and “no” coded 0.

At the contextual-level, two separate measures of the *ethnic diversity* and *religious diversity* of a country in 2001 are included using the Fractionalization Index (ethnic and religious fractionalization) (Alesina et al. 2003a). These measures are both calculated as the

inverse of the Herfindahl Index. They vary from 0-1, where scores of 1 indicate the highest level of ethnic/religious diversity. This data source is important as many previous studies have reported biased effects of religious pluralism that may actually be a mathematical artefact of using aggregated individual-level data as a contextual-level variable (Voas et al. 2002). This study improves on earlier work by using independent contextual level data of religious and ethnic diversity from Alesina et al.'s (2003b) original dataset.

The *income inequality* of a country was measured using the Gini coefficient (CIA Factbook 2010). Smaller values indicate less income inequality within a country, while larger values indicate more income inequality. The data from the CIA Factbook do not measure inequality in the same year across countries; however, data are available for the majority of GWP countries within a 5-year lag of 2007<sup>1</sup>. *Wilkinson's income threshold* was included as Wilkinson (1996, 2001) argued that income inequality (as opposed to absolute income) becomes the salient driver of health outcomes (and other social "bads") once countries exceed Gross National Product (GNP) levels of \$5,000 per capita in 1990. Here I operationalize this threshold as Gross Domestic Product (GDP) levels of \$5,000 per capita in 1990 (World Bank 2007a). Countries that exceed this threshold were coded as 1, while those that did not were coded as 0. Thirty-three countries exceeded this threshold.

I distinguish between respondents who belong to a *religious minority* group by including a dummy variable coded 1 if the respondent belongs to a religious group that is not the largest religious group in their country.

The *national religious devoutness* of a country is measured by aggregating (and thus averaging) the proportion of individuals that attended a religious service in the past week per

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<sup>1</sup> 17 countries had data older than 2002. Of these countries 8 had data older than 2000.

country (“Have you attended a place of worship or religious service within the past seven days?”), where “yes” was coded as 1 and “no” coded as 0). A quadratic term is also included to account for the curvilinear findings of Lim and MacGregor (2012). High values indicate that the country is relatively devout and low values indicate that the country is relatively secular. The *age structure* of a country (dependents) is measured using the Age-Dependency Ratio (World Bank, 2007b). This gauges the proportion of people younger than 15 or older than 64 to the working-age population (15-65). The data capture the proportion of dependents per 100 working-age people in each country. High values indicate more dependents (more young and old people) in that country.

The *rural population* of a country is measured using the World Bank’s data on the rural population as a percentage of the total population (World Bank 2007c). The rural population refers to people living in rural areas as defined by national statistical offices. It is calculated as the difference between total population and urban population. High values indicate a high rural population in a country.

Table 2.1. Descriptive statistics for dependent and independent variables.

	Mean	SD	Min.	Max.
<i>Dependent variables</i>				
Volunteered	0.23	0.42	0	1
Donated money	0.33	0.47	0	1
<i>Individual-level variables</i>				
Female (ref. male)	0.54	0.5	0	1
Age	39.62	17.53	15	100
Age-squared	1876.64	1640.84	225	10000
Education				
≤ 8 years	0.28	0.45	0	1
9-15 years	0.43	0.5	0	1
≥ 16 years	0.11	0.31	0	1
Unknown	0.18	0.39	0	1
Marital status				
Single	0.31	0.46	0	1
Married	0.51	0.5	0	1

A Comparative Study of Volunteering and Giving

Separated/divorced	0.05	0.22	0	1
Widowed	0.06	0.24	0	1
Cohabiting	0.05	0.22	0	1
Unknown	0.02	0.14	0	1
<b>Income</b>				
Poorest income quintile	0.16	0.37	0	1
Second income quintile	0.15	0.36	0	1
Third income quintile	0.16	0.36	0	1
Fourth income quintile	0.15	0.36	0	1
Richest income quintile	0.14	0.35	0	1
Unknown	0.24	0.43	0	1
Health	0.25	0.43	0	1
<b>Children</b>				
none	0.4	0.49	0	1
1-16 children	0.47	0.5	0	1
Unknown/unrealistic	0.13	0.34	0	1
Employed	0.45	0.5	0	1
<b>Religious membership</b>				
Catholic	0.34	0.47	0	1
Protestant	0.19	0.39	0	1
Orthodox	0.05	0.22	0	1
Muslim	0.23	0.42	0	1
Hindu	0.04	0.2	0	1
Buddhist	0.07	0.25	0	1
Jewish	0.01	0.1	0	1
Other	0.02	0.14	0	1
None	0.05	0.21	0	1
Service attendance	0.53	0.5	0	1
<i>Country-level variables</i>				
Ethnic diversity	0.46	0.26	0	0.93
Income inequality	40.86	9.29	23	70.7
Wilkinson's income threshold	0.24	0.43	0	1
Religious diversity	0.41	0.23	0	0.86
National devoutness	0.52	0.21	0.1	0.88
National devoutness squared	0.32	0.21	0.01	0.78
Age-dependency ratio	63.03	17.3	37.63	104.87
Rural population	44.39	23.08	0	89.9
Democracy	9.7	3.42	2	14
Economic development	8.59	1.3	5.87	11.21
<i>Cross-level interaction</i>				
Religious minority	0.26	0.44	0	1

Table 2.2. Mean percentage of volunteers in the past month per country

Country	% volunteers	Country	% volunteers	Country	% volunteers
Central African Rep.	47.4	Malaysia	26.4	Kazakhstan	18.2
Sierra Leone	44.8	Belize	25.9	Vietnam	18.0
New Zealand	44.0	Cameroon	25.2	Georgia	17.5
Sri Lanka	42.9	Mongolia	25.0	Syria	17.1
United States	42.7	Germany	24.7	Armenia	16.7
Guinea	41.4	Belarus	24.5	Brazil	16.3
Angola	41.0	Sudan	24.4	El Salvador	16.2
Netherlands	40.8	Indonesia	24.3	Ecuador	16.0
Liberia	40.0	Nepal	24.3	Namibia	16.0
Uzbekistan	40.0	Denmark	24.3	Ethiopia	15.9
Norway	39.7	Paraguay	24.1	Chile	15.2
Haiti	39.1	Japan	24.1	Argentina	15.2
Canada	37.9	Botswana	24.0	Spain	15.2
Australia	37.8	Trinidad & Tobago	24.0	India	15.0
Ireland	37.6	Moldova	23.6	Hong Kong	14.8
Tajikistan	36.7	Mali	23.5	Algeria	14.7
Nigeria	35.4	Nicaragua	23.2	Burkina Faso	14.6
Philippines	34.1	Rwanda	23.2	Singapore	14.4
Ghana	33.4	Peru	23.1	Pakistan	14.2
Guyana	33.1	Tanzania	22.4	Sweden	14.1
Honduras	33.0	Kenya	22.2	Iraq	13.9
Kyrgyzstan	32.9	Malta	22.1	Burundi	13.7
Djibouti	32.6	Costa Rica	21.4	Venezuela	13.6
Laos	32.4	Bolivia	21.2	Bangladesh	13.5
Azerbaijan	31.2	Benin	21.0	Madagascar	13.2
Malawi	31.2	Panama	20.7	Uruguay	12.8
Austria	31.0	Russia	20.6	Iran	12.7
Dominican Rep.	29.1	Ukraine	20.5	Niger	12.7
United Kingdom	28.8	Italy	20.5	Egypt	11.4
Senegal	28.5	Thailand	20.1	Mexico	11.2
Czech Rep.	28.3	Congo Brazzaville	20.0	Portugal	10.8
Chad	28.0	Latvia	20.0	Lithuania	10.5
Finland	27.9	Mauritania	19.9	Poland	9.9
Zambia	27.8	Uganda	19.9	Turkey	8.7
Guatemala	27.7	Colombia	19.5	Greece	7.3
Iceland	27.7	Estonia	19.4	Cambodia	7.2
Belgium	27.6	Togo	19.2	Tunisia	7.1
Luxembourg	27.5	Mozambique	18.8	Hungary	6.6
France	27.3	Israel	18.8	Romania	4.8
South Korea	27.1	South Africa	18.5	Mean	22.6

## A Comparative Study of Volunteering and Giving

Table 2.3.. Mean percentage of donators in the past month per country

Country	% donators	Country	% donators	Country	% donators
Malta	84.4	Poland	36.4	Sudan	20.3
Netherlands	81.2	South Korea	36.3	Bolivia	20.3
Ireland	79.5	Nigeria	35.5	Tajikistan	20.2
United Kingdom	75.4	Iran	35.1	Zambia	19.9
Austria	75.2	Nicaragua	34.9	Mauritania	19.9
Thailand	73.5	Ghana	33.9	Greece	19.9
Australia	72.1	Tanzania	33.9	Chad	19.7
Iceland	72.1	Djibouti	33.3	Uruguay	19.4
United States	70.1	Sierra Leone	33.2	Bangladesh	19.3
New Zealand	69.8	Pakistan	32.9	Algeria	19.1
Laos	69.6	Mongolia	31.9	Venezuela	18.6
Denmark	69.6	Philippines	30.8	Benin	18.5
Hong Kong	69.5	Spain	29.5	Rwanda	18.4
Canada	66.9	Dominican Rep.	29.3	Mozambique	18.0
Luxembourg	63.6	Malawi	29.1	Mali	17.9
Germany	59.2	Cambodia	28.6	Namibia	17.9
Sweden	58.5	Guinea	27.6	Iraq	17.3
Israel	56.2	Brazil	27.4	Tunisia	16.8
Chile	54.4	Belize	27.2	Portugal	15.7
Indonesia	52.6	Colombia	27.2	Cameroon	15.4
Italy	50.9	Angola	26.1	Uganda	14.6
Nepal	50.0	Azerbaijan	26.0	Turkey	14.4
Haiti	48.9	Japan	25.7	Latvia	14.4
Norway	48.6	Central African Rep.	24.1	Congo Brazzaville	14.3
Sri Lanka	48.1	Mexico	23.8	Romania	13.4
Honduras	47.5	Kenya	23.6	Estonia	13.3
Belgium	47.4	Hungary	22.5	Kyrgyzstan	13.0
Singapore	47.3	Liberia	22.5	Kazakhstan	11.6
Finland	47.2	Moldova	22.3	Belarus	10.2
Czech Rep.	47.0	Argentina	22.2	Burundi	9.9
France	47.0	El Salvador	22.0	Burkina Faso	9.2
Trinidad & Tobago	45.6	Peru	21.9	Lithuania	9.2
Guatemala	43.6	South Africa	21.7	Togo	8.8
Malaysia	43.5	Egypt	21.3	Madagascar	7.9
Vietnam	42.2	India	21.0	Niger	7.5
Costa Rica	40.7	Uzbekistan	21.0	Armenia	7.0
Panama	40.4	Senegal	20.9	Georgia	6.5
Paraguay	39.3	Botswana	20.8	Russia	4.8
Guyana	37.6	Ecuador	20.8	Ukraine	4.2
Syria	36.9	Ethiopia	20.6	Mean	32.6

Table 2.4. Correlation matrix between contextual-level variables

	Ethnic diversity	Income inequality	Wilkinson's income threshold	Religious diversity	National devoutness	Religious minority	Age-dependency ratio	Rural population	Democracy	Economic development
Ethnic diversity	1									
Income inequality	0.33	1								
Wilkinson's income threshold	-0.50	-0.39	1							
Religious diversity	0.28	0.06	0.10	1						
National devoutness	0.58	0.44	-0.57	0.06	1					
Religious minority	0.09	0.06	0.07	0.33	0.03	1				
Age-dependency ratio	0.63	0.25	-0.43	0.21	0.67	0.10	1			
Rural population	0.43	0.10	-0.58	0.09	0.56	-0.01	0.61	1		
Democracy	-0.40	-0.12	0.57	0.01	-0.32	0.08	-0.36	-0.49	1	
Economic development	-0.62	-0.25	0.74	-0.07	-0.68	-0.01	-0.78	-0.81	0.57	1

Now I discuss the independent variables that serve as controls. I include individual-level demographic variables that measure the gender, age, educational level, marital status, and income of respondents. *Gender* takes the value 1 if the respondent is female and 0 if male. Cross-nationally females appear to volunteer less than males (Ruiter and De Graaf 2006; Musick and Wilson 2008; Lim and MacGregor 2012), while there is no consensus in charitable giving (Reitsma et al. 2006 find that females donate less than males, while Scheepers et al. 2005 find no differences). I include *income* measured on a quintile scale as the total household income of the respondent, relative to the respondent's national average. Income is typically positively related to both measures in single nation studies (cf. Wiepking and Bekkers 2012; Wilson 2000) and comparatively for giving (Reitsma et al. 2006). *Age* is included as a continuous variable that ranges from 18 to 90. I also include a quadratic term for age to account for the curvilinear relationship found in prior studies (cf. Bekkers and Wiepking 2011a; Ruiter and De Graaf 2006; Wilson 2000).

I distinguish between level of *education* by including dummy variables coded as 1 for each education level: completed elementary education or less (up to 8 years of basic education); secondary education – 3 year tertiary/secondary education and some education beyond secondary education (9-15 years of education); completed four years of education beyond high school and/or received a 4-year college degree; and unknown. Cross-national research projects continue to suffer from the comparability of measures, especially with respect to educational measures. This chapter is no different as the dummy variables described above include large heterogeneous categories collapsed into a smaller homogenous one. This is, however, the only measure available in the GWP. Education is reported to have a positive effect on volunteering

and giving cross-nationally (Ruiter and De Graaf 2006; Musick and Wilson 2008; Lim and MacGregor 2012; Reitsma et al. 2006; Scheepers et al. 2005).

I include an indicator for *marital status* as a set of dummies indicating whether the respondent is “married”, “cohabiting”, “divorced”, “widowed”, “single” or “unknown”. Cross-nationally, Ruiter and De Graaf (2006) find that the married do volunteer more than other groups, which is also the consensus in single-nation studies of volunteering and giving (cf. Wiepking and Bekkers 2012; Wilson 2000).

*Health status* is derived from the question “Do you have any health problems that prevent you from doing any of the things people your age normally can do?”. Respondents reporting health problems were coded “1”, whereas those without were coded “0”. While the relationship between health status and volunteering has not been investigated cross-nationally, we borrow from the findings in single nation studies. Health can be viewed as a form of human capital used as a resource for monetary and non-monetary rewards. Studies have indeed found that health status is positively related with volunteering (Choi 2003; Day and Devlin 1996) and charitable motives (James 2009); Erlinghagen and Hank (2006) also find a positive association between health and volunteering in their comparative study, albeit among the elderly in 10 countries.

The *presence of children under the age of 15 residing in the household* is included as a set of dummy variables: “none”; “1-10”; and “11+/unknown/unrealistic”. School-aged children provide parents with opportunities to volunteer as they increase their social connectedness and thus the chances that they hear about or are recruited to volunteer (Lim and MacGregor 2013; Wuthnow 1998). However, young children decrease the connectedness of parents and thus the opportunities to volunteer are fewer (Borgonovi 2008; Damico et al. 1998;

Schlozman et al. 1995). Studies typically find a positive relationship between the number of children in a household and giving (cf. Wiepking and Bekkers 2012). Distinguishing the exact age of children in this study is not possible; therefore, it is not possible to test the nuances of these prior findings.

*Employment status* is included as a dummy variable indicating whether the respondent has a job, where a “1” indicates that they do and a “0” indicates that they do not. The findings from single nation studies suggest that part-time and fulltime workers are more likely to volunteer than the unemployed, but that part-time workers also volunteer more than the fulltime (Johnson et al. 2004; Lasby 2004; Sundeen and Raskoff 1994). These findings support social integration theory, whereby those that work may be more likely to volunteer by members in their relatively bigger social networks, but also that the more hours worked squeezes the available time to volunteer. This study is unable to distinguish between fulltime and part-time workers in the current study, but I still expect the net effect of social integration theory to result in a positive relationship.

At the contextual level I include controls for the level of economic development and the level of democracy. National *economic development* is included as the log of real GDP per capita in purchasing price parity for 2007 (in 1000s of constant 2005 international dollars), obtained from the World Bank (2007c). National economic development has been hypothesized to have two competing effects on volunteering. On the one hand it is hypothesized to have a positive effect on rates of volunteering for two reasons (Curtis et al. 2001; Halman 2003). Firstly, it can lead to occupational development resulting in more diverse interest groups in which people could volunteer. Secondly, affluent countries would provide people with more resources necessary to participate. On the other hand, Putnam (2000) argues that modernization

also increases the likelihood that people use technology, including television and the Internet, and women are also more likely to be active in the labour market in such countries. Putnam (2000) also argues that much of this is due to cohort replacement – younger cohorts are less likely to be engaged in pro-social behaviour. Inglehart (2003) argues that modernization leads to a shift from traditional to secular values, which discourages volunteering. There are mixed findings associated with this indicator: Parboteeah et al. (2004) found a positive effect, but Curtis et al. (2001) found no effect. Ruiters and De Graaf (2006; 2010) found a significant positive effect for voluntary membership, but no relationship for general volunteering. Norris (2002: 157) confirms a correlation between GDP in Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) and volunteering across 46 countries. Musick and Wilson (2008) used the World Bank categorization of wealth, dividing countries into low, lower-middle, upper middle, and high gross national income. Only advocacy volunteering was related, and only in low-income countries.

The level of *democracy* in a society is included as the Gastil Index (Freedom House 2007). The scores are summed for “political rights” and “civil liberties” and the scale is reversed. Scores range from 1-13, where a value of 13 represents the highest level of democracy. It is assumed that the level of democracy of a country provides the foundations of civil society and therefore the infrastructure necessary for voluntary organizations to flourish (freedom of speech, the right to assemble, free association, etc.). Volunteerism will be limited in countries that lack this foundation. Thus, a higher level of democracy will be associated with a higher instance of volunteering. Halman (2003) and Parboteeah et al. (2004) both find significant positive effects for their measures of democracy (years of continuous democracy and political rights, and degree of liberal democracy, respectively), however, both studies are

hampered by small country samples and limited variation between countries. In their larger sample, Ruiters and De Graaf (2006) actually find that democracy is negatively related to volunteering for both general volunteering and voluntary memberships, but is significant only in the former analysis. Musick and Wilson (2008) find a negative association – more volunteering occurs in less free countries. Lim and MacGregor (2012) find no relationship between level of democracy and volunteering. Gesthuizen et al. (2008) and Gesthuizen (2009) find a positive relationship between democratic history and charitable giving, however, their study only looks at a small subsample of European countries and their modelling of multiple contextual-level characteristics simultaneously may be methodologically inappropriate given the degrees of freedom problem (Snijders and Bosker 1999), although the authors do explicitly test for influential cases.

### **2.4.3 Bivariate relationships between contextual-level variables and volunteering and giving**

Before moving on to the results section, I discuss the bivariate relationships between the proportion of volunteers and givers per country and the main substantive contextual-level variables (Figures 2.1 – 2.6). Firstly the majority of the figures suggest that, while there may be a few outliers, there are no obvious ones or clusters of countries that are likely to influence the relationships, which is important given the concerns raised in previous studies (Van der Meer et al. 2010; Ruiters and De Graaf 2010). The increased country sample contained in the GWP does decrease the likelihood of this occurring, as noted by Lim and MacGregor (2012). There could be an exception to this as noted in Figure 2.3 and Figure 2.4, which display the relationship income inequality and volunteering and giving for countries below and above Wilkinson's income threshold. In these figures there are relatively few countries that exceed Wilkinson's

income threshold, meaning that the relationships could be more susceptible to outliers. There are, however, no obvious cases that appear to be influencing the relationship between income inequality and volunteering and giving, and certainly not to the extent that they were in Ruiter and De Graaf (2006).

Figure 2.1 suggests that there is no bivariate relationship between average country volunteer rate and ethnic diversity, but that the relationship between average country giving and ethnic diversity is slightly negative. Figure 2.2 suggests that there is a slight positive bivariate relationship between average country volunteer rate and religious diversity, while there is no relationship between average country giving and religious diversity. Figures 2.3 and 2.4 support Wilkinson's (1996, 2001) claims that there are different effects on outcomes for countries above and below an income threshold. The relationship between income inequality and volunteering and giving are both positive for countries below the threshold and negative for countries above the threshold. Figure 2.5 suggests that there is a slight positive relationship between average volunteer rates and dependents, while there is a negative relationship between average giving rates and dependents. Figure 2.6 indicates that there is no relationship between average volunteer rates and the rural population of a country, while there is a negative relationship between average giving rates and rural population.

Figure 2.1. The relationship between ethnic diversity, volunteering and giving across countries.

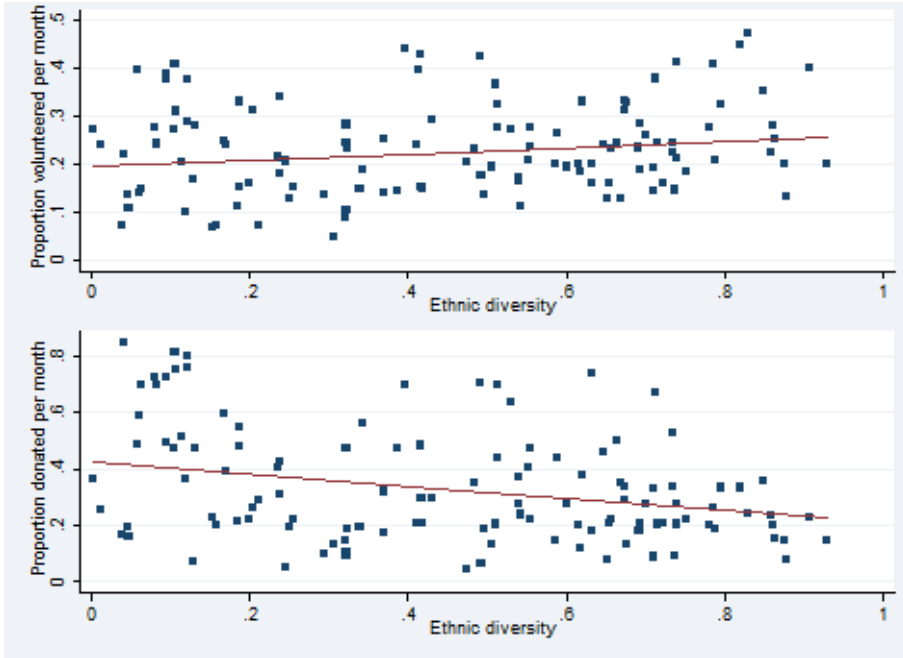


Figure 2.2. The relationship between religious diversity, volunteering and giving across countries.

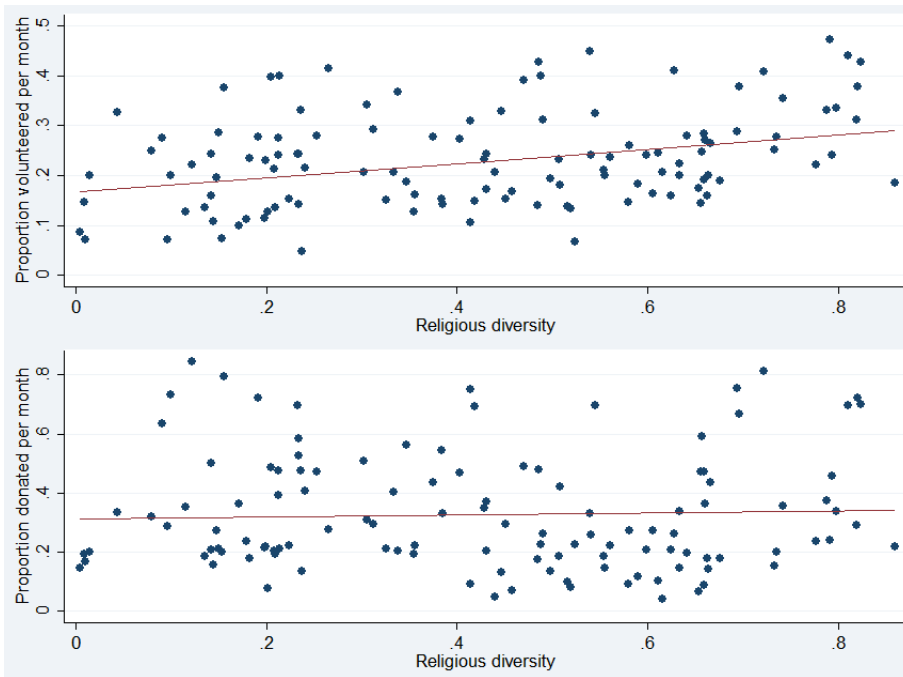


Figure 2.3. The relationship between income inequality and volunteering across countries below and above Wilkinson's income threshold.

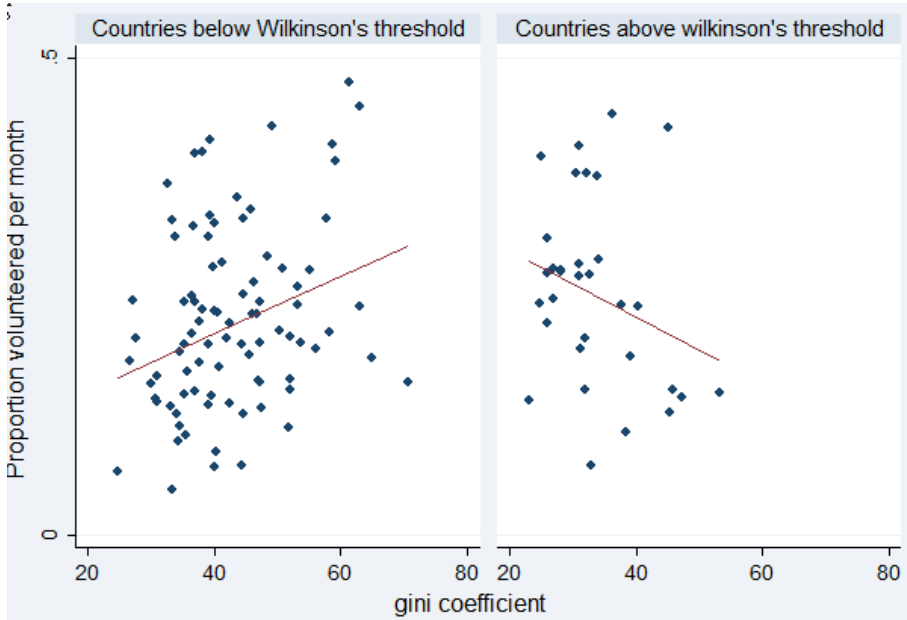


Figure 2.4. The relationship between income inequality and giving across countries below and above Wilkinson's income threshold.

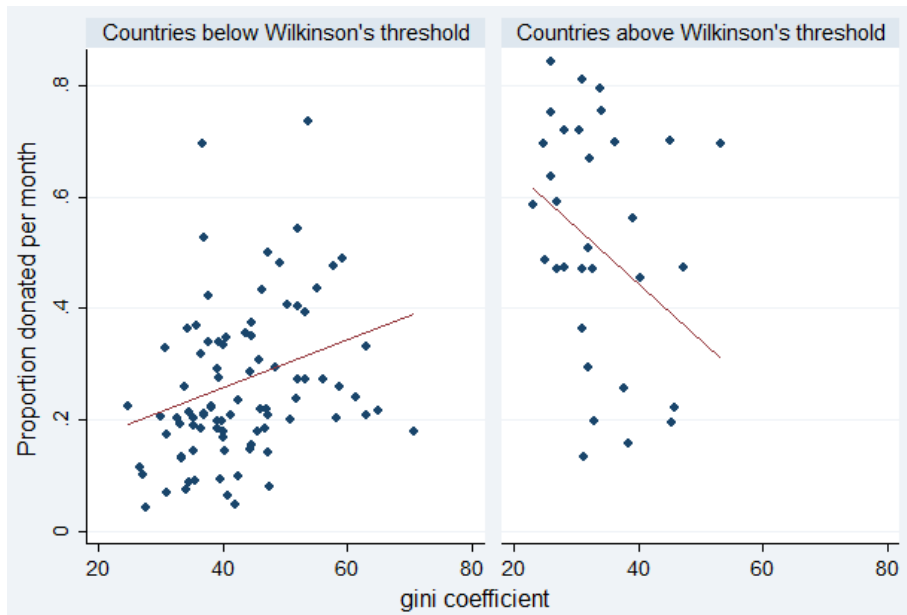


Figure 2.5. The relationship between age-dependency ratio, volunteering and giving across countries.

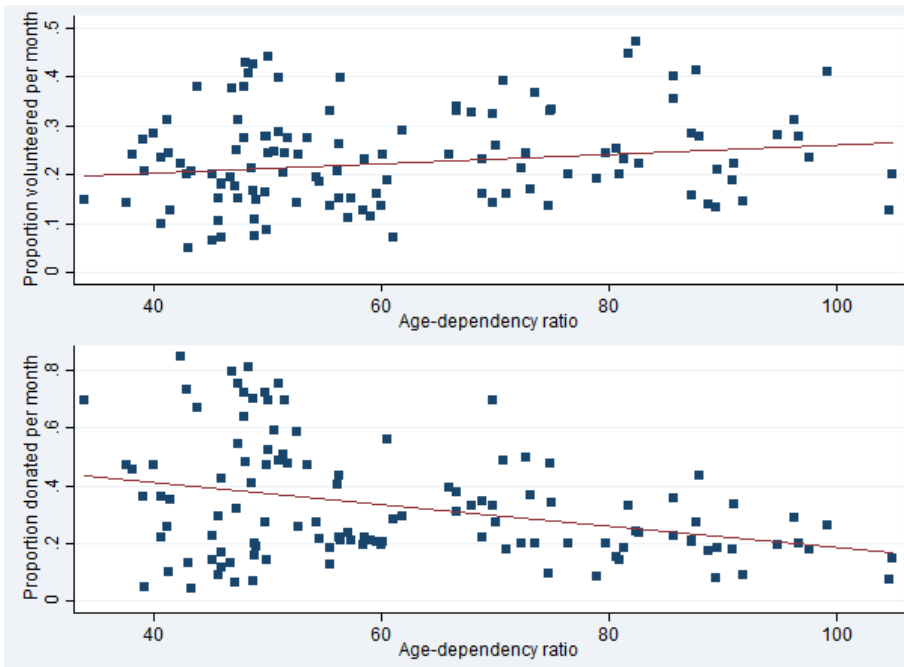


Figure 2.6. The relationship between rural population, volunteering and giving across countries.

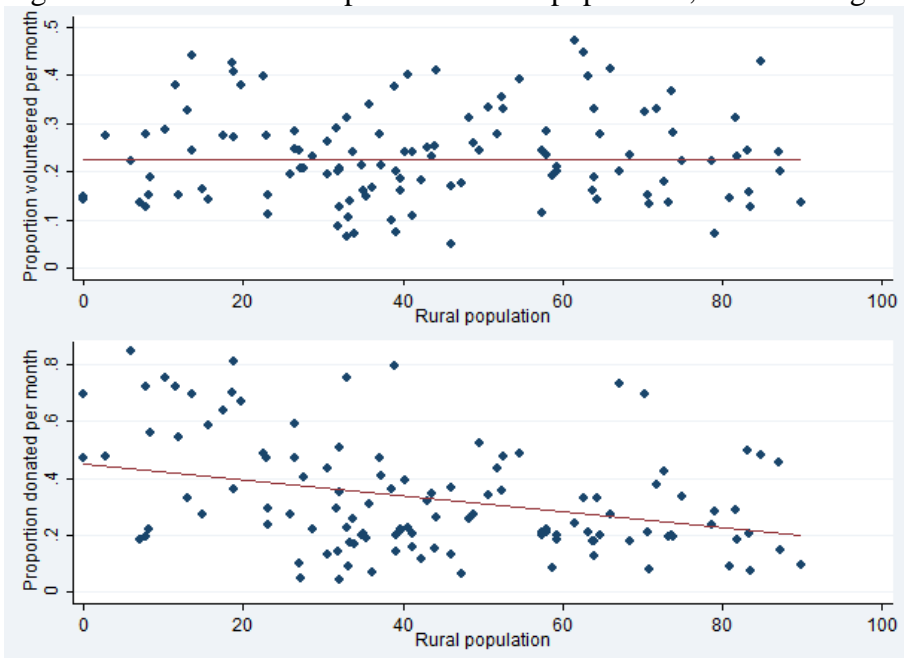


Table 2.5. Multilevel logistic regression results predicting volunteering and giving.

	Volunteering			Donating Money		
	Model 1a	Model 2a	Model 3a	Model 1b	Model 2b	Model 3b
<i>Individual-level variables</i>						
Female (ref. male)	-0.134*** (0.012)	-0.146*** (0.012)	-0.145*** (0.012)	0.071*** (0.012)	0.065*** (0.012)	0.064*** (0.012)
Age	0.020*** (0.002)	0.019*** (0.002)	0.019*** (0.002)	0.028*** (0.002)	0.026*** (0.002)	0.026*** (0.002)
Age-squared	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)
Education (ref. ≤ 8 years)						
Education (9-15 years)	0.312*** (0.017)	0.308*** (0.017)	0.308*** (0.017)	0.326*** (0.016)	0.323*** (0.016)	0.322*** (0.016)
Education (≥16 years)	0.550*** (0.024)	0.541*** (0.024)	0.541*** (0.024)	0.623*** (0.023)	0.618*** (0.023)	0.616*** (0.023)
Unknown	0.203*** (0.026)	0.213*** (0.026)	0.213*** (0.026)	0.296*** (0.025)	0.312*** (0.025)	0.313*** (0.025)
Marital status (ref. married)						
Single	0.021 (0.017)	0.027 (0.017)	0.027 (0.017)	-0.138*** (0.016)	-0.135*** (0.017)	-0.135*** (0.017)
Separated/divorced	-0.076** (0.028)	-0.043 (0.028)	-0.044 (0.028)	-0.194*** (0.027)	-0.163*** (0.027)	-0.164*** (0.027)
Widowed	-0.152*** (0.028)	-0.153*** (0.028)	-0.154*** (0.028)	-0.121*** (0.026)	-0.122*** (0.026)	-0.122*** (0.026)
Cohabiting	-0.104*** (0.030)	-0.061* (0.030)	-0.060* (0.030)	-0.195*** (0.028)	-0.154*** (0.029)	-0.155*** (0.029)
Unknown	0.016 (0.074)	0.043 (0.074)	0.040 (0.074)	-0.149* (0.066)	-0.113+ (0.066)	-0.105 (0.066)
Income (ref. third income quintile)						

## A Comparative Study of Volunteering and Giving

Poorest income quintile	-0.109*** (0.022)	-0.115*** (0.022)	-0.114*** (0.022)	-0.249*** (0.021)	-0.256*** (0.021)	-0.256*** (0.021)
Second income quintile	-0.027 (0.022)	-0.026 (0.022)	-0.025 (0.022)	-0.140*** (0.021)	-0.140*** (0.021)	-0.140*** (0.021)
Fourth income quintile	0.073*** (0.021)	0.075*** (0.022)	0.075*** (0.022)	0.123*** (0.020)	0.127*** (0.021)	0.127*** (0.021)
Richest income quintile	0.164*** (0.022)	0.168*** (0.022)	0.168*** (0.022)	0.321*** (0.021)	0.330*** (0.021)	0.330*** (0.021)
Unknown income	-0.014 (0.021)	-0.010 (0.021)	-0.010 (0.021)	-0.082*** (0.020)	-0.079*** (0.020)	-0.080*** (0.020)
Health	0.029* (0.014)	0.025+ (0.014)	0.025+ (0.014)	0.040** (0.014)	0.038** (0.014)	0.038** (0.014)
Children under 1f years (ref. none)						
1-10 children	0.045** (0.015)	0.043** (0.015)	0.043** (0.015)	-0.029* (0.014)	-0.032* (0.014)	-0.031* (0.014)
11+/unknown/unrealistic	-0.050+ (0.030)	-0.054+ (0.030)	-0.050+ (0.030)	-0.137*** (0.027)	-0.134*** (0.027)	-0.128*** (0.027)
Employed (ref. unemployed)	0.235*** (0.013)	0.236*** (0.014)	0.235*** (0.014)	0.197*** (0.013)	0.195*** (0.013)	0.195*** (0.013)
Religious membership (ref. none)						
Catholic	0.330*** (0.036)	0.139*** (0.037)	0.174*** (0.038)	0.404*** (0.034)	0.225*** (0.034)	0.230*** (0.036)
Protestant	0.442*** (0.037)	0.237*** (0.037)	0.258*** (0.038)	0.416*** (0.035)	0.217*** (0.035)	0.221*** (0.036)
Orthodox	0.347*** (0.053)	0.199*** (0.053)	0.216*** (0.053)	0.290*** (0.058)	0.141* (0.058)	0.142* (0.058)
Muslim	0.349*** (0.042)	0.133** (0.043)	0.174*** (0.043)	0.539*** (0.041)	0.335*** (0.041)	0.348*** (0.042)
Hindu	0.232*** (0.067)	0.060 (0.067)	0.101 (0.067)	0.304*** (0.061)	0.142* (0.061)	0.156* (0.061)

A Comparative Study of Volunteering and Giving

Buddhist	0.331*** (0.047)	0.234*** (0.047)	0.249*** (0.047)	0.263*** (0.043)	0.178*** (0.044)	0.189*** (0.044)
Jewish	0.214+ (0.115)	0.086 (0.116)	0.136 (0.115)	1.072*** (0.104)	0.942*** (0.104)	0.950*** (0.105)
Other	0.445*** (0.052)	0.325*** (0.053)	0.316*** (0.053)	0.328*** (0.051)	0.221*** (0.051)	0.220*** (0.051)
Service attendance		0.620*** (0.014)	0.618*** (0.014)		0.623*** (0.013)	0.623*** (0.013)
<i>Country-level variables</i>						
Ethnic diversity			0.252 (0.236)			-0.366 (0.365)
Income inequality			0.020** (0.006)			0.023* (0.010)
Wilkinson's income threshold			0.360+ (0.187)			1.121*** (0.285)
Income inequality X threshold			-0.044** (0.014)			-0.062** (0.021)
Religious diversity			0.575** (0.209)			0.127 (0.324)
National devoutness			-4.159*** (1.166)			1.407** (0.473)
National devoutness squared			3.897** (1.226)			n/a n/a
Age-dependency ratio			0.001 (0.005)			-0.012+ (0.007)
Rural population			-0.002 (0.003)			-0.000 (0.000)
Democracy			-0.024 (0.017)			-0.029 (0.026)
Economic development			-0.072 (0.085)			0.060 (0.122)

A Comparative Study of Volunteering and Giving

<i>Cross-level interaction</i>						
Religious minority			0.058*** (0.015)			0.011 (0.015)
Intercept	-1.801*** (0.067)	-1.959*** (0.067)	-2.193*** (0.077)	-1.477*** (0.098)	-1.643*** (0.099)	-2.054*** (0.107)
Country variance	-1.057*** (0.133)	-1.069*** (0.133)	-1.504*** (0.134)	-0.032 (0.131)	0.002 (0.131)	-0.619*** (0.132)
Level 1 units	172725	172725	172725	172725	172725	172725
Level 2 units	119	119	119	119	119	119
Log Likelihood	-88350.472	-87307.401	-87274.675	-94309.16	-93135.151	-93098.278
Degrees of freedom	24	25	36	24	25	35
AIC	176753	174669	174625	188670	186324	186271
BIC	177015	174941	175008	188932	186596	186643

## 2.5 Results

### 2.5.1 Predictors of volunteering

Table 2.5 displays the results predicting formal volunteering. A null model with random intercepts was initially estimated, which demonstrated the probability of formal volunteering varies over countries (not displayed). Model 1 includes individual-level controls for sex, age, age-squared, highest level of education, marital status, health status, number of children, employment status, and dummy variables representing the religious affiliation of a respondent. Hypothesis 1a states that religious affiliates will be more likely to volunteer than people with no religious affiliation. As such, respondents with no religious affiliation serve as the reference category so that the results can be interpreted as how much respondents from each religious affiliation deviate from people with no religious affiliation. The results suggest that all religious respondents are more likely to volunteer compared to the unaffiliated, supporting hypothesis 1a and earlier findings of mainly Western societies. Protestants also have the highest predicted probability of volunteering (.28), relative to Catholics (.25), Orthodox Christians (.25), Muslims (.27), Hindus (.24), Jews (.23), Buddhists (.26), and others (.27).

All but one of the control variables are influential in predicting volunteering, and confirm the associations with volunteering in previous cross-national studies (cf. Ruiters and De Graaf 2006). Females are associated with a lower likelihood of volunteering compared to males and age has a curvilinear relationship with volunteering – increasing with age but dropping off in later life. The likelihood of volunteering increases with education level and those with an “unknown” education level also have a higher likelihood of volunteering. Married people are more likely to volunteer relative to the separated/divorced, the widowed, and cohabiters. Those that are single or have an “unknown” marital status are not significantly different in their

likelihood of volunteering compared to those that are married. Those in the poorest income quintile are less likely to volunteer compared to the third income quintile, while those above the third quintile are more likely to volunteer. Surprisingly, those who report a health problem are more likely to volunteer than those that report no such problems. Respondents with 1-10 children are more likely to volunteer, while those with more than 10 are less likely. Respondents in paid work are more likely to volunteer supporting proponents of social integration theory.

Model 2 includes the effect of service attendance and suggests that attending a religious service in the past week is associated with an increased likelihood of volunteering. People who attend a religious service are nearly twice (1.86 times [ $\exp(0.620)$ ]) as likely to volunteer relative to those who do not attend a religious service, thus confirming hypothesis 2a. The estimates associated with each religious affiliation in model 1 have changed controlling for religious service attendance, decreasing considerably in size, thus supporting hypothesis 3a. This suggests that the difference between the religious and the non-religious is to a substantial extent due to service attendance. Respondents reporting a Hindu or Jewish religious affiliation are now no different from the non-religious in their likelihood of volunteering. This finding suggests that, on average, communal religious worship drives volunteering among members of these two affiliations. This could mean that services solely drive volunteering among Hindus and Jews as opportunities to volunteer are more available through networks attached to organized religion. It might suggest that Hindus and Jews that do not attend communal services are reporting their religious affiliation in terms of a cultural identity as opposed to a purely religious identity, however, this hypothesis is beyond the scope of the current research. The estimates for the other individual-level controls are largely unchanged with the exception of the

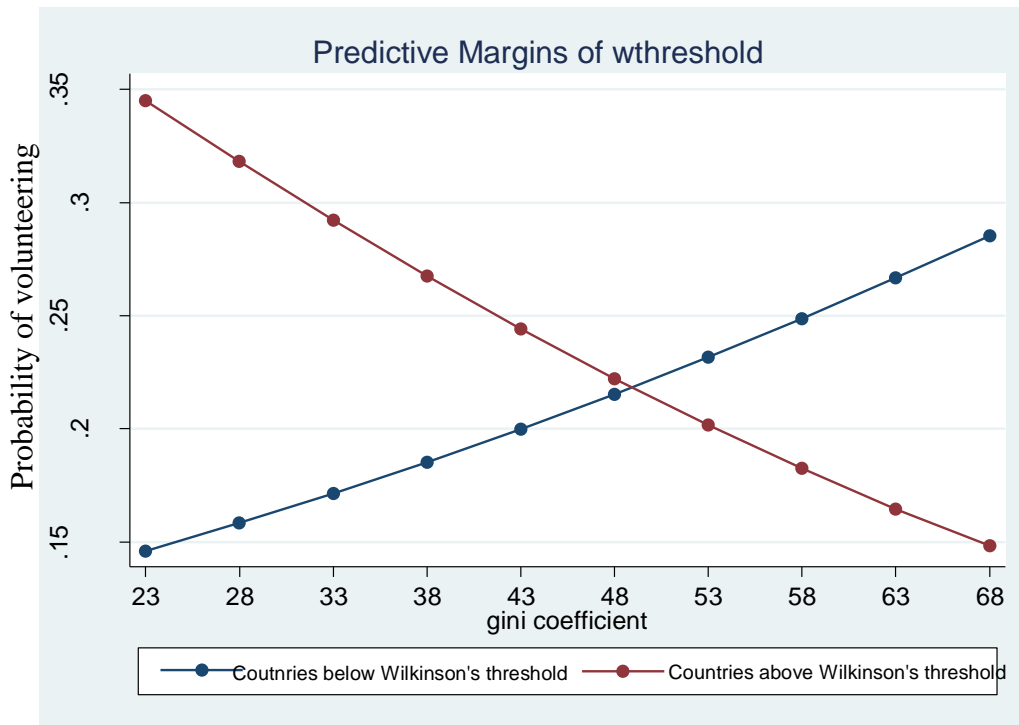
separated/divorced, who are now no different from married people in their likelihood of volunteering.

Model 3 introduces the contextual-level parameters: ethnic diversity, income inequality, a dummy for countries above Wilkinson's income threshold, religious diversity, religious minority group membership, national devoutness (and devoutness squared for the volunteering analysis), age dependency ratio, rural population, economic development and level of democracy. Models were also estimated separately with only one contextual-level variable at a time to assess the robustness of the following results, however, they did not change substantively from those presented (see Table A2.2.1 in the appendices). This is necessary given some of the high correlations between some of the country measures (see Table 2.4). There were some changes in the levels of statistical significance associated with each parameter. Hypothesis 4a states that the ethnic diversity of a country will be associated with a lower likelihood of volunteering. The results suggest that ethnic diversity is not significantly associated with volunteering, thus I fail to find support for hypothesis 4a.

I also include measures of income inequality, Wilkinson's income threshold, and an interaction term between the two measures. The interaction term serves as the coefficient for developed countries (countries above the threshold), while the main effect of income inequality is the impact of inequality for citizens of countries below Wilkinson's income threshold. I include this threshold measure as Wilkinson (1996, 2001) argues that absolute income is the main driver of social ills (health, in his earlier work) below this level, but that income inequality takes over above this threshold (operationalized as Gross National Product levels of \$5,000 per capita in 1990). The interaction term suggests that there is support for Wilkinson's hypothesis: in developed countries, increases in income inequality are associated with a

decreased likelihood of volunteering. As such I find support for hypothesis 5a. Conversely, the main effect of inequality suggests that rises in inequality are associated with a greater likelihood of volunteering in developing countries. Figure 2.1 depicts these findings. The parameters of the individual-level variables remain unchanged.

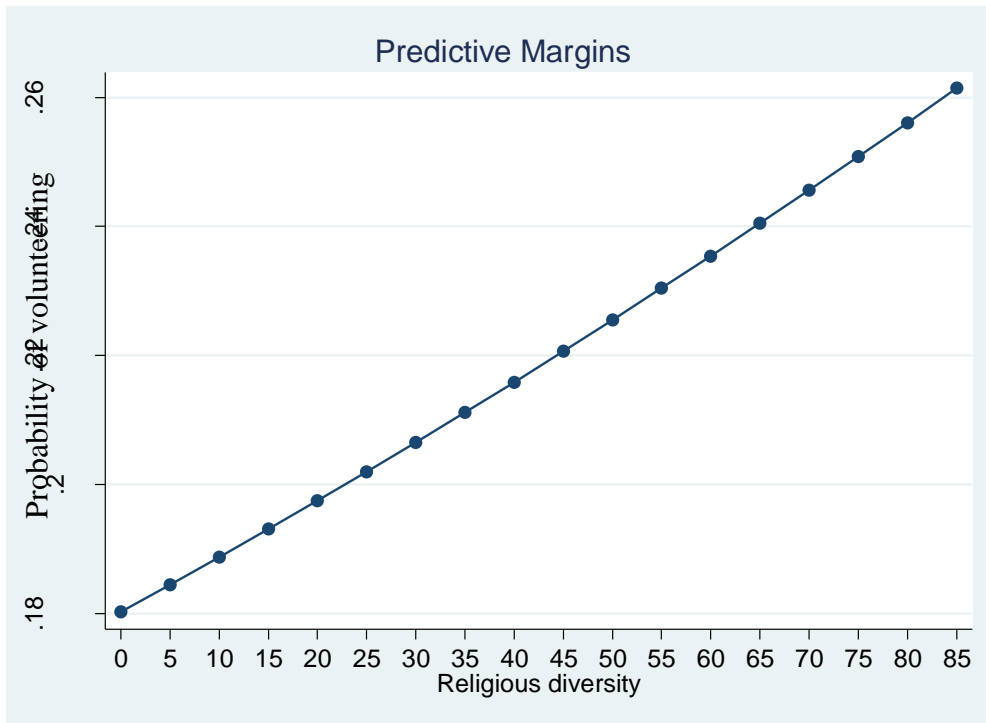
Figure 2.7. Effect of income inequality on the likelihood of volunteering for countries above and below Wilkinson’s income threshold.



Hypothesis 6a states that the level of religious diversity in a country will be associated with a greater likelihood of volunteering. The results do support this hypothesis, suggesting that the likelihood of volunteering is greater in a more religiously diverse society. Living in a society with the lowest level of religious diversity is associated with 1.18 ( $\exp[0.165]$ ) likelihood of volunteering, whereas living in the most religiously diverse society is associated

with 2.68 (exp[0.985]) likelihood of volunteering (calculated based on a normally assumed distribution where 95% of all coefficients are between  $\pm 1.96$  times the standard deviation:  $0.575 \pm 1.96*(0.209)$ , resulting in a range of 0.165 to 0.985). Figure 2.2 displays this relationship. The parameters of the individual-level variables remain unchanged.

Figure 2.8. Effect of religious diversity on the likelihood of volunteering

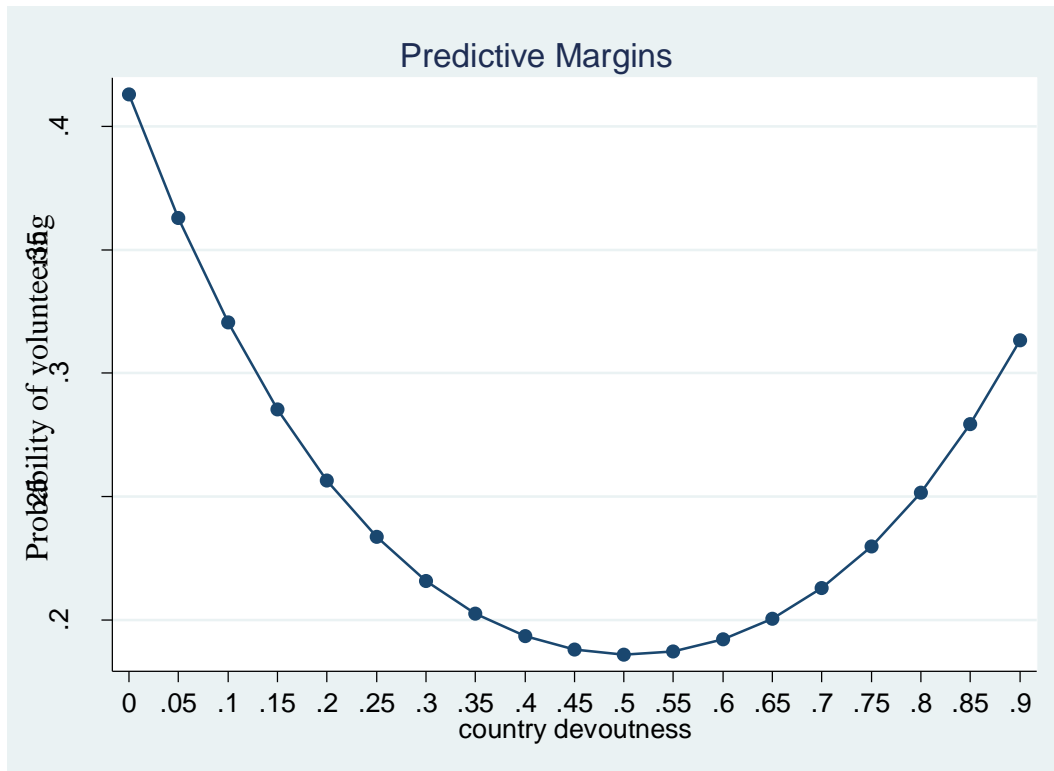


Hypothesis 7a states that belonging to a religious minority in a country is associated with a greater likelihood of volunteering. There is support for this hypothesis – belonging to a religious minority in a society is associated with a 1.06 (exp[0.058]) greater likelihood of volunteering in that society compared to a respondent who belongs to the religious majority.

National religious devoutness is associated with a curvilinear relationship with volunteering as per the recent findings of Lim and MacGregor (2012). There is a higher likelihood of volunteering in countries with low and high levels of national devoutness.

Conversely, countries with a medium level of devoutness have the lowest likelihood of volunteering. This finding challenges the network arguments of Ruiter and De Graaf (2006). This relationship is displayed in figure 2.3. Lim and Macgregor (2012) note that countries with low devoutness levels are relatively more democratic and developed whereas the opposite is true for more devout countries, and suggest that research investigates these links more explicitly. The positive effect of low levels of devoutness on the likelihood of volunteering may reflect the role of the welfare state where secular countries are more developed and have a more prominent welfare state, thus “crowding in” volunteering in the country.

Figure 2.9. Effect of religious devoutness on the likelihood of volunteering



There were no effects for the dependency ratio and the rural population of a country, failing to support hypotheses 9a and 10a, respectively. There are also no statistically significant effects for the contextual-level control variables in this and subsequent models: economic

development or democracy. Economic development is not associated with volunteering, supporting the insignificant findings of Ruiters and De Graaf (2006), Curtis et al. (2001), and Halman (2003). I fail to find a significant relationship between level of democracy and volunteering. This contradicts the findings of Halman (2003) and Parboteeah et al. (2004). This inconsistency may be due to both studies' smaller samples, limited variation, and different measures. Halman (2003) uses years of continuous democracy and political rights, whereas Parboteeah et al. (2004) use degree of liberal democracy. The results also fail to support the negative association found by Ruiters and De Graaf (2006) and Musick and Wilson (2008), who use the same measure as me. There was no support for the idea that the proportion of dependents in a society is associated with an increased likelihood of volunteering, which contradicts the findings of Musick and Wilson (2008), who found that it was a strong predictor of all forms of volunteering (service, advocacy, and religious voluntary groups). However, not only does this study look at a far greater country sample (over three times larger), this study also only looks at formal volunteering, which may explain the discrepancy. The parameters of the individual-level variables remain unchanged.

### **2.5.2 Predictors of giving**

The analysis of donating money takes the same approach as that of volunteering. A null model with random intercepts was initially estimated, which demonstrated that the probability of donating money varies over countries (not displayed). Model 1 includes individual-level controls for sex, age, age-squared, highest level of education, marital status, health status, number of children, employment status, and dummy variables representing the religious affiliation of a respondent. Hypothesis 1b states that religious affiliates will be more likely to

donate money than people with no religious affiliation. As such, respondents with no religious affiliation serve as the reference category so that the results can be interpreted as how much respondents from each religious affiliation deviate from people with no religious affiliation. The results suggest that all religious respondents are more likely to donate money compared to the unaffiliated, supporting hypothesis 1b and earlier findings of research mainly representative of Western societies. Orthodox Christians have the highest predicted probability of giving (.33), relative to Protestants (.31) Catholics (.31), Muslims (.27), Hindus (.28), Jews (.32), Buddhists (.28), and others (.27).

All but one of the control variables are influential in predicting donating money. Contrary to the prior analyses, females are associated with a higher likelihood of donating money compared to males. As with volunteering, age has a curvilinear relationship with donating money – increasing with age but dropping off in later life. The likelihood of donating money increases with education level and those with an “unknown” education level also have a higher likelihood of donating money. Married people are more likely to donate money relative to the all other marital status categories. The poorest two income quintiles are less likely to donate money compared to the third income quintile, while those above the third quintile are more likely to donate money. As with the volunteering analysis, those who report a health problem are more likely to donate money than those that report no such problems. Respondents with children are less likely to donate money compared to those without children. Respondents in paid work are more likely to donate money.

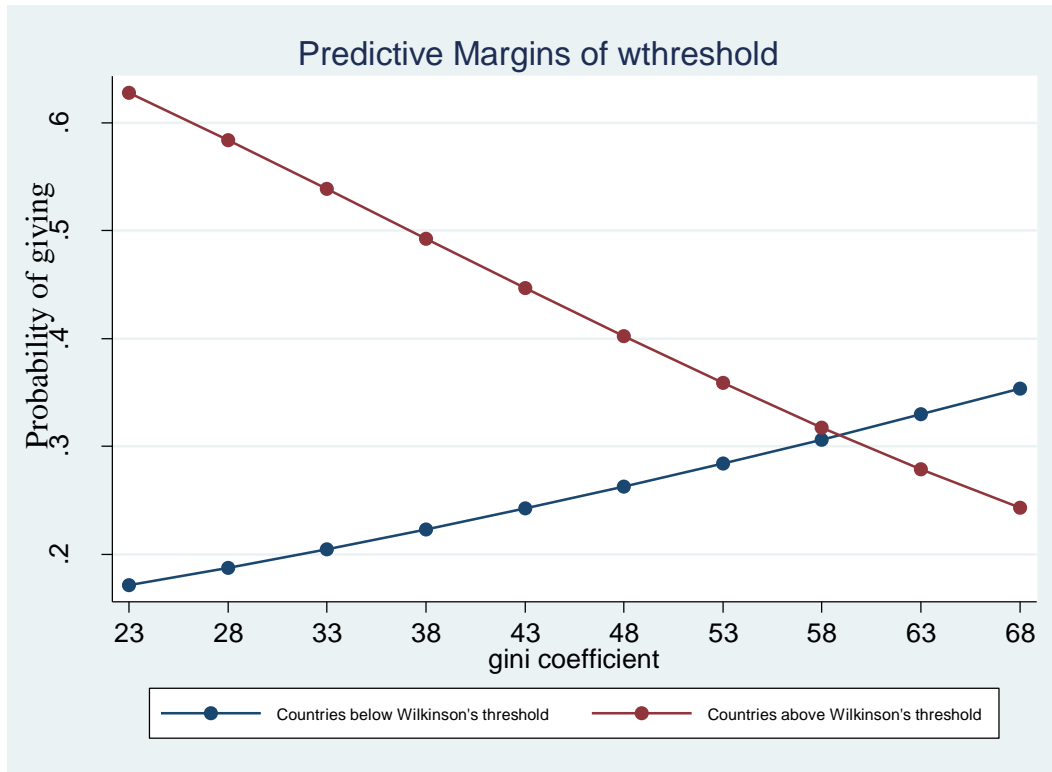
Model 2 includes the effect of service attendance and suggests that attending a religious service in the past week is associated with an increased likelihood of donating money. People who attend a religious service are nearly twice (1.86 times [ $\exp(0.623)$ ]) as likely to donate

money relative to those who do not attend a religious service, thus supporting hypothesis 2b. The estimates associated with each religious affiliation in model 1 have changed controlling for religious service attendance, decreasing considerably in size, thus supporting hypothesis 3b. This suggests that the difference between the religious and the non-religious is to a certain extent due to service attendance. The estimates for the other individual-level controls are largely unchanged.

Model 3 introduces the contextual-level parameters: ethnic diversity, income inequality, a dummy for countries above Wilkinson's income threshold, religious diversity, religious minority group membership, national devoutness, age dependency ratio, rural population, economic development and level of democracy. Hypothesis 4b states that the ethnic diversity of a country will be associated with a lower likelihood of donating money. The results suggest that ethnic diversity is not significantly associated with donating money, thus I fail to find support for hypothesis 4b.

As with the volunteering analysis, I also include measures of income inequality, Wilkinson's income threshold, and an interaction term between the two measures. Once again, the interaction term suggests that there is support for Wilkinson's hypothesis: in developed countries, increases in income inequality are associated with a decreased likelihood of donating money. As such I find support for hypothesis 5a. Conversely, the main effect of inequality suggests that rises in inequality are associated with a greater likelihood of donating in developing countries. Figure 2.4 depicts these findings. The parameters of the individual-level variables remain unchanged.

Figure 2.10. Effect of income inequality on the likelihood of donating money for countries above and below Wilkinson’s income threshold.

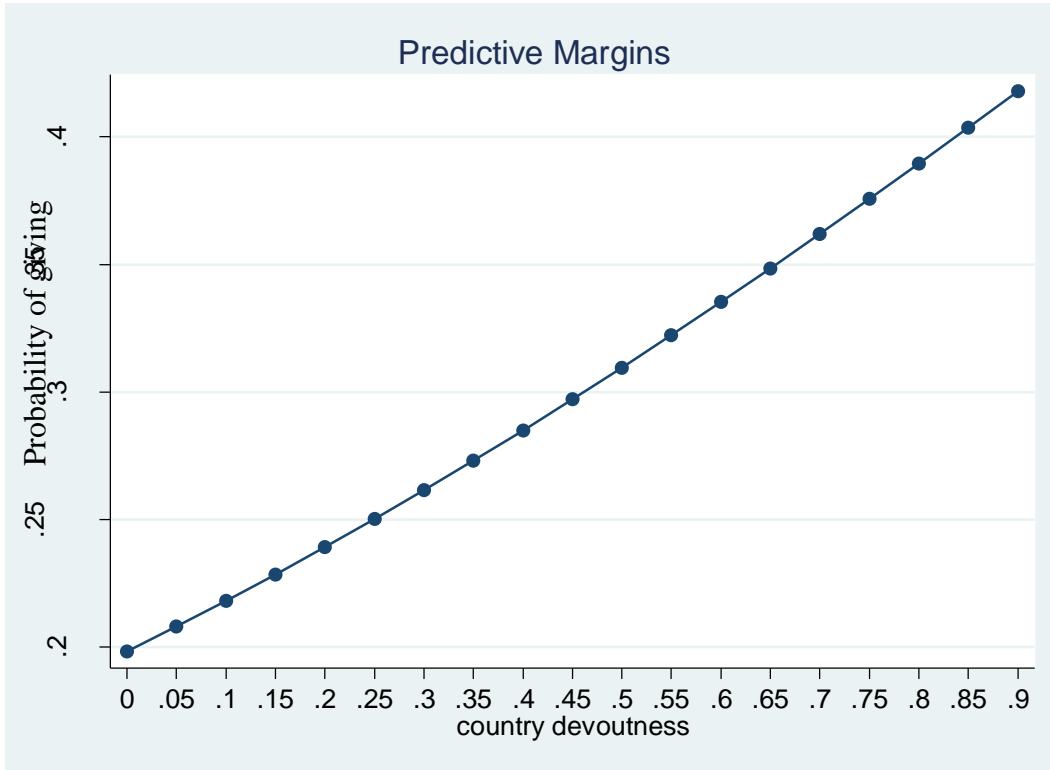


Hypothesis 7b states that belonging to a religious minority in a country is associated with a greater likelihood of donating money. These results fail to find support for this hypothesis.

Hypothesis 8a stated that national religious devoutness would be associated with a greater likelihood of donating money. The results support this hypothesis – an increase in religious devoutness is associated with an increase in the likelihood of donating money. Living in a society with the lowest level of religious devoutness is associated with 1.62 ( $\exp[0.480]$ ) likelihood of giving money, whereas living in the most religiously devout society is associated with 10.32 ( $\exp[2.334]$ ) likelihood of donating money (calculated based on a normally assumed distribution where 95% of all coefficients are between  $\pm 1.96$  times the standard deviation:  $1.407 \pm 1.96*(0.473)$ , resulting in a range of 0.480 to 2.334). Figure 2.5 displays this

relationship. The parameters of the individual-level variables remain unchanged. This finding supports the network arguments of Ruiter and De Graaf (2006) and thus supports hypothesis 7b.

Figure 2.11. Effect of religious devoutness on the likelihood of donating money



There were no effects for the dependency ratio and the rural population of a country, failing to support hypotheses 9b and 10b, respectively. There are also no statistically significant effects for the contextual-level control variables in this and subsequent models: economic development and democracy.

Models were also estimated separately to assess the robustness of the country-level estimates (see table A2.2.2 in the appendices). There were some interesting differences between the simultaneous estimates and the separate estimates. Table A2.2.2 suggests that in

model 5 the separate estimate for dependents in a country is negatively associated with giving, however the substantive significance of the parameter does not differ from the full model (the standard error changes). Likewise, the rural population (model 6) of a country is negatively associated with giving, while economic development (model 7) and democracy (model 8) are both positively associated with giving when estimated separately. The correlation matrix demonstrates some high correlations between some of the contextual measures, and the loss of their statistical significance in the saturated models suggests that there may be a high degree of multicollinearity between these measures and the shared variance they explain in giving. This is particularly the case between economic development, democracy, rural population, and Wilkinson's income threshold. This demonstrates the importance of the model building strategy in this area of research as well as controlling for relevant theoretical variables. These results are also interesting given that the estimates did not change across simultaneous (saturated model) and separate estimations in the volunteering analysis. Future research should consider these estimation issues and the implications they have on theory development.

## **2.6 Conclusion**

This research has made substantive theoretical and empirical progress by testing a number of contextual explanations of volunteering among a diverse sample of countries. This chapter provides a thorough cross-national test of the individual-level background and societal contextual-level explanations of volunteering and donating money. It has done so using a large sample of 119 countries and, as such, has not only been able to generalize previous findings across more societies than ever before, but it has also tested novel contextual-level explanations of volunteering *and* charitable giving.

## A Comparative Study of Volunteering and Giving

Interestingly, although this is one of the first studies to look at giving and volunteering simultaneously in a comparatively perspective, most of the individual-level attributes do have the same effects across both measures of pro-social behaviour and can thus be generalized as mechanisms for the wider construct of philanthropy. The shared profile of a volunteer and charitable giver is someone who is middle aged, more educated, married, richer, healthier, and a religious service attendee. This is useful for academics and policy makers when they want to paint a picture of what the average attributes of an individual philanthropist look like.

The research found that the religiously affiliated were more likely to volunteer and donate money than the unaffiliated. These findings demonstrate that although religious traditions vary widely in terms of their traditions and doctrine, the norms of altruism and stewardship common to all major religious traditions influence the likelihood of volunteering for all. A subsequent model suggests that religious service attendance may account for a significant degree of the association between the religiously affiliated and non-affiliated. This finding is also consistent with the hypothesized mediating role of networks because the initial associations for religious affiliates reduce in size once service attendance is included in the model. This finding highlights that while religious traditions are qualitatively unique in terms of the roles of service attendance and communal worship, there is something similar between all religions when their congregations worship together collectively in terms of the influence it has on service attendance. Here religious networks are likely to increase the opportunities of hearing about and being asked, and even pressured to volunteer and give by members of their religious affiliation.

Interestingly, controlling for service attendance, respondents with a Hindu and Jewish affiliation are no more likely to volunteer than the unaffiliated. This finding suggests that, on

average, communal worship drives volunteering among members of these two affiliations. This could mean that services solely drive volunteering among Hindus and Jews as the opportunities to volunteer increase through networks attached to organized religion. It might also suggest that Hindus and Jews that do not attend communal services are reporting their religious affiliation in terms of a cultural identity as opposed to a purely religious identity.

The social environment of the countries that people live in also influences decisions to volunteer and give. The chapter suggests that the level of ethnic diversity in a society is not associated with a decreased likelihood of volunteering or charitable giving. This challenges the notion that ethnic diversity encourages “hunkering down” among individuals, resulting in less social cohesion in a society (Putnam 2007). There was also no association between the level of democracy, economic development and age structure of a society and the likelihood of individuals volunteering or donating money.

There was support for Wilkinson’s relative income hypothesis, which argues that social inequality is associated with a number of health and social ills. As predicted, income inequality was associated with a lower likelihood of volunteering and giving for countries that were above Wilkinson’s absolute income threshold. This is a relatively novel explanation of volunteering and giving that has not been applied to explanations of volunteering but is all the more relevant given the importance stressed by government officials and policy makers on the role of Third Sector activity in the creation of social cohesion and social capital. We therefore recommend scholars to use this measure in future research in order to test the robustness of our finding. Time will tell how country modernization and developmental trajectories affect the findings here. For example, as countries begin to develop, Wilkinson’s theory suggests that they too will face the adverse effects of income inequality. As such, Wilkinson’s predictions do not bode

well for the future of volunteering and giving, and social cohesion more generally, suggesting that lower civic engagement is destined for these countries without significant macro-economic governmental intervention.

There is evidence suggesting that more religious diversity in a society is associated with higher levels of volunteering, however, it is not associated with monetary donations. These findings support those of Borgonovi (2008) in US counties, albeit at the country-level in the current study. An important conclusion is that it highlights the generalizability of this explanation from the county-level to the country-level. A point of departure between this study and Borgonovi (2008) is that the latter was able to distinguish between volunteering and giving for a religious cause and volunteering and giving for a secular cause, of which only the measure of religious volunteering was significantly associated with religious diversity. This raises the question as to whether the GWP measure is capturing a high proportion of religious volunteering. Future work should focus on this distinction and whether religious diversity encourages all forms of volunteering – cross-nationally and in European contexts - especially as the religious marketplace in the USA can be considered a relatively unusual case study.

Belonging to a religious minority group in a country was associated with a greater likelihood of volunteering, but was not associated with donating money. The inclusion of this indicator was motivated by work in social identity theory (Tajfel 1979; Tajfel and Turner 1979) arguing that the strength of commitment and group solidarity amongst members of a minority religion should be greater. It follows that members of a religious minority group are more sensitive to group norms, especially the mobilization of collective in-group causes such as volunteering. An interesting question for future research is whether volunteering behaviour by

minority groups is less likely to spillover into other forms of volunteering for non-minority groups.

These findings raise some important questions. That religious affiliates and service attendees are more likely volunteer than the non-religious and those that do not attend services means that the process of secularization could be detrimental to the future of volunteering. In the short term, it may mean that the religious do more volunteering to compensate for the lack of secular involvement or indeed do so to maintain the interests of their group. It is uncertain what this means for the long-term future of volunteering. On the one hand, secularization may cause religious involvement in volunteering to fizzle out. On the other hand, internal and external migration may counteract this process to some degree. The data suggest that individuals are more likely to volunteer in more religiously heterogeneous countries. As migration rates increase and countries become more diverse, there may be an increase in volunteering. This may counteract the process of secularization to some degree in terms of sustained levels of volunteering. Furthermore, these migrants may well comprise of the minority religion in a country or local area, which may encourage them to volunteer more as shown in this research. Future research should explore the consequences of these findings. For example, while religious heterogeneity and belonging to a religious minority group may increase the likelihood of volunteering, it may do so to a greater extent for causes related to the religious in-group. This may result in homogenous in-group interactions and limited out-group interactions and have further implications for civil society. In sum, the findings suggest that individual and contextual aspects of religion are likely to remain important characteristics of volunteering for the foreseeable future.

National religious devoutness was associated with an increased likelihood of volunteering, however, so was a low level of devoutness, which challenges the network spillover arguments posited by Ruiters and De Graaf (2006). The authors argued that a higher proportion of religious adherents in a society increases the likelihood of volunteering for everyone in a society because there is a greater probability that a service attendee will be in your network and thus diffuse information about volunteering opportunities or indeed ask people to get involved in efforts they take part in. However, this mechanism is challenged as in a secular society there are less religious people in a network to diffuse information through, yet there is also a high likelihood of volunteering in these countries as well. This could suggest that secular people mobilize to compensate for the lack of religious people that would otherwise be volunteering. However, the countries that make up the secular countries are also more democratic and have established welfare states. On the one hand, the crowding out hypothesis argues that state provision of social services and obligations makes citizens less likely to participate in formal and informal collective outcomes such as volunteering. In other words, citizens volunteer less in a society where the state provides substitutes in the form of visible social welfare commitments. On the other hand, the crowding in hypothesis argues that a developed welfare state increases the civic participation and volunteering of citizens due to increased normative and structural opportunities to do so from state support. The findings in the current research could suggest that the welfare state “crowds in” participation in these countries, which is why involvement in volunteering is also more likely here (see Van Oorschot and Arts 2005 for a discussion of this, albeit for a limited sample of 23 European countries). Perhaps the welfare state “crowds in” participation in these countries, which is why involvement in volunteering is also more likely here. Complete information on all forms of

welfare expenditure, such as public healthcare, education, pensions and unemployment is unavailable for such a diverse group of countries in the GWP. This is clearly an interesting area for future research but is ultimately beyond the scope of this chapter.

Religious devoutness was, however, associated with a strong positive effect on donating money. Contrary to the volunteering analysis, the donating results support the network spillover arguments posited by Ruiter and De Graaf (2006). This finding must be interpreted with caution as demonstrated with Lim and MacGregor (2012) in their ecological investigation of volunteering and religious devoutness at multiple levels of analysis. Future research should focus on these findings and reconcile the differences across both measures of philanthropy and at lower geographical areas as per Lim and MacGregor (2012) to ascertain whether a network spillover exists or if, like Ruiter and De Graaf (2006), this finding also falls victim to the ecological fallacy.

While this chapter uses a unique data set that captures an unusually large sample of countries, it is not without its limitations. Comparative survey programs are likely to face problems in terms of recall and social desirability, as well as the difficulty of translating a question accurately into the language and cultural context of such a broad range of countries. Furthermore, the survey design will illicit different responses across datasets that may be the result of question wording, interview method, and question ordering within an interview. For example, asking a number of related questions on civic engagement or pro-social behaviour may “prime” respondents to remember other types. However, the lack of priming may make the responses less culturally biased between countries. All of these issues in the current data as well as the methodological approaches between survey data sets make it hard to ascertain and validate the “true” rates of volunteering and giving.

Similarly, the question wording of the dependent variable is problematic as it only gauges *formal* organizational volunteering and it does not differentiate between specific types of volunteering or whether the volunteering is done for religious or secular causes. An “organization” may be an ambiguous term and responses will depend on what is interpreted as an organization by the respondent; for example, whether a charity or religious group count as organizations. Given the scope of the GWP, what accounts for volunteering culturally or historically when a respondent is surveyed is problematic, and is even more so when definitions vary between countries or when the concept is not translatable.

Socio-political factors between countries may influence the findings. For example, in some countries volunteering for Third Sector parties has been normalized as taboo, made illegal by governments, or is associated with a high degree of bureaucratic “red tape” inhibiting mobilization and involvement (Govaart et al. 2001). A wide range of other voluntary outlets may also exist, which may under or over represent the level of different forms of volunteering that occurs in a society. As such, unorganized and unofficial grass-root volunteering may be more prevalent in such a society, and volunteering may be narrower in scope towards kinship and family networks (Govaart et al. 2001). In such a case the measure of volunteering used in this study may capture a low degree of formal volunteering that occurs in the country, but may underrepresent a thriving network of informal voluntary behaviour that occurs. Given the cross-national scope of the GWP these factors may bias responses between countries.

These caveats may also result in discrepancies between national and cross-national datasets, the instance of which is already well documented for less abstract social constructs such as marital status or voting preferences. The question may also be sensitive to positive response bias given that for many countries in the GWP volunteering and other pro-social

behaviours are socially desirable activities (Govaart et al. 2001). As such, people may overestimate how much they volunteer if such deeds are honoured and esteemed. Not having a list to choose from of volunteer activities and organizations may affect recall rates – it may lead to under biased estimates because respondents are not primed about relevant activities in which they may have participated (Rooney et al. 2004).

All of these issues in this section raise concerns about the quality and comparability of data. While the descriptive results of country rates of volunteering are of interest, this study is concerned with the underlying explanations associated with the likelihood of volunteering. The robustness of these individual-level associations are thus a) compared to the findings of Ruiter and De Graaf (2006) in the first instance as the data used in their study are from the World Values Survey/European Values Survey, which are widely used in the social sciences; and b) subsequently restricted to the available country list used by Ruiter and De Graaf (2006). The findings of the current results do not substantively change between these sample specifications. Furthermore, the aggregate rates of volunteering could be easily verified with the expansion of other existing datasets using standardized questions and definitions. Until then, or indeed until governmental or independent statistics agencies collect official statistics on Third Sector behaviour in developing countries, the GWP may provide the best data available for comparatively testing individual and contextual explanations of volunteering across such a wide representation of countries.

While this chapter is far from exhaustive in the search for a better understanding of the comparative study of volunteering and giving, it is an important first step that addresses a number of criticisms and limitations of previous investigations. The hope is that this study will provide a benchmark for future research and suggests that context plays a crucial role in

volunteer and giving behaviour. Future work should investigate how individual-level characteristics change across countries. For example, this study demonstrated that on average females have a lower likelihood of volunteering compared to men; however, the differences between men and women might be smaller in more economically advanced countries where women presumably have more rights and have more extensive networks (such as work networks). Similarly, there is concern that rising income disparities will lead to lower levels of civic participation among the lowest income brackets. For example, this chapter demonstrated that the lowest income groups volunteer and give less, and that living in a more unequal society also decreases participation. However, to assess whether there are growing income disparities, one needs to investigate whether the lowest earners participate less in countries with high levels of inequality.

## **Chapter 3: How Do Gender, Education, and Income as Explanations of Volunteering and Giving Vary Across Countries?**

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### **3.1 Abstract**

This chapter explores the interplay between background characteristics and the social environment in decisions to volunteer and give globally. This research builds on previous studies and the findings from the previous chapter and asks three questions relating to the interplay between the social environments of countries that people live in and their gender, level of education and income in volunteering and giving engagement. Firstly, are females more likely to volunteer and give in more egalitarian societies? Second, do the lower educated volunteer and give more in societies with higher levels of education? Third, are income differentials in the likelihood of volunteering and giving more pronounced in more unequal societies? This research finds that females are more likely to volunteer and give in societies that exhibit more gender equality, and the lower educated are more likely to volunteer in more educated societies, but that they are not more likely to give in these societies. There is no support for the idea that income disparities in volunteering and giving are exacerbated in more socially unequal societies: in other words, the lower educated are not less likely to volunteer or give in socially unequal societies. This research provides a better understanding of the antecedents of volunteering and giving by exploring how individual-level and contextual-level characteristics interact.

### **3.2 Introduction**

The main aim of this chapter is to explore the ways in which the social environment affects the relationship between background characteristics and volunteering and giving behaviour. The previous chapter supported prior research that suggests education, income and gender are important explanations of volunteering and giving (Wilson 2000, 2012; Musick and Wilson 2008; Bekkers and Wiepking 2011; Wiepking and Bekkers 2012), however, it did so by using a large comparative dataset capturing data that is more representative of the world. In doing so it was able to demonstrate the average effects of these characteristics across a large proportion of the world. Likewise, the previous chapter also demonstrated the importance of exploring the role of social context of people in shaping decisions to volunteer and give money by simultaneously testing the generalizability of previous contextual explanations alongside new ones. However, the role of background (individual-level) characteristics may change or be moderated depending on country-level attributes. This chapter builds on the theoretical and empirical work of previous studies and asks three research questions. First, do females volunteer and give more in countries where there is more gender equality? Second, do the lower educated volunteer and give more in a society with a higher average level of education? Third, do income differentials increase as the social inequality of a society increases, resulting in lower educated citizens volunteering and giving less in more unequal societies? These questions have been explored before, but using a small range of societies, typically fewer than 30 countries contained in either the World Values Survey, Eurobarometer, International Social Survey Programme, and European Social Survey, all of which fall short in their representations of citizens more globally and the countries that they live in.

The importance of exploring these questions is all the more relevant given the

differentials in gender, education level and income level in terms of social mobility, stratification and life chances. Social mobility is a topic central to the social sciences, and the general consensus is that females typically fare worse than males in terms of their life chances (Buchmann 2008), as do the lower educated and lower earners (Breen and Jonsson 2005; Buchmann 2001). Likewise, investigating how structural and institutional characteristics of societies interact with these individual level characteristics is all the more relevant given discussions that volunteering and giving themselves have benefits for individuals (Musick and Wilson 2008) and society (Salamon et al. 2011). As such, volunteering and giving may themselves perpetuate aspects of social mobility and stratification if such behaviour is also stratified by gender, education level and income level and thus the opportunities to participate are not equal among social groups. At the individual level, volunteering and giving may result in increased upward mobility (Musick and Wilson 2008; Prouteau and Wolff 2008; Ruiter and De Graaf 2009; Wilson and Musick 1999, 2003) as charitable organizations enable volunteers to acquire human capital skills that are directly or indirectly transferable between the voluntary post and a paid job, increasing the employability of the volunteer over and above any prosocial signals sent to employers. Volunteering and charitable giving activities can also expand the social networks of volunteers, and offer access into other social domains and status groups such as politics and employment (Granovetter 1973, 1995). Furthermore, volunteering and giving can also be regarded as forms of cultural capital that can result in tangible rewards such as prestige and social status (Verba et al. 1995; Wilson and Musick 1997). Wilson and Musick (1997) argue that civic engagement can be regarded as a form of cultural capital because it signals superior tastes and preferences, allowing those that possess this capital to differentiate themselves from those who have not made the same investments (or who are less able to signal

this effectively). Furthermore, volunteering is also associated with higher levels of physical and mental wellbeing (Binder and Freitag 2013; Li and Ferraro 2005; Meier and Stutzer 2006; Musick and Wilson 2003; Piliavin 2002; Thoits and Hewitt 2001), greater voluntary and political activity in later life (McFarland and Thomas 2006; Verba et al. 1995). As such, it is important to better understand the antecedents of volunteering and giving by exploring how individual-level and contextual-level characteristics interact. If gender, income and education are significant explanations of volunteering and giving, and volunteering and giving have material benefits to those that take part (Ruiter & de Graaf 2009), then it is important to understand the institutional characteristics of a society that may exacerbate or moderate these differentials. In what follows, I discuss the previous work related to how the individual-level characteristics of gender, education, and income are affected by country-level characteristics in predicting volunteering and giving. These theories are combined with the findings from the previous chapter to derive and test hypotheses using data contained in the GWP.

### **3.3 Social context and gender differences in volunteering and giving**

A growing body of work has focused on the effects of gender in volunteering and giving that moves beyond including this characteristic as a control variable by exploring if and why there are differences between males and females (Einolf 2006; 2011; Mesch et al. 2006; Mesch et al. 2011; Musick and Wilson 2008; Wiepking and Bekkers 2012; Wiepking and Einolf 2012; Wilson 2000). However, there is no consistency as to whether there are gender differences in the patterns of volunteering and giving in single-nation studies, which include a wide range of outcome measures including, the instance or amount of money or time given, the type of organization volunteered for or donated to, etc. (see Wiepking and Einolf 2012). There does

appear to be more consistency among comparative studies whereby females typically volunteer less (see previous chapter; Lim and Macgregor 2012; Ruiters and De Graaf 2006), however, findings remain inconsistent in terms of giving (in the previous chapter females were more likely to donate, however Wiepking and Einolf (2012) and Scheepers et al. 2005 find no differences, and Reitsma et al. 2006 find that females donate less than males).

That empirical studies fail to consistently find that females do not volunteer and give more than males is something of a puzzle given that females score higher on characteristics such as prosociality and empathy (See Einolf 2006, 2011 and Mesch et al. 2011 for overviews). Wiepking and Einolf (2012) also find that human, social and cultural resources influence female and male volunteering and giving differently and that there are gendered pathways into such behaviour.

The previous chapter found that females are less likely to volunteer compared to males, but that they are more likely to give than males. This finding may be the most authoritative analysis of the relationship between gender and volunteering and giving given the cross-national scope of the GWP, albeit with the usual caveats related to methodology and questionnaire design (i.e. sampling bias, social desirability bias, recall bias, question wording). These findings may demonstrate that the social networks of females and males differ cross-nationally and that this results in the discrepancy. For example, if females are less integrated in employment networks they will have fewer opportunities to volunteer and give. This may be exacerbated if females are discriminated against or if there are norms against their social and economic participation (which is discussed explicitly in terms of country-level gender empowerment below). However, females may be more integrated in religious or informal social networks, which may increase their opportunities to engage, at least in terms of their giving

behaviour which does not require the same publicly visible participation. The contrast between lower female rates of volunteering but their higher rates of giving may reflect limited opportunities to mobilize in volunteering due to norms or male dominated social hierarchies, however, their giving behaviour may not be inhibited to the same extent as volunteering because a monetary donation is relatively easier to do and does not require the same time commitment and active participation in social networks that volunteering does. In other words, females may be restricted by social norms, institutional barriers and lower levels of social capital in terms of their volunteering opportunities, but not so in terms of giving, and would lend support to the comparative rates of volunteering and giving found in the previous chapter.

The focus here is on how gender interacts with country-level characteristics, and to hypothesize how female and male rates of volunteering and giving are affected by these country-level characteristics. The level of female empowerment differs cross-nationally and there is good reason to think that this country-level characteristic will explain gender differences in volunteering and giving (Themudo 2009). Economic development will, on average, be associated with greater female empowerment and thus more rights and enhanced social roles and social integration for females, such as labour force participation, and thus larger social networks and social capital. Social capital and the networks in which people are embedded is a powerful mechanism predictive of volunteering and giving as larger networks increase the chances of hearing about or being asked to participate in these opportunities (Bekkers 2005; Bekkers and Wiepking 2011b; McPherson et al. 2001; Musick and Wilson 2008). Diverse, high-status networks are associated with higher levels of, and a broader range of, voluntary and giving behaviours (Bekkers and Schuyt 2008; Wiepking and Maas 2009). Thus, gender inequality in a society makes it harder for women to participate in workday life.

Themudo (2009) finds that Third Sector participation is higher among women in societies where they enjoy more political and economic power, over and above individual-level characteristics, suggesting that female participation in public life is a reasonable explanation for lower cross-national rates of volunteering and giving (Themudo 2009: 672).

However, there are a number of caveats in Themudo's study. Firstly, the inferential analysis in the study only comprises 30 countries and fails to capture a wider range of countries not contained in the World Values Survey. The study also restricts the analysis to females and no effort is made to compare male rates of volunteering in egalitarian societies or how they differ from those of females. Likewise, egalitarianism is operationalized using the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Gender Empowerment measure, capturing the proportion of female seats in parliament; management positions held by women; and women's share of earned income. A richer measure of empowerment could also include the maternal mortality rate and adolescent fertility rate, and secondary and higher education parity between the sexes. It is not clear why these measures were truncated from Themudo's (2009) analysis, but they are included here. The current study also addresses Themudo's (2009) call for generalization to a wider sample of countries:

“...Although the evidence presented [above] provides some initial support for this theory, further empirical research based on different data is essential in testing its predictive power.” (Themudo 2009: 678)

The previous chapter demonstrated that, on average, females are less likely to volunteer compared to males, but that females are more likely to donate money compared to males. Given the overview of previous research, it can thus be hypothesized that the level of female empowerment will also be predictive of engagement:

*Females will be more likely to volunteer and give in more economically developed and*

*gender equal societies (H1).*

### **3.4 Social context and educational differences in volunteering and giving**

Do educational differentials in volunteering and giving vary by the average level of education in a society? In other words, while higher educated individuals are more likely to volunteer and give, does this effect vary according to the level of education in a society? Previous studies find a positive, robust and consistent effect of education on volunteering and giving (for extensive reviews see Wilson 2000, 2012; Musick and Wilson 2008; Bekkers and Wiepking 2011; Wiepking and Bekkers 2012). This is attributed to a number of factors, including a) higher human capital skills that make the highly educated more likely to have the cognitive competencies to carry out volunteer work, b) increased desirability to volunteer groups, who see the highly educated as valuable resources for the activities and organization of the group, and thus the likelihood that they are asked to volunteer, c) the likelihood that they are more outwardly looking and eager to contribute to community orientated outcomes (Bekkers and Wiepking 2011b; Gesthuizen and Scheepers 2012; Smith 1994; Wilson 2000; Musick and Wilson 2008). There are also socialization effects of education whereby educational attainment is transmitted inter-generationally, i.e. the highly educated are more likely to have highly educated parents (Blau and Duncan 1967) – thus if highly educated parents are more likely to volunteer and give for the above reasons, then their children will also inherit these traits *and* model the behaviour of their parents (Bandura 1986). Previous studies do find that children with highly educated parents are more community orientated and possess more social capital (Bekkers 2007; Gesthuizen 2006). Homophily also dictates that network self-selection also

increases these processes as the highly educated are also more likely to have highly educated friends, thus facilitating opportunities that they will volunteer or give.

Parboteeah et al. (2004: 433) apply network theories and argue that citizens are more likely to volunteer if they are exposed to more benevolent values associated with those that are educated. In a society with a higher proportion of highly educated citizens, norms of collective community focused mobilization should be more prevalent and thus provide an additional boost over and above individual-level education and encourage volunteer and giving participation. Musick and Wilson (2008) also find that the effect of education on volunteering is relative and that this social and human capital resource is more pronounced depending on the environment in which the individual is nested. Gesthuizen et al. (2008) found that higher levels of education are associated with both more formal (organization membership, participation in organizations, donations to organizations) and informal (meeting with friends, meeting with colleagues, meeting with neighbours, and informal help) social capital, and further theorized that the average level of education in a society (the authors refer to this as “educational expansion”) would effect the association between individual education and both forms of social capital. As such, Gesthuizen et al. (2008) hypothesized that the lower educated would have higher levels of formal and informal social capital in societies with higher levels of average education. According to their network theory, in a highly educated society, the level of social capital among the lower educated will be higher because there is a higher likelihood that higher educated members are a part of their social networks, thus increasing the likelihood that the higher educated encourage or ask the lower educated to engage (Gesthuizen et al. 2008). As such, the differences in social capital between the lower and the higher educated will be smaller in highly educated countries.

Gesthuizen et al. (2008) find that the association between individual-level education and social capital is moderated by the level of education at the national level. Their measures of formal social capital include donating money, voluntary organization membership and volunteering. The degree of variation in education expansion is small in their study of 28 European countries and should be generalized to a greater subset of countries that are more representative of the world and include more variation in education attainment and expansion. This study provides this generalization and extends the work of Gesthuizen et al. (2008) to hypothesize that:

*The lower educated will be more likely to volunteer and give in more educated societies (H2).*

### **3.5 Social context and income differences in volunteering and giving**

Is a rise in social inequality between societies associated with increasing differences in volunteering and giving between income groups? At the individual-level, income increases the likelihood and amount of giving because the cost of donating money is lower the more income they earn (see Bekkers and Wiepking 2011; Wiepking and Bekkers 2012). In terms of volunteering, a higher income could be seen as an opportunity cost to an individual as they forego their earning power, however, income is typically positively associated with volunteering (Musick and Wilson 2008; Wilson 2000, 2012). Thus, the distribution of income results in stratified levels of civic participation, which can in itself increase the life chances of individuals who engage. The previous comparative chapter also found a positive relationship between income and volunteering, where each quintile increase in the money earned was associated with a greater likelihood of volunteering and giving. Likewise, the previous chapter

demonstrated that social inequality at the societal level has a negative effect on volunteering and giving for citizens of developing countries, over and above the resources available at the individual and contextual levels. This raises the question as to how social inequality at the societal level interacts with income at the individual level in terms of volunteering and giving and whether inequality exacerbates these individual-level income differences. More specifically, are citizens with low income less likely to volunteer and give in societies with higher levels of social inequality than citizens with low income in societies with lower levels of social inequality?

To briefly paraphrase the argument that inequality has an additional negative effect on community cohesion and participation over and above individual and contextual resources available to individuals: greater differences in social status and the unequal access to collective goods and services in a society are associated with more status anxiety and conflict that result in a more disengaged citizenry therein. Greater differences in goals and opinions between citizens results in less trust and less collective action and participation in a society because the underlining conditions of such behaviour – equal status, repeated interactions and shared goals - are not met, which is detrimental for social and community cohesion (Allport 1979). Furthermore, in a more unequal society its citizens become disenchanted with perceived levels of political and economic inefficacy and opt out of community engagement (Rothstein and Uslaner 2000; Uslaner and Brown 2005; Wilkinson and Pickett 2009).

However, there is reason to think that the income effect is not uniform across societal levels of social inequality. Lower income groups will retreat from civic life more in an unequal society compared to a more equal society because the higher level of inequality exacerbates the effect of social deprivation (Lancee and Van Der Werfhorst 2012; Neckerman and Torche

2007; Rothstein and Uslaner 2000; Uslaner and Brown 2005; Wilkinson and Pickett 2008, 2009). In other words, individuals from a lower income bracket may be more aware of the inequality and lack of opportunities in a more unequal society than in a more equal society. As such, they will retreat from formal community mobilization, such as volunteering and giving (Pichler and Wallace 2007), becoming less civically engaged than a citizen from a more equal society that commands the same level of income. Inequality thus magnifies differences in volunteering and giving between income groups, and thus levels of social cohesion, where the most vulnerable are at an increased risk of disengagement. This effect has been found in a number of studies including, mortality in the US (Wilkinson and Pickett 2008), voting in 19 Italian regions (Scervini and Segatti 2012), perceived social status in 26 Chinese provinces and cities (Zhao 2012), and in comparative studies that investigate social and civic participation (Lancee and Van De Werfhorst 2012) and support for democracy (Anderson 2012) in 24 and 35 countries, respectively. The current study thus expands on this literature and generalizes the theoretical contributions to volunteering and giving behaviour in the large number of countries contained in the Gallup World Poll to hypothesize that:

*People with lower income will be less likely to volunteer and give in countries with more income inequality (H3).*

### **3.6 Data and Methods**

The hypotheses are once again tested using pooled data from the 2007 and 2008 waves of the Gallup World Poll (Gallup Inc. 2010, 2011). Data were selected only for countries where complete information for the dependent and independent variables were available, however, to ease the interpretation on the cross-level interactions and the estimation procedure, cases were

dropped that reported “unknown” for levels of education or income, resulting in a reduction in individual-level cases from the previous chapter. The samples vary between analyses as country information for average education level<sup>2</sup> and gender inequality<sup>3</sup> are missing for some countries. Furthermore, to ease interpretation dummy variables for education (low education vs. medium and high education) and income (low income vs. medium and high income) were also created. See below for a full discussion of these coding changes.

Once again, two dichotomous dependent variables measuring the instance of formal volunteering and monetary donations are used, making logistic regression the most appropriate technique for analysing the data. All of the continuous variables are mean centered. The data are clustered where individuals live in countries, making multilevel logistic regression the most appropriate method to analyse the data (Snijders and Bosker 1999). The data contain two levels: level one is the lowest level and accounts for individual respondents; level two accounts for countries.

### **3.6.1 Dependent Variables**

The questions used to measure the instance of volunteering and giving in this chapter are the same as in the previous chapter. Respondents were asked if they had taken part in any unpaid volunteering for an organization in the past month (“Have you done any of the following in the past month? How about volunteered your time to an organization?”) and whether they had donated money in the past month (“Have you done any of the following in the past month?

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<sup>2</sup> Countries dropped in gender analysis: Algeria, Angola, Belarus, Brazil, Djibouti, Egypt, Ethiopia, Germany, Guinea, Hong Kong, Iraq, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mexico, Nigeria, Paraguay, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Uzbekistan, Vietnam.

<sup>3</sup> Countries dropped in education analysis: Algeria, Brazil, Germany, Hong Kong, Iraq, Liberia, Malawi, Mexico, Paraguay, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Vietnam, Uzbekistan, Zambia,

How about donated money to an organization?”). The outcome measures take the value 1 if the respondent reported “yes” and a 0 to respondents who reported “no”.

### 3.6.2 Independent Variables

The independent variables used in the study are coded and measured in the same way as in the previous chapter. I first describe the independent variables of substantive interest. At the individual level the variables required to test the hypotheses are gender, highest level of education, and income level. *Gender* takes the value 1 if the respondent is female and 0 if male. I distinguish between level of *education* by including a dummy variable coded 1 if completed elementary education or less (up to 8 years of basic education); and 0 if completed secondary education (3 year tertiary/secondary education and some education beyond secondary education (9-15 years of education) or four years of education beyond high school and/or received a 4-year college degree. I include *income* measured on a quintile scale as the total household income of the respondent, relative to the respondent’s national average, however, I then collapse this scale into a dummy variable to account for *lower income* (coded 1) and *medium* and *high* income (coded 0). The models in the previous chapter demonstrated a linear relationship between quintiles making this technique appropriate. More practically, this method saves computational time as the current analysis with three random slopes across countries takes seven days per model. Analysing the five-point scale would require assistance from a supercomputer. Furthermore, the interaction effects can be interpreted more efficiently using this coding format, as can the hypothesis tests. As already mentioned, respondents who reported “unknown” levels of income and education were dropped from the data to ease interpretation of results.

At the contextual level, national *economic development* is included as the log of real gross domestic product (GDP) per capita in purchasing price parity for 2007 (in 1000s of constant 2005 international dollars), obtained from the World Bank (2007c).

The *Gender Inequality Index* (UNDP 2007a) is included as a measure of gender disadvantage in a society and measures reproductive health (maternal mortality ratio and the adolescent fertility rate), empowerment (the share of parliamentary seats held by each sex and by secondary and higher education attainment levels) and labour market disadvantage (women's participation in the work force), and ranges from 0 (women and men are equal) to 1 (women are men are completely unequal). The descriptive statistics for this variables are: Mean = .42, SD = .18, Range = .05 - .74.

*Average education* in a society is measured using the education component of the Human Development Index (UNDP 2007b). Societal average education is thus measured as mean of years of schooling for adults aged 25 years and expected years of schooling for children of school entering age. Gesthuizen et al. (2008) refer to this measure as "education expansion" in a society. The descriptive statistics for this variables are: Mean = .61, SD = .21, Range = .16 - .99.

The *income inequality* of a country was measured using the Gini coefficient (CIA Factbook 2010). Smaller values indicate less income inequality within a country, while larger values indicate more income inequality. The data from the CIA Factbook do not measure inequality in the same year across countries; however, data are available for the majority of GWP countries within a five-year lag of 2007<sup>4</sup>.

The controls account for the individual and contextual-level variables included in the previous chapter. At the individual level I include religious denomination membership,

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<sup>4</sup> 17 countries had data older than 2002. Of these countries 8 had data older than 2000.

religious service attendance, marital status, health status, presence of children under the age of 15 residing in the household, and employment status. At the contextual level I include controls for the level of democracy, ethnic diversity and religious diversity, Wilkinson's income threshold (1996, 2001), religious minority, national religious devoutness of a country, the age structure of a country, and the rural population of a country.

### **3.7 Results**

#### **3.7.1 Gender differences in volunteering and giving across countries**

Among the many findings in the last chapter, the likelihood of volunteering for females was, on average, lower than that of males, however the likelihood of donating money among females was, on average, higher than that of males. Based on the previous theoretical and empirical work, I hypothesized that the gender empowerment/equality within a society should increase the roles and rights of females and thus their levels of volunteering and giving within these societies should be greater compared to females in societies where they are less empowered/equal. Gender empowerment in countries has been measured as two separate measures to test the robustness of findings: economic development (GDP) and the Gender Inequality Index (GII). Higher values of GDP indicate more economic development in a society, while lower values on the Gender Inequality Index indicate more equality. Accordingly, if females are more likely to volunteer and give in societies where they are more empowered, we should find a positive coefficient for Female X GDP (model 1a and 1b), indicating that females are more likely to volunteer and give in economically developed countries than they are in less economically developed countries, and a negative coefficient for Female X GII (model 2a and 2b), indicating that females are less likely to volunteer and give in

societies with lower levels of female empowerment than females in countries with higher levels of empowerment. I include a random coefficient for females, which allows this parameter to vary across countries in order to appropriately test the cross-level interaction dictated by the theory. While not presented, these models do also include full individual and contextual-level controls presented in the previous chapter, which do not substantively change. Table 3.1 displays the results. Both models do indeed support hypothesis 1: females are more likely to volunteer and give in societies with economic development and female empowerment. One caveat to this analysis is that there is only support for this hypothesis in terms of volunteering and the measure of gender equality (model 2a) at the .10 level of statistical significance.

Table 3.1. Multilevel logistic regression results predicting volunteering and giving cross-level interaction effects for females and males across levels of economic development and gender inequality.

	Volunteered		Donated money	
	Model 1a	Model 2a	Model 1b	Model 2b
<i>Individual-level variables</i>				
Female	-0.175*** (0.023)	-0.177*** (0.030)	0.044* (0.02)	0.312*** (0.046)
<i>Contextual-level variables</i>				
Gross Domestic Product (GDP)	-0.200* (0.085)	-0.215* (0.107)	0.180 (0.132)	0.217 (0.177)
Gender Inequality Index (GII)		-0.571 (0.690)		0.027 (1.144)
<i>Cross-level interactions</i>				
Female X GDP	0.048** (0.017)		0.086*** (0.015)	
Female X GII		-0.245+ (0.130)		-0.629*** (0.105)
Constant	-2.356*** (0.272)	-2.252*** (0.337)	-2.965*** (0.422)	-2.936*** (0.544)
<i>Variance components</i>				
Female	-0.638***	-0.697***	-0.206**	-0.194**

## A Comparative Study of Volunteering and Giving

	(0.075)	(0.078)	(0.072)	(0.074)
Level 1 Units	136,635	101,054	136,635	101,522
Level 2 Units	119	97	119	97
Log Likelihood	-53455.591	-50559.052	-56244.797	-53733.453
AIC	106971	101180	112550	107529
BIC	107258	101475	112837	107824

*Individual-level controls:* age, age-squared, education ( $\leq 8$  years, 9-15 years,  $\geq 16$  years), marital status (single, married, separated/divorced, widowed, cohabiting), income (lowest income level, middle income level, highest income level), self-reported health, children in household (none, 1-16 children, unknown/unrealistic), employed, religious denomination (Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, Jewish, other, none), service attendance.

*Contextual-level controls:* ethnic diversity, religious diversity, income inequality, Wilkinson's income threshold, national devoutness, age-dependency ratio, rural population, democracy.

### 3.7.2 Educational differences in volunteering and giving across countries

The previous chapter demonstrated that the likelihood of both volunteering and giving increases with higher levels of education. The literature review suggested that this effect is not uniform across countries and that network arguments can be employed to test whether the lower educated would be more likely to volunteer and give in a society that had a higher level of education. The education level of a society is measured using the education component of the Human Development Index (HDI), where higher values indicate a higher average level of education in the country. Accordingly, if the lower educated are more likely to volunteer and give in societies with a higher average level of education, I should find a positive coefficient for the lower education X average country education interaction term (as previously mentioned, to simplify the interpretation, I have included education as a dummy variable which compares the lower educated to the medium *and* higher educated collapsed into a single category). I include a random coefficient for the education level dummy variable in the equation, which allows this parameter to vary across countries to appropriately test the cross-level interaction. Table 3.2 displays the results. Model 2a suggests that that the lower educated are indeed more likely to volunteer in more educated societies. However, this is not the case for donating money

(model 2b). Thus, there is support for hypothesis 3 in terms of volunteering, but no support in terms of donating money. Both of these findings support the earlier work of Gesthuizen et al. (2008).

Table 3.2. Multilevel logistic regression results predicting volunteering and giving cross-level interaction effects for levels of education across levels of educational expansion

	Volunteered		Donated money	
	Model 1a	Model 2a	Model 1b	Model 2b
<i>Individual-level variables</i>				
Education (ref. 9-16+ years)				
Education ( ≤ 8 years)	-0.363*** (0.019)	-0.625*** (0.084)	-0.394*** (0.019)	-0.388*** (0.102)
<i>Country-level variables</i>				
Average education	1.086* (0.522)	1.360 (0.533)	-0.950 (0.835)	-0.906 (0.832)
<i>Cross-level interactions</i>				
Education ( ≤ 8 years) X Average education		0.432** (0.138)		-0.038 (0.161)
Constant	-2.829*** (0.475)	-2.530*** (0.469)	-1.809* (0.755)	-1.857* (0.753)
<i>Variance components</i>				
Education (ref. 9-16+ years)				
Education ( ≤ 8 years)		-0.704*** (0.073)		-0.205** (0.071)
Level 1 Units	105338	105338	105819	105819
Level 2 Units	104	104	104	104
Log Likelihood	-53849.358	-53812.584	-56866.982	-56827.107
AIC	107753	107685	113788	113714
BIC	108011	107973	114047	114002

*Individual-level controls:* age, age-squared, gender, marital status (single, married, separated/divorced, widowed, cohabiting), income (lowest income level, middle income level, highest income level), self-reported health, children in household (none, 1-16 children, unknown/unrealistic), employed, religious denomination (Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, Jewish, other, none), service attendance.

*Contextual-level controls:* ethnic diversity, religious diversity, income inequality, Wilkinson’s income threshold, national devoutness, age-dependency ratio, rural population, democracy.

### **3.7.3 Income differences in volunteering and giving across contexts**

The previous chapter demonstrated that the likelihood of both volunteering and giving increased with higher levels of income. The literature review suggested that this effect may not be uniform across countries and that in countries with higher levels of social inequality these income differentials would grow as the status of low income citizens is more salient in unequal societies, causing them to retreat from public and civic life due to feeling a lack of socio-political efficacy and disenchantment. If citizens with lower levels of income are less likely to volunteer and give in societies with a higher levels of social inequality, I should find a negative coefficient for the low income X social inequality interaction term. I include a random coefficient for the income dummy variable in the equation, which allows this parameters to vary across countries to appropriately test the cross-level interaction. Table 3.3 displays the results. Both models fail to support hypothesis 4 as the cross-level interactions between individual-level income and country-level inequality are insignificant. These findings support those of Anderson (2012), but challenge those of Lancee and Van Werfhorst (2012). The findings are further complicated by the fact that the previous chapter suggests that social inequality has different main effects for developing countries and developed countries. Likewise, the number of interaction terms between main effects complicates the interpretation. Perhaps the cross-level interaction effects will be present when analysing them separately for developing countries and developed countries. Table 3.4 provides this robustness check and displays further results for more parsimonious models, however, the results have not changed.

Table 3.3. Multilevel logistic regression results predicting volunteering and giving cross-level interaction effects for levels of income across levels of income inequality

	Volunteered time Model 1a	Donated money Model 1b
<i>Individual-level variables</i>		
Income (ref. medium and high)		
Low income	-0.153*** (0.027)	-0.334*** -0.033
<i>Country-level variables</i>		
Wilkinson's threshold	-0.153*** (0.006)	-0.600 (0.694)
Income inequality	0.011+ (0.006)	0.027** (0.010)
<i>Country-level interactions</i>		
Inequality X W. threshold	-0.062*** (0.014)	-0.106*** (0.023)
<i>Cross-level interactions</i>		
Low income X inequality	0.004 (0.003)	0.000 (0.003)
Constant	-1.958*** (0.070)	-1.828*** (0.101)
<i>Variance components</i>		
Income variance (ref. Medium and high)		
Low income variance	-0.764*** (0.074)	-0.215** (0.071)
Level 1 Units	136635	136635
Level 2 Units	119	119
Log Likelihood	-54288.15792	-57234.49
AIC	108634	114527
BIC	108912	114805

*Individual-level controls:* age, age-squared, gender, education ( $\leq 8$  years, 9-15 years,  $\geq 16$  years), marital status (single, married, separated/divorced, widowed, cohabiting), self-reported health, children in household (none, 1-16 children, unknown/unrealistic), employed, religious denomination (Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, Jewish, other, none), service attendance.

*Contextual-level controls:* ethnic diversity, religious diversity, income inequality, Wilkinson's income threshold, national devoutness, age-dependency ratio, rural population, democracy.

Table 3.4. Multilevel logistic regression results predicting volunteering and giving cross-level interaction effects for levels of income across levels of income inequality for countries above and below Wilkinson’s income threshold

	Countries above Wilkinson's threshold		Countries below Wilkinson's threshold	
	Volunteered	Donated	Volunteered	Donated
<i>Individual-level variables</i>				
Low income (ref. medium and high)	-0.053 (0.051)	-0.419*** (0.076)	-0.177*** (0.034)	-0.327*** (0.042)
<i>Cross-level interactions</i>				
Low income X inequality	0.008 (0.005)	-0.002 (0.007)	0.004 (0.003)	0.001 (0.004)
Constant	-2.668*** (0.447)	-3.119*** (0.642)	-1.931*** (0.104)	-1.912*** (0.131)
<i>Variance components</i>				
Income variance (ref. Medium and high)				
Low income variance	-0.754*** (0.143)	-0.269* (0.134)	-0.711*** (0.086)	-0.294*** (0.084)
Level 1 Units	44713	44713	91922	91922
Level 2 Units	36	36	83	83
Log Likelihood	-12395.252	-13373.050	-41845.751	-43763.669
AIC	24841	26796	83742	87577
BIC	25042	26998	83975	87811

*Individual-level controls:* age, age-squared, gender, education ( $\leq 8$  years, 9-15 years,  $\geq 16$  years), marital status (single, married, separated/divorced, widowed, cohabiting), self-reported health, children in household (none, 1-16 children, unknown/unrealistic), employed, religious denomination (Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, Jewish, other, none), service attendance.

*Contextual-level controls:* ethnic diversity, religious diversity, income inequality, national devoutness, age-dependency ratio, rural population, democracy.

### 3.8 Conclusion

This research has built on the findings of the previous chapter and has applied theories from previous research to test claims that gender, education and income vary cross-nationally by societal characteristics. More specifically, this research asked whether females are more likely

to volunteer and give in societies where they are more empowered. It also asked whether the lower educated are more likely to volunteer and give in societies with a higher average level of education. Lastly, this research asked whether citizens with lower levels of income are less likely to volunteer and give in societies with a higher level of social inequality. In answering these questions, this research is able to make theoretical generalizations to a more representative number of individuals and societies than previous studies. Furthermore, the countries included capture a wider range of institutional and structural variation in the important societal characteristics than in previous studies. As such, the research provides a deeper understanding of the antecedents of volunteering and giving and how people's decisions to volunteer and give are influenced by their social environments (i.e. how individual-level characteristics interact with contextual-level characteristics to predict these behaviours).

The importance of exploring these questions was motivated in part by the policy implications given widening differentials in gender, education and income in terms of social mobility and stratification, especially as volunteering and giving are associated with a host of positive outcomes for the individual as well as for society. As such, it is important to understand how country-level structural and institutional characteristics affect participation and how volunteering may perpetuate differentials in social inequality.

This research found that females are more likely to volunteer and donate money in societies with higher levels of female empowerment and gender equality. This suggests that the institutional factors associated with the rights and roles of women within a society play an important role in their levels of civic engagement. Previous studies have explored these explanations in smaller, relatively homogenous country samples (Themudo 2009). This research question also responded to remarks calling for greater generalization of findings to

data that captures a more representative sample of citizens and societal conditions worldwide. While we are a long way from gender parity, the results may have implications for the workday lives of females as countries continue to develop, thus increasing their opportunities. However, that there are still statistically significant differences between men and women in terms of volunteering – the more social element of civic engagement – in even the most gender equal and advanced societies is a cause for concern given the positive outcomes associated with collective behaviour and extended networks. This still presents a puzzle given the higher levels of altruism and empathy attributed to females (Einolf, 2006, 2011; Mesch et al. 2011). Future waves of the GWP will hopefully contain more detailed individual-level information on motivations and social capital to more appropriately explore the interaction between these and the institutional and contextual characteristics of countries dealt with in the current study (cf. Wiepking and Einolf 2012 forthcoming for such an analysis, albeit among a small sample of EU countries). The data used here also lack the distinction between volunteering and donating for different types of organizations. These distinctions will clearly have implications for the findings here, especially volunteering; for example, country gender empowerment may increase participation in cultural organizations, but may not increase participation in political or trade union groups. Furthermore, it would be interesting to look at data that captures the frequency of participation or amount given to organizations. It would also be valuable to link female civic participation to Third Sector size, funding and efficacy, etc., however, currently data do not exist to be able to explore this outside of a handful of OECD countries.

There was mixed support for the idea that lower educated citizens are more likely to volunteer their time and donate money in societies with a higher average level of education. The lower educated were more likely to volunteer in more educated societies, but they were not

more likely to donate money in more educated societies. Both of these results support previous work conducted by Gesthuizen et al. (2008). The network spillover effect associated with education and increased volunteering bodes well as countries continue to modernize and become more educated. Given that the previous chapter has found that donating money is not as sensitive to contextual effects as is volunteer behaviour, these findings may be the result of a ceiling effect in giving that suggests giving is already relatively high, easier to engage in, and not as susceptible to network effects as volunteering. Donating money can be done more spontaneously and requires relatively little time investment compared to volunteering. Likewise, new forms of technology make donating more convenient to potential givers, and charities can use social media and traditional platforms to appeal to potential donors. The discrepancy in terms of no educational network effect in donating money could also be due to higher levels of religiosity and thus religious social capital in developing countries that are captured in the GWP. In such countries, donating money towards religious causes may be more prevalent and educational network theories do not apply to the same extent as they do with volunteering. This theory is plausible given then that the previous chapter found that individuals were more likely to donate money in more devout societies. As such, religious social networks may play a more important role than educational expansion. This raises the question as to what happens as these countries continue to develop. With economic development and modernization comes inevitable secularization and thus the decline of this proposed religious network mechanism, but conversely modernization will bring a higher level of societal education. Will education network effects (i.e. educational expansion) play a more important role if such a transformation takes pace? Similarly, this also raises the question as to whether the non-religious are more likely to give in a more devout country. In a more devout

country there is a greater likelihood of hearing about and being recruited to give by religious people who are more likely to be network ties (Ruiter and De Graaf 2006). This is plausible given the findings in the previous chapter, however, recent work has challenged this network effect on ecological grounds (Lim and MacGregor 2012).

Lastly, I failed to find support for the idea that social inequality exacerbates the already low likelihood of civic engagement among lower income groups. According to the theory, the psychosocial mechanism of status anxiety results in low levels of trust and community disengagement over and above individual and societal resources that promote engagement. However, it was hypothesized that this effect would be more pronounced among low-income groups in societies with higher levels of social inequality, but was unsupported in the empirical analyses. In other words, the lower income groups were not more likely to retreat from social life and disengage from community action in more unequal societies. This supports the findings of Anderson (2012) who also found no evidence of this effect in terms of political engagement and support for democracy, however they do contradict the findings of Lancee and Van Werfhorst (2012). However, the findings of Lancee and Van Werfhorst (2012) are problematic given that their measures of “social” and “civic” participation include a wide variety of combined measures into one dichotomous measure and previous studies have stressed the importance of separating these out by demonstrating that each of these components has different individual and contextual-level antecedents which would be lost if combined (c.f. Gesthuizen 2008; Pichler and Wallace 2007). These findings were also robust when re-analysed separately for developed countries (those exceeding Wilkinson’s Threshold) and developing countries (those that are below Wilkinson’s threshold). One critique of this research is that income is not an adequate measure of class status and that a more comprehensive

analysis of social class is required to demonstrate the disparities (Goldthorpe 2010). However, this is beyond the scope of the current research as class schemas are impossible to define without more detailed socioeconomic information. Likewise, this study lacks measures of welfare expenditure which will likely affect civic participation as the redistribution of resources in a country will increase or “crowd in” civic participation among its citizens (Lancee and Van De Werfhorst 2012; Van Oorschot and Arts 2005). No data currently exists that reliably capture this beyond OECD countries. However, the inclusion of welfare expenditure will most likely affect the main effects of social inequality (see previous chapter) and have a limited influence on the cross-level interactions as the cross-level interaction effects demonstrated that individual-level income effects did not vary by societal levels of social inequality. Lancee and Van De Werfhorst (2012) do, however, still find relative income effects (psychosocial status anxiety effects) once controlling for welfare expenditure in 24 European countries.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, one has to be careful in terms of the ecological inferences that are made at the individual-level when analysing data from a higher aggregated level (Lim and MacGregor 2012). For example, deducing that a higher level of education at the societal level necessarily increases the likelihood that more highly educated people occupy any given social network may be problematic. This is especially so given that homophily would indeed dictate that people with different levels of education would less likely be in the same social networks. Future work should explore this mechanism using network data to test its validity. For example, while the findings here suggest that there is no education network spillover in terms of donating money, this may not actually be true when analysing network data at the micro level. However, such data should also capture the weak ties as well as strong ties, which currently seems unrealistic unless Big Data can be utilized to do so. Even so, such

data may restrict the scope conditions of analysis to institutions or countries with unique data that are not generalizable to a wider population, i.e. Sweden. As such, these current findings should be interpreted with caution until complemented with data at lower levels of analysis and where mechanisms can be appropriately isolated. Until then, this research has provided researchers and policy makers with a better understanding of the antecedents of volunteering and giving by investigating how individual and contextual-level explanations interact.

## **Chapter 4: Context, Volunteering and Giving in England: A Multilevel Study of 313 Neighbourhoods**

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### **4.1 Abstract**

This chapter explores whether the characteristics of the neighbourhoods in which people live influences individuals' decisions to volunteer and give. The main research question asks if the residential stability of a neighbourhood, a relatively novel aspect of neighbourhood context, affects these civic behaviours alongside prior individual and contextual explanations. Multilevel modeling is used to analyse representative English data on 13,370 individuals living in 313 areas, which are merged to census contextual measures. Contrary to hypotheses stating a positive association between residential stability and volunteering, this research finds a curvilinear relationship, whereby volunteering is more likely to occur in areas of low *and* high stability. No relationship is found between area-level stability and charitable giving. A number of other contextual characteristics also influence volunteering and giving, including neighbourhood deprivation and ethnic diversity, which are strong negative predictors of both behaviours. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the significance of these findings for the future of British civic life.

## 4.2 Introduction

Does a stable neighbourhood environment (social context) increase volunteering and charitable giving over and above this the length of time someone has spent in a neighbourhood? How do other aspects of neighbourhoods and the social environment influence volunteering and charitable giving in England? This research provides an analysis of the individual and contextual factors predicting volunteering and charitable giving among 13,370 adults living in 313 neighbourhoods in England. It contributes to the limited literature in this area in England by analysing the extent to which community characteristics identified in previous studies – residential stability, social class diversity, urban location, social deprivation, and ethnic and religious diversity – influence volunteering and giving alongside individual-level characteristics. It makes an original theoretical contribution by building on theory that argues stable areas increase community and social cohesion.

This research is motivated by three gaps in the literature. Firstly, no research exists that documents how a stable social environment influences volunteering and giving. Stable residential areas have been associated with lower levels of crime (Sampson 2012; Sampson and Reudenbausch 1999; Sampson et al. 1997) and higher levels of pro-community action (Oishi et al. 2007). Stable residential areas consist of stronger social ties among individuals and higher levels of trust, reciprocal altruism and sense of belonging to a neighbourhood. While work has been done at the individual level to investigate the length of time spent living in an area and volunteering (Rotolo et al. 2012), nothing theorizes or tests for effects over and above this individual-level characteristic.

Secondly, there is no work documenting the ways in which the social environment that people live in influences volunteering and giving more generally in England despite a wealth of

available data, which is surprising given that cross-national (Curtis et al. 2001; Ruiter and De Graaf 2006) and American (Bielefeld et al. 2005; Borgonovi 2008; Rotolo and Wilson 2011) studies suggest that the social context plays a key role in individual-level involvement. While the individual-level explanations of volunteering and giving are important and continue to be the focus of studies, these behaviours are undertaken within a social context and the decision to volunteer or give can be effected by aspects of these social environments (Bielefeld et al. 2005). Furthermore, Borgonovi (2008) and Bielefeld et al. (2005) argue that volunteering and giving are acts that are probably done for local organizations within reasonable geographic reach of volunteers and donors. Thus, contextual effects may have a stronger impact on volunteering and giving at the local level, as it is the direct living environment that influences mobilization, and such behaviour in turn is also likely to be directed towards local voluntary or charitable organizations. This is the first time that any sort of multilevel study of volunteering and giving has been pursued in England.

Third, and related to the last point; the social context in which people live is typically explored at larger areas of aggregation such as at the country level, which may not accurately capture the contextual-level characteristics of a respondent. This is harder to infer when merging contextual data for countries i.e. according to this approach, the level of ethnic diversity for respondents living in the USA will be the same regardless of whether they live in the Bronx, NY or in Madison, WIS. Not only are smaller, more localized geographical units, such as neighbourhoods or communities more likely to be better proxies for local context, but the effects of contextual characteristics may be larger within these geographical units. Studies that do consider context at lower geographical levels mostly use US data and contextual information at the US state or county-level. These geographical levels are much larger in terms

of population and/or landmass. The use of English local authority data here may be the lowest level analysed in terms of volunteering and giving, providing a more accurate measure of geographical context.

England has also become a unique case study in recent times due to the changing political landscape. The role of volunteering and giving in England – important Third Sector activities – have risen in salience in recent times. Politically, a succession of governments has focused efforts to increase volunteering (Kendall 2003). Volunteering and giving typically occur in local areas where people come together to mobilize for collective goals and government officials typically encourage such activity as it is deemed an important aspect of community cohesion. As such successive governments have pursued this area of activity and increased support of local ventures, particularly in terms of volunteering and community organizations (Cabinet Office 2010a, 2011). More recently, it was the focus of the Conservative election campaign in the form of the “Big Society”, designed to allow citizens to mobilize and take responsibility over local issues that would otherwise be left to an “out of touch” centralized Government (Cabinet Office 2010b). The aim of the Conservative Government was to increase the levels of volunteering and giving in the UK to better serve the needs of local communities (Cabinet Office 2010a, 2011), whilst David Cameron has also claimed that every adult should be a member of a neighbourhood group (Cameron 2010).

The economic crisis has also meant that individuals are more reliant on voluntary organizations and charities for goods and services. This coincides with a considerable scaling down on social welfare expenditure by the Conservatives, who appear to promote the Third Sector as more efficient and cheaper means for individuals to collectively organize to provide the services they need without government interference. This scaling down has meant that the

level of public spending has decreased to the lowest level of any Western European nation in peacetime and will be below that of the United States by 2015 (Taylor-Gooby and Stoker 2011; Taylor-Gooby 2012). While this chapter is motivated by scientific progress, in doing so, it also offers members of Parliament, academics and policy makers a better understanding of the individual and contextual explanations of volunteering and giving, which is especially important given the Coalition government's emphasis on increasing Third Sector activity and financial cutbacks to public services. As such, policy makers, governmental officials and academics will have a clearer picture of the factors that increase the likelihood of volunteering and giving.

An overview of volunteering and giving literature in the Britain follows, before a discussion of the research's theoretical explanations and contributions. Hypotheses are then derived from these explanations and tested before discussing the implications for future research.

### **4.3 Previous volunteering and giving research in Britain**

There has been a growing number of British studies focusing on the trends and individual-level explanations of volunteering (Bryson and Gomez 2005; Geyne-Rajme and Smith 2012; Hall 1999; Kamarade 2009, 2011; Li et al. 2003a; Li et al. 2003b; Li et al. 2008a; Li et al. 2008b; Li and Marsh 2008; McCulloch 2013; McCulloch et al. 2012; Staetsky 2011; Pattie et al. 2003, 2004; Warde et al. 2003) and charitable giving (Banks and Tanner 1999; Carroll et al 2005; Cowley et al. 2011; Jones and Posnett 1991; Li et al. 1995; Pharoah and Tanner 1997).

There is little change in the rates of volunteering and voluntary organization memberships over time (Hall 1999; Warde et al, 2003) as well as cross-survey differences and

reasons for such differences (Staetsky 2011). Kamarade (forthcoming) shows that people transition in and out of volunteering over their life course, while Geyne-Raime and Smith (2012) demonstrate that while 20% of respondents in the latest wave of the British Household Panel Survey claim to have volunteered at least once in the past month, 20% of all respondents have done so at least once over a 14-year period. McCulloch (2013) investigates cohort variations in volunteer behaviour and finds that while the number of voluntary organizations is increasing, voluntary memberships are decreasing. He does, however, suggest that memberships may not reflect the levels of volunteering and extent to which individuals have group interests. Li et al. (2003) demonstrate that while volunteering for various groups is relatively stable over time, volunteering as part of workingmen's clubs and trade unions have declined.

In terms of charitable giving in the UK, individual donations account for 25% of charity income, thus a systematic analysis of the individual and contextual-level explanations of this behaviour would be valuable for organizations and practitioners to maintain or increase these amounts. Trends in giving over the past 40 years demonstrate a 15% decline between 1974 and 1996 (Pharoah and Tanner 1997), but a resurgence in giving since then (Cowley et al. 2011). Cowley et al. (2011) find that the average amount given to charity has also risen and that households comprising of more females, children and have higher levels of income are also more likely to give and also give more. The top 50% of households in terms of income gave 92% of all money, where the richest 10% account for 22% of this (Cowley et al. 2011). However, poorer households give a greater proportion of their income to charity compared to the richest – 3.6% and 1.1%, respectively (Cowley et al. 2011).

Limited work, however, investigates the role of context in the decision to volunteer and

give in general, and some authors have called for more work to be done in this area (Bielefeld et al. 2005: 127; Rotolo and Wilson 2011: 453; Smith 1994:246, Wilson 2000:229, Wuthnow 1998:112). It is important to investigate these relationships because decisions to volunteer and give do indeed have a context (Musick and Wilson 2008). The majority of the work in the UK on giving looks at charity level data such as organizations (cf. Clifford 2012; Clifford et al. 2012). Clifford et al. (2012) find that charity organizations working in deprived areas with disadvantaged groups are more likely to receive public funding, and that funding in general varies by organization level, the beneficiaries it serves and its income, and the deprivation and poverty level of the neighbourhood or local authority. Pharoah and Tanner (1997) and Cowley et al. (2012) find regional differences in household giving, however these differences were only investigated across the home countries comprising the UK in the former study and 12 government office regions in the later study. These ecological studies are thus using large measures of geographical context and are doing so purely descriptively without isolating mechanisms and testing the size of theoretical effects. This strengthens the need for investigating how geographic context influences volunteering and giving in the current study. How giving varies across neighbourhoods has never been investigated, nor have contextual effects been pursued independently of compositional effects. McCulloch et al (2012) demonstrate that levels of volunteering are lower in more deprived areas, however, the analysis is at the regional level, which does not distinguish compositional effects from contextual effects. Is the association between volunteering and region the effect of the composition of poor people in an area or does a deprived geographic unit have an additive effect on low likelihoods of volunteering?

This overview of the work in Britain also highlights that while research has failed to

isolate individual-level effects from contextual-level effects, the work that has linked aggregated charity and volunteer work to geographies has focused in its entirety on level of deprivation. However, this thesis has already before now highlighted how other contextual factors are associated with volunteering and giving. In what follows, I explain how a relatively unexplored measure of context – area residential stability – may explain volunteering and giving, as well as other explanations explored elsewhere in this thesis.

## **4.4 Substantive contributions of chapter**

### **4.4.1 Area Residential stability**

The positive link between an individual's length of residential stability and civic engagement has been reported in numerous studies outside of the UK (Dipasquale and Glaeser 1999; Highton and Wolfinger 2001; Putnam 2000; Rotolo et al. 2010; Segal and Wiesbrod 2002). The length of time spent at a residence is indicative of how embedded someone is in a community, where longer durations equal more embeddedness. New arrivals to a community are less likely to be civically engaged for two reasons related to their relatively lower levels of social integration. Firstly, new arrivals are not plugged into community social networks, limiting the likelihood that they hear about opportunities to volunteer. Second, from the point of view of the organizations and their members, they will not be able to target and recruit new arrivals to a community, regardless of the human capital skills and desire of new arrivals to volunteer their time, because they are not on the organization's radar due to their isolation.

However, limited work exists that explores the role of the social environment in individual voluntary and giving activities. If residential stability and housing tenure have positive effects at the individual level, is there an additive effect of living in an area that has a

higher level of geographical stability, social integration and social ties in an area? Previous studies have explored the relationship between residential stability and various measures of social cohesion. Sampson et al. (1999) find a negative association between residential stability and crime rates. Sampson et al. (1997) claim that residential instability of an area weakens collective efficacy by inhibiting social connections between residents. Stable residential areas are more cohesive because the residents in them have had longer to establish their social ties and build relationships characterized by mutual trust and solidarity (Sampson et al. 1997; Sampson 2012). Previous work suggests that residents of stable communities have more friends in the neighbourhood than residents in less stable communities (Sampson 1988, 1991). Much of Sampson's work relates to crime, however, the argument can be applied to civic engagement given the central role played by residential stability in establishing the collective efficacy that spurs residents to mobilize for collective causes. Unstable areas will thus have lower collective efficacy, social cohesion and the mobilization for collective causes. Lee and Brudney (2010) find support for this notion as the likelihood of volunteering increases the more embedded residents feel in their communities, and suggest that volunteering is based strongly on foundations of trust within communities. Mellor et al. (2009) also find that residents are more likely to volunteer if they feel a bond with their neighbourhood and neighbours.

Oishi et al. (2007) investigate the relationship between residential stability and pro-community action further in three studies. The authors find that residential stability can lead to a stronger identification with one's community, which in turn leads to more pro-community action. They argue that reciprocal altruism should be more prevalent in stable communities because social interactions are more frequent/recurrent, increasing the likelihood that a favour is repaid. They find that residents in stable communities bought license plates supporting the

environment in their home state more often than those living in less stable communities. They also found that home-game baseball attendance was less dependent on the team's record in stable cities than in unstable cities. Lastly, their experimental evidence demonstrated that there were more pro-social interactions in community-orientated tasks in stable groups compared to unstable groups. Furthermore, the effect of stability was mediated by individual community identification. This leads to the following hypothesis:

*Area Neighbourhood residential stability will be positively associated with volunteering (H2a) and giving (H2b).*

Causal claims are beyond the scope of the current chapter given the cross-sectional data used. For example, one could also imagine that areas where lots of people volunteer become desirable and increases the likelihood that people stay in these areas for longer. This competing claim is impossible to disentangle methodologically without longitudinal data that accurately measures neighbourhood stability in years as opposed to alternate measures of “churn”. Oishi et al. (2008) do, however, go some way to disentangle this relationship with two studies that have dynamic measurements of stability and pro-community action, and one further experimental design where individuals are randomly assigned to levels of community stability in a laboratory experiment. This experimental work strengthens the casual narrative outlined by Goldthorpe's (1998, 2001, 2007) “generative process” and the work in criminology (brought together in Sampson 2012).

#### **4.4.2 Neighbourhood deprivation**

Explaining the variation between geographic areas can be done at two levels. Firstly, rates of volunteering and giving may differ because areas are composed of different types of people.

For example, people with lower levels of socioeconomic status are less likely to volunteer and give than those from higher socioeconomic backgrounds (Bekkers and Wiepking 2012; Wiepking and Bekkers 2012; Wilson 2000) and in the UK this gap appears to be growing (Hall 1999; Warde et al. 2003). Given that socioeconomic status among people varies across localities, where some areas have more people from lower socioeconomic groups in them, controlling for this will account for some of the differences between areas. Secondly, contextual factors associated with certain characteristics of an area rather than an aggregate of individuals can explain the variation in volunteering and giving between areas. For example, it may be that having controlled for individual-level (compositional) socioeconomic status, the level of deprivation of an area may explain the variance because it promotes certain values or provides fewer opportunities. In other words, all citizens in a deprived area are affected by this context and are thus less likely to volunteer irrespective of their own socioeconomic status. To reiterate this point, Musick and Wilson (2008) argue that people from low socioeconomic groups are more likely to meet the immediate concrete needs of people as they arise, while people from higher socioeconomic groups are more likely to mobilize and commit to a community oriented outcome. Self-selection of groups into geographical areas such as neighbourhoods and wards means that some areas will compose of people with more human, social, and cultural capital resources that in turn increase the likelihood that they will give and volunteer (Wilson and Music 1997). Clifford (2012) suggests that the unequal composition of wards and neighbourhoods in terms of socioeconomic status means that these areas are better placed to make the most of Conservative decentralization. Lastly, the British literature review suggested that volunteering and charitable giving were lower in areas of high social deprivation (cf. Banks and Tanner 1999; Clifford 2012; Clifford et al. 2012; Cowley et al. 2011;

McCulloch et al. 2012; Pharoah and Tanner 1997). However, these studies are unable to distinguish individual compositional effects from geographical contextual-level effects as they focus on aggregating data to geographical areas or data on charities. This research specifically disentangles these effects, but borrows from these prior studies to hypothesize that:

*Area social deprivation will be negatively related to volunteering (H2a) and giving (H2b), over and above the compositional characteristics of areas.*

#### **4.4.3 Other previous contextual explanations of volunteering and giving**

I now briefly discuss the other explanations of volunteering and giving that have been dealt with in previous studies and indeed earlier chapters of this thesis. Ethnic diversity has been argued to be negatively associated with trust nationally (Putnam 1993; 2000; 2007). It has been suggested that a lack of trust can undermine the foundations of civil society and engagement among its citizens to contribute to collective causes that would otherwise benefit wider society. There does appear to be a greater consensus regarding the role of ethnic diversity in the “civic engagement” literature (c.f. Costa and Kahn 2003 for an overview of single nation studies). A number of studies confirm a negative relationship between ethnic heterogeneity and volunteering: Musick and Wilson (2008) find this at the metropolitan level and Rotolo and Wilson (2011) find this at the state level.

*Area ethnic diversity will be negatively related to volunteering (H3a) and giving (H3b).*

Social class diversity may be associated with lower levels of voluntarism. Curtis et al. (2001) argue that a large middle class is needed to encourage the donation of money and time, while Musick and Wilson (2008) suggest that shared values and goals are harder to establish in a society where the wealth is concentrated among a relatively small amount of people. Musick

and Wilson (2008) class this explanation as part of the homogeneity argument: the more similar the level of income among members of a society, the more volunteering that will occur. Woolley (2003) found that income inequality is negatively related to volunteering in Belgium.

*Area social class diversity will be negatively related to volunteering (H4a) and giving (H4b).*

Borgonovi (2008) argues that religious diversity is associated with a *greater* likelihood that individuals will volunteer and give money as competition increases religious commitment and participation, and thus giving and volunteering for religious based groups. The author finds that religious competition increases the likelihood of volunteering. However, this explanation may not apply in the secular British context.

*Area religious diversity will be positively related to volunteering (H5a) and giving (H5b).*

Previous studies find that the rural location is positively related to volunteering and giving. A number of reasons account for this. Firstly, rural areas are more homogenous in terms of people that reside there in terms of socio-demographics and shared norms. In rural areas it is easier to monitor and sanction other members of the community for not contributing to public goods, and people are more likely to signal their status in a small community, which is more salient than it would be in a larger community (Musick and Wilson 2008 Sundeen and Raskoff, 1994, 2000).

*Urban areas will be negatively related to volunteering (H6a) and giving (H6b).*

## 4.5 Data and Methods

The hypotheses are tested using data from the 2008-2009 Citizenship Survey (CS2008), which features a large representative sample of approximately 10,000 adults from England<sup>5</sup>, alongside a minority boost sample of 5,000 ethnic minority respondents. The data capture self-reported demographics, attitudes, and behaviours of respondents including questions on civic engagement, faith, and feelings about community. Respondents were only selected for whom complete data for the dependent and independent variables were available, accounting for 13,370 respondents living in 313 local authorities in England.

Contextual measures were derived for 2008 for contextual effects measuring religious diversity, ethnic diversity and social class diversity by combining Census data from 2001 and 2011. The 2001 Census Small Area Microdata Sample (SAMS) and 2011 Census Local Authority aggregate data (ONS 2013) are both matched to CS2008 for the purpose of this analysis. SAMS is a 5% sample of 2.96 million records from all countries in the UK. Alongside individual level measures, SAMS contains more specific geographic details, which are used to create local authority contextual measures. The 2011 Census data are aggregate statistics for ethnic and religious groups and homeowners living in local authorities, based on all completed Census 2011 surveys in England and Wales. Contextual measures for 2008 were derived by calculating changes in geographical context between 2001 and 2011. While this technique assumes that a change in context per year is linear, these estimates are more appropriate than using either of the original 2001 or 2011 measures as contextual indicators for the CS2008 data. As such, there are no lags between the time at which contextual effects are estimated and the time of survey response.

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<sup>5</sup> CS2008 also included cases from Wales, but these were excluded from the analysis because it was not possible to obtain local authority religious composition information for respondents living in Wales.

These derived 2008 contextual measures are matched to the local authority codes for each individual in CS2008 thus allowing accurate and independent measures/estimates for the majority of local authority characteristics. Local authorities are higher levels of geographical analysis and represent local administrative areas that are created from merging together multiple neighbourhoods, known as Output Areas. Two geographical levels exist between the Output Area and the local authority. The average population size of a local authority is around 330,000 people, which are smaller ecological units than in previous single nation studies (see Bielefeld et al. 2005; Borgonovi 2008; Lim and MacGregor 2012; Rotolo and Wilson 2011; Sampson 1997). There are 313 LAs included in this analysis out of 326 in the 2011 Census. Local authorities are chosen as the level 2 unit of analysis as this is the lowest level of analysis available for matching.

As with the prior chapters, I use dichotomous variables that account for the instance of volunteering and giving. Furthermore, the data are clustered where individuals are nested in local authorities; making multilevel logistic and ordinary least squares regression the most appropriate methods to analyse the data (Snijders and Bosker 1999). The data contain two levels: level one is the lowest level and accounts for individual respondents; level two accounts for local authorities. All non-dummy variables are mean centered in the analyses

#### **4.5.1 Dependent variables**

The dependent variables in this analysis are the instance of volunteering and giving in the past month. Respondents were first asked “In the last 12 months, have you given unpaid help to any groups, clubs or organisations in any of the ways shown on this card?<sup>6</sup>” Respondents were then

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<sup>6</sup> (1) Raising or handling money/taking part in sponsored events; (2) Leading the group/member of a committee; (3) Organising or helping to run an activity or event; (4) Visiting people; (5) Befriending or mentoring people; (6)

asked the frequency of volunteering for the group(s) with “at least once per week”, “at least once per month ” and “less often than once per month.” The instance of volunteering takes the value 1 if the respondent reported any volunteering in the past month and 0 if not. While the results do not change between this dichotomous measure and the ordinal measure, a dichotomous monthly indicator of volunteering is consistent with the coding in previous chapters. A measure of charitable giving was created from the question “The card shows different ways in which people can give money to charity. In the past 4 weeks, have you given any money to charity using these or any other method? Please exclude donating goods or prizes.<sup>7</sup>” The instance of giving takes the value 1 if the respondent reported any giving and 0 if not. Again, the results do not substantively change between the instance of giving in the past month and a continuous measure for the amount given in the past month, but consistency is maintained between chapters by using the dichotomous measure. Table 4.1 displays the descriptive statistics for both dependent variables.

#### **4.5.2 Independent variables**

##### *Contextual variables*

Basic descriptive statistics for all independent variables are displayed in Table 4.1. Table 4.2 displays the correlations between the contextual-level variables and will guide the model building strategy used in this study (discussed below). The contextual-level variables are of primary interest in this study and are described first.

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Giving advice/information/counseling; (7) Secretarial, admin or clerical work; (8) Providing transport/driving; (9) Representing; (10) Campaigning; (11) Other practical help (e.g. helping out at school, shopping); (12) Any other help; (13) No help given in past 12 months.

<sup>7</sup> (1) Door-to-door collection; (2) Street collection; (3) Sponsorship; (4) Collection at church, mosque, other place of worship; (5) Shop counter collection; (6) Pub collection; (7) Collection at work; (8) Buying raffle tickets (NOT national lottery); (9) Buying goods from a charity shop or catalogue; (10) Direct debit, standing order, covenant or debit from salary; (11) Giving to people begging on the street; (12) Other method of giving; (13) Did not give to charity.

The Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) is used to indicate contextual-level poverty and is contained in the CS2008. The IMD is a composite poverty measure created using the rankings of the local authority according to the following characteristics: income; employment; health deprivation and disability; education skills and training; barriers to housing and services; crime; the living environment.

Census data are unavailable for the level of residential stability in an area, although a measure of “churn” can be used from a question that asks if respondents moved to their current residence in the past year. This, however, is qualitatively different from the average duration residents have lived in the area and fails to capture the reality that social ties take time to form (Sampson 1997). This measure fails to distinguish people that have lived in an area all their lives from those that have lived there for periods less than this. As such, individual-level data from CS2008 was used to derive aggregate-level local authority data. Respondents were asked how long they had lived in their current home with response options “less than a year”, “1-2 years”, “3-5 years”, “6-10 years”, “11-20 years”, “21-30 years”, and “more than 30 years”. This ordinal scale is not ideal given it is not truly a continuous scale, but is the only cross-sectional data available that captures residential stability, the civic engagement dependent variables, and can be matched to local authority information. Alternative sources of data used to capture residential stability do so in the same (c.f. the English Housing Survey) and is also common among studies investigating this measure at the individual level.

The results (discussed in detail below) suggest that there is a linear association between residential stability and volunteering and giving at the individual level, which suggests that although this is not an accurate measure of residential stability, longer durations in a neighbourhood are associated with a greater likelihood of volunteering and giving, which is

consistent with all known prior studies that investigate this individual-level effect. Aggregating individual-level measures to contextual areas is a common strategy used throughout the social sciences (Sampson et al. 2002), and while this technique is contested, recent work suggests that the technique is reliable for lower level aggregations (Lim and Macgregor 2012).

Social class diversity, and religious and ethnic diversity are all measured using derived data from the 2001 SAMS and the 2011 Census, defined as the inverse of the Herfindahl Index. The three measures vary from 0-1, where scores of 1 indicate the highest level of diversity. A measure of rural and urban local authority location is included as a dummy variable coded 0 if the local authority is located in a rural area and 1 if located in an urban location.

Table 4.1. Descriptive statistics for dependent and independent variables

<i>Dependent variables</i>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>
Volunteered in past month	0.37	0.48	0	1
Donated money in past month	0.72	0.45	0	1
<i>Individual-level variables</i>				
Female	0.54	0.50	0	1
age	46.85	18.11	16	97
Marital status				
Married	0.48	0.50	0	1
Cohabiting	0.06	0.24	0	1
Single	0.24	0.43	0	1
Widowed	0.09	0.29	0	1
Divorced/separated	0.12	0.33	0	1
Income	4.25	3.28	0	14
Education				
Degree	0.23	0.42	0	1
Other higher qualification	0.08	0.28	0	1
A-levels	0.11	0.32	0	1
GCSE's	0.20	0.40	0	1
No Qualification	0.19	0.39	0	1
Unknown education	0.18	0.38	0	1
Social Class				
High social class	0.33	0.47	0	1
Middle social class	0.36	0.48	0	1
Low social class	0.19	0.39	0	1
Unknown social class	0.12	0.32	0	1
Ethnicity				

## A Comparative Study of Volunteering and Giving

White	0.55	0.50	0	1
Asian	0.20	0.40	0	1
Black	0.13	0.33	0	1
Other	0.12	0.32	0	1
Born in the UK	0.65	0.48	0	1
Employed	0.54	0.50	0	1
Number of persons in household	2.53	1.43	1	10
Number of children <16 yrs.	0.53	0.99	0	8
Health status				
Very bad	0.01	0.12	0	1
Bad	0.05	0.22	0	1
Fair	0.19	0.39	0	1
Good	0.37	0.48	0	1
Very good	0.38	0.48	0	1
Religious affiliation				
No religion	0.60	0.49	0	1
Christian	0.15	0.36	0	1
Muslim	0.06	0.25	0	1
Hindu	0.06	0.25	0	1
Other	0.13	0.33	0	1
Homeowner	0.62	0.48	0	1
Years resided in neighbourhood	4.32	1.81	1	7
Actively practicing religion	0.46	0.50	0	1
<b><i>Contextual-level variables</i></b>				
Level of deprivation	6.37	2.15	1	10
Residential stability	4.32	0.45	2.88	6.80
Urban area of residence	0.88	0.33	0	1
Religious diversity	0.42	0.15	0.13	0.69
Social class diversity	0.84	0.01	0.77	0.86
Ethnic diversity	0.33	0.25	0.02	0.83

Table 4.2. Correlations between contextual-level variables

	Residential stability	Social class diversity	Urban area	Social deprivation	Ethnic diversity	Religious diversity
Residential stability	1					
Social class diversity	0.17	1				
Urban area	-0.22	0.01	1			
Social deprivation	-0.26	0.34	0.39	1		
Ethnic diversity	-0.50	-0.17	0.34	0.55	1	
Religious diversity	-0.55	-0.13	0.34	0.49	0.93	1

### 4.5.3 Control variables

I also control for relevant individual-level demographic variables that have been associated with volunteering and giving in past studies, capturing the sex, age, marital status, income, educational level, social class, ethnicity, birth location, employment status, number of people in the household, number of children in the household, health status, religious affiliation, housing tenure, length of residence in an area, and whether the respondent is actively practicing their religion.

Sex takes the value 1 if the respondent is female and 0 if male. Age is a continuous variable that ranges from 16-69 (a squared term is also included to account for the curvilinear relationship reported by the majority of previous studies). I control for marital status and include dummy variables that take the value 1 for each category: married, cohabiting, single, widowed, separated/divorced. Income is controlled for using an ordinal scale that reflects the eight categories of gross annual income provided in CS2008. I distinguish between level of education by including dummy variables coded 1 for each education level: university degree certificate or higher; other higher education qualification; A-levels; GCSEs<sup>8</sup>; no qualifications. I control for social class by collapsing Goldthorpe's class schema and including dummy variables coded 1 for each collapsed category<sup>9</sup>: professional and managerial/technical occupations; skilled and non-manual occupations; manual, partly skilled and unskilled occupations. I distinguish between broad ethnic groups and include dummy variables that take the value 1 for each category: White, Asian, Black, and Other. I include a control for being born in the UK, which takes the value 1 if the respondent was born in the UK or the Republic

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<sup>8</sup> GCSEs are compulsory secondary level educational qualifications that are traditionally examined at age 16; A-Levels are post-secondary educational qualifications examined at age 18 and are traditionally a prerequisite for university admission.

<sup>9</sup> Social class categories were also included in prior analyses as their original categories with no significant differences between groups.

of Ireland and 0 if born elsewhere. I include a dummy variable to indicate employment status, coded 1 if the respondent reported currently in employment and 0 otherwise. I control for the number of people in the respondent's household, which ranges from 1-10, and the number of children below the age of 16 in the household, which ranges from 0-8. I control for health status with a question that asked respondents "How is your health in general?", allowing me to create a series of dummy variables for "very good", "good", "fair", "bad", and "very bad". Religious affiliation was measured by the question asking respondents which religion they belong to (Christian, Muslim, Hindu, Other, and No religion). Housing tenure was included as a dummy variable that captured whether a respondent owned their home or had a mortgage (coded 1), or if they did not (coded 0).

I also include the length of time spent in a neighbourhood. Respondents were asked how long they had lived in their current home with response options "less than a year", "1-2 years", "3-5 years", "6-10 years", "11-20 years", "21-30 years", and "more than 30 years". As mentioned, this ordinal scale is not ideal given it is not truly a continuous scale, but is the only cross-sectional data available that captures residential stability, the civic engagement dependent variables, and can be matched to local authority (area) information. The results (discussed in detail below) suggest that there is a linear association between residential stability and volunteering and giving at the individual level, which suggests that although this is not an accurate measure of residential stability, longer durations in a neighbourhood are associated with a greater likelihood of volunteering and giving, as per all previous studies that investigate this individual-level relationship. Furthermore, an ordinal scale has indeed been used in a significant proportion of previous studies. Finally, whether a respondent is actively practicing

their religion is included with a question that asked “do you consider that you are actively practicing your religion?”, where a “yes” response was coded 1 and a “no” was coded 0.

## **4.6 Results**

To test the hypotheses, I estimate similar models predicting volunteering and giving. I first specified a ‘null’ model with a random intercept only with no individual or local authority level parameters (not presented), which suggests that the rates of volunteering and giving vary across local authorities. In model 1, I include the “standard” individual-level controls for the sex, age, marital status, income, educational level, social class, ethnicity, birth location, employment status, number of people in the household, number of children in the household, health status, religious affiliation, housing tenure, length of residence in an area, and whether the respondent is actively practicing their religion. This allows me to assess how residential stability affects volunteering and giving at the individual level, before assessing its affect as a contextual variable. Lastly, this model includes important socioeconomic variables that account for the composition of local authorities, allowing me to differentiate between composition and context in later models.

In model 2, I begin to introduce the measures of context. The model building approach is influenced by the correlation matrix contained in Table 4.2 but also reflects the need to test the robustness of contextual findings as the models become more saturated. There is a high correlation between religious diversity and ethnic diversity, thus these variables are included separately in later models. Before discussing the results of the multilevel models, I examine the bivariate relationships between residential stability and the average volunteering and giving levels across local authorities. This is because there could be reason to think that the

relationships are not linear. For example, while the theory outlined above argues that a positive relationship will exist between area residential stability and average volunteering and giving, there may be a curvilinear relationship whereby people that have not lived in an area for long also have a higher likelihood of volunteering because they use this as an entry tool to gain social capital in a relatively new area. Similarly, these people might be young professionals or students that are highly mobile, which would increase their likelihood of being asked to volunteer or give, which may change the aggregate relationship. In such areas, networks of highly mobile people may inspire a community spirit that encourages all members of a community to engage in community projects and goals. Figure 4.1 depicts a curvilinear relationship between average residential stability and average volunteering rates across local authorities. As such I include a squared term for average residential stability for the volunteering models.

Model 3 includes the measures for the urban location and social class diversity of a local authority. Model 4 then adds the measure of social deprivation – a significant predictor of aggregate levels of Third Sector activity – to assess the robustness of prior estimates simultaneously with this measure. This measure is not included in earlier models as there is reason to assume it would mask the effects of the other contextual-level characteristics given its role as a robust predictor of Third Sector activity at the aggregate level in previous studies. Models 5 and 6 assess the effects of ethnic and religious diversity separately due to the high levels of collinearity.

Figure 4.1. Residential stability and levels of volunteering and giving across local authorities

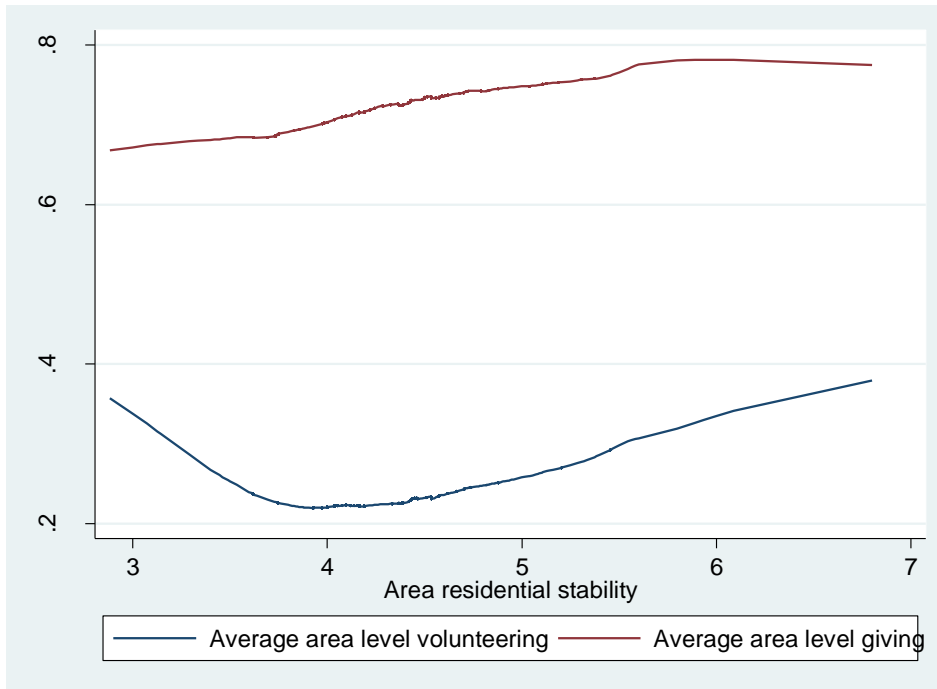


Table 4.3. Multilevel logit regression models predicting volunteering

	model 1	model 2	model 3	model 4	model 5	model 6
<i>Individual-level variables</i>						
Female	0.084+ (0.047)	0.085+ (0.047)	0.083+ (0.047)	0.082+ (0.047)	0.084+ (0.047)	0.085+ (0.047)
Age	0.016+ (0.009)	0.016+ (0.009)	0.015+ (0.009)	0.016+ (0.009)	0.016+ (0.009)	0.016+ (0.009)
Age squared	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000+ (0.000)	-0.000+ (0.000)	-0.000+ (0.000)
Marital status (ref. married)						
Cohabiting	-0.154 (0.098)	-0.153 (0.098)	-0.147 (0.098)	-0.137 (0.098)	-0.137 (0.098)	-0.139 (0.098)
Single	0.107 (0.070)	0.106 (0.070)	0.113 (0.070)	0.124+ (0.070)	0.129+ (0.070)	0.130+ (0.070)
Widowed	-0.058 (0.099)	-0.060 (0.099)	-0.054 (0.099)	-0.045 (0.099)	-0.047 (0.099)	-0.049 (0.099)
Divorced/separated	0.055 (0.077)	0.056 (0.077)	0.069 (0.077)	0.076 (0.077)	0.075 (0.077)	0.075 (0.077)
Income	0.004 (0.008)	0.004 (0.008)	0.002 (0.008)	0.002 (0.008)	0.003 (0.008)	0.003 (0.008)
Education (ref. Degree)						
Other higher qualification	-0.199* (0.081)	-0.197* (0.081)	-0.190* (0.081)	-0.196* (0.081)	-0.199* (0.081)	-0.199* (0.081)
A-levels	-0.217** (0.077)	-0.215** (0.077)	-0.211** (0.077)	-0.217** (0.077)	-0.219** (0.077)	-0.220** (0.077)
GCSEs	-0.571*** (0.071)	-0.568*** (0.071)	-0.561*** (0.071)	-0.565*** (0.071)	-0.569*** (0.071)	-0.570*** (0.071)
No Qualification	-1.154*** (0.087)	-1.150*** (0.087)	-1.137*** (0.087)	-1.136*** (0.087)	-1.143*** (0.087)	-1.144*** (0.087)
Unknown education	-0.782*** (0.106)	-0.784*** (0.106)	-0.777*** (0.106)	-0.776*** (0.106)	-0.778*** (0.106)	-0.779*** (0.106)

A Comparative Study of Volunteering and Giving

Social Class (ref. high)						
Middle social class	-0.259***	-0.260***	-0.247***	-0.246***	-0.247***	-0.248***
	(0.057)	(0.057)	(0.057)	(0.057)	(0.057)	(0.057)
Low social class	-0.387***	-0.386***	-0.371***	-0.366***	-0.369***	-0.370***
	(0.074)	(0.074)	(0.074)	(0.074)	(0.074)	(0.074)
Unknown social class	-0.245**	-0.245**	-0.233*	-0.230*	-0.225*	-0.224*
	(0.093)	(0.093)	(0.093)	(0.093)	(0.093)	(0.093)
Ethnicity (ref. white)						
Asian	-0.430***	-0.436***	-0.398***	-0.364**	-0.329**	-0.313**
	(0.116)	(0.116)	(0.116)	(0.116)	(0.117)	(0.117)
Black	-0.193*	-0.205*	-0.184*	-0.131	-0.097	-0.067
	(0.090)	(0.091)	(0.091)	(0.091)	(0.093)	(0.094)
Other	-0.159+	-0.171+	-0.154+	-0.112	-0.084	-0.064
	(0.091)	(0.092)	(0.092)	(0.092)	(0.093)	(0.094)
Born in the UK	0.425***	0.427***	0.426***	0.421***	0.415***	0.414***
	(0.069)	(0.069)	(0.069)	(0.069)	(0.069)	(0.069)
Employed	-0.292***	-0.291***	-0.285***	-0.291***	-0.291***	-0.291***
	(0.060)	(0.060)	(0.060)	(0.060)	(0.060)	(0.060)
Number of persons in household	0.063*	0.063*	0.061*	0.060*	0.060*	0.060*
	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.027)
Number of children <16 yrs.	0.022	0.023	0.026	0.026	0.025	0.024
	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.034)
Health status (ref. very bad)						
Bad	0.006	0.006	-0.011	-0.007	-0.011	-0.012
	(0.249)	(0.249)	(0.249)	(0.249)	(0.249)	(0.249)
Fair	0.400+	0.395+	0.385+	0.384+	0.383+	0.381+
	(0.226)	(0.226)	(0.225)	(0.225)	(0.225)	(0.225)
Good	0.561*	0.558*	0.533*	0.527*	0.528*	0.528*
	(0.224)	(0.224)	(0.224)	(0.224)	(0.224)	(0.224)
Very good	0.632**	0.629**	0.604**	0.597**	0.596**	0.596**
	(0.225)	(0.224)	(0.224)	(0.224)	(0.224)	(0.224)

A Comparative Study of Volunteering and Giving

Religious affiliation (ref. no religion)						
Christian	0.090 (0.074)	0.091 (0.074)	0.087 (0.074)	0.084 (0.074)	0.081 (0.074)	0.083 (0.074)
Muslim	-0.234+ (0.127)	-0.232+ (0.127)	-0.231+ (0.126)	-0.220+ (0.126)	-0.217+ (0.126)	-0.215+ (0.126)
Hindu	-0.231 (0.153)	-0.233 (0.153)	-0.248 (0.153)	-0.251 (0.153)	-0.236 (0.153)	-0.232 (0.153)
Other	0.064 (0.119)	0.064 (0.119)	0.057 (0.119)	0.060 (0.119)	0.068 (0.119)	0.070 (0.119)
Actively practicing religion	0.787*** (0.053)	0.786*** (0.053)	0.782*** (0.053)	0.782*** (0.053)	0.785*** (0.053)	0.787*** (0.053)
Homeowner (ref. non-homeowner)	0.187*** (0.056)	0.192*** (0.056)	0.192*** (0.056)	0.174** (0.056)	0.170** (0.056)	0.167** (0.056)
Years resided in neighbourhood	0.046** (0.015)	0.046** (0.015)	0.047** (0.015)	0.052*** (0.015)	0.054*** (0.015)	0.056*** (0.015)
<i>Contextual-level effects</i>						
Area residential stability		-1.505* (0.684)	-1.405* (0.661)	-1.289* (0.650)	-1.254+ (0.646)	-1.280* (0.641)
Area residential stability squared		0.164* (0.076)	0.151* (0.074)	0.133+ (0.073)	0.123+ (0.072)	0.127+ (0.072)
Social class diversity			-4.885* (2.180)	-1.175 (2.345)	-2.616 (2.410)	-4.091 (2.493)
Urban area of residence			-0.325*** (0.071)	-0.255*** (0.072)	-0.243*** (0.072)	-0.246*** (0.072)
Level of deprivation				-0.058*** (0.016)	-0.046** (0.017)	-0.040* (0.015)
Religious diversity					-0.658* (0.303)	
Ethnic diversity						-0.565** (0.188)

A Comparative Study of Volunteering and Giving

Intercept	-1.640*** (0.250)	-1.643*** (0.250)	2.738 (1.850)	-0.473 (1.999)	0.711 (2.049)	1.944 (2.116)
<i>Variance components</i>						
Level 2 variance	-2.273*** (0.235)	-2.311*** (0.240)	-2.586*** (0.270)	-2.748*** (0.289)	-2.823*** (0.301)	-2.887*** (0.313)
Level 1 Units	13370	13370	13370	13370	13370	13370
Level 2 Units	313	313	313	313	313	313
Log Likelihood	-6670.207	-6667.763	-6655.124	-6648.536	-6646.213	-6644.122
df	34	36	38	39	40	40
AIC	13412	13412	13390	13379	13376	13372
BIC	13682	13697	13690	13687	13691	13687

#### 4.6.1 Predictors of Volunteering

Table 4.3 displays the results associated with the instance of volunteering. As discussed, I estimated a null model with random intercepts only. The results suggest that the probability of volunteering varies over local authorities.

Model 1 includes individual-level controls for sex, age, age-squared, marital status, income, educational level, social class, ethnicity, birth location, employment status, number of people in the household, number of children in the household, health status, religious affiliation, housing tenure, length of residence in an area. Consistent with Rotolo et al. (2010), I find that homeowners are more likely to volunteer compared to those that do not own their own home, and respondents that have lived in their home for longer period of time are more likely to volunteer. Robustness checks were conducted on the latter finding to assess whether this relationship was linear across levels of the independent variable. When included as a set of dummy variables the coefficients of each level was significant and grew in size.

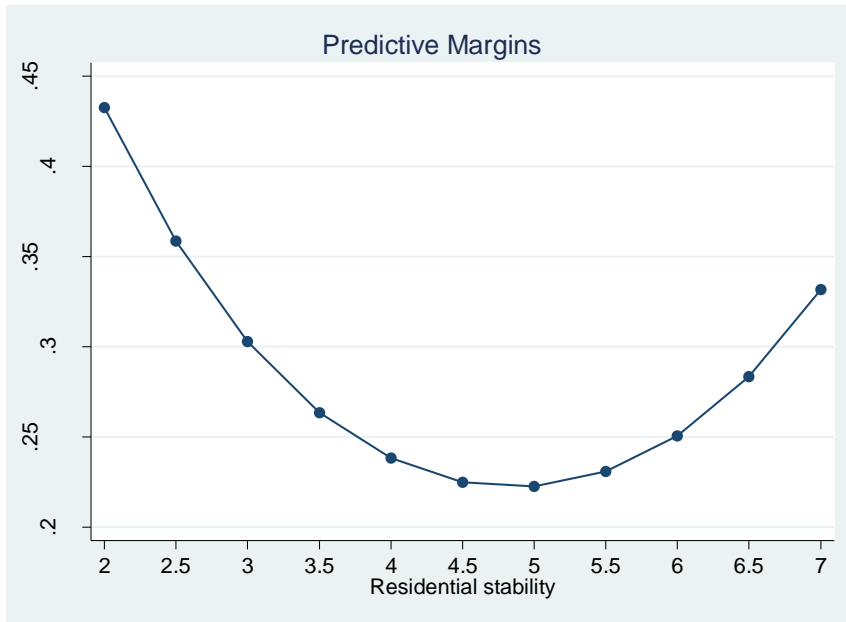
Higher levels of education, social class, and health are associated with a greater likelihood of volunteering. Females are more likely to volunteer than males. Age has a curvilinear relationship with volunteering: relatively higher levels of volunteering for middle-aged people compared to younger and older respondents. Cohabitors are less likely to volunteer compared to married people. Respondents from larger households are more likely to volunteer compared to respondents from smaller households. Asian respondents are less likely to volunteer compared to those reporting a “White” ethnicity. British born respondents are more likely to volunteer compared to those born abroad. People actively practicing their religion are more likely to volunteer than the religiously inactive. Surprisingly, employment is associated with a lower likelihood of volunteering.

Model 2 includes my contextual-level measures for residential stability. Hypotheses 1a states that neighbourhood residential stability will be positively associated with volunteering. However, the descriptive relationship between area residential stability and the average volunteering rates of local authorities in Figure 4.1 suggest that this relationship may in fact be curvilinear. An alternate theoretical explanation was also made for such a relationship. As such a quadratic term was included to model this relationship. The results support the descriptive findings and suggest that there is indeed a statistically significant curvilinear relationship between area residential stability and volunteering. Figure 4.2 displays this effect in the full model. This challenges hypothesis 1a and previous findings in economics (Sampson 1997; Sampson 1999) and social and experimental psychology (Oishi 2007). The results suggest that 6-10 years of average area residential stability is necessary before increases in volunteerism are seen. This raises an important question as to why rates of volunteering are higher at relatively low levels of average residential stability. As mentioned above, people that have not lived in an area for long also have a higher likelihood of volunteering because they may use this as an entry tool to gain social capital in a relatively new area. Similarly, these people might be young professionals or students that are highly mobile, which would increase their likelihood of being asked to volunteer or give, which may change the aggregate relationship. In such areas, networks of highly mobile people may inspire a community spirit that encourages all members of a community to engage in community projects and goals. Urban areas, such as London, will be overrepresented in the data and thus this effect in unstable communities may reflect the mobility of young professionals. The analysis does, however, control for the urban location of local authorities, which should control for this effect. In other analyses I also included a control for London local authorities, which was not significant and did not change the residential

stability results. As stressed in the methods section, these results should be interpreted with caution as the theory should be tested with independent measures of residential stability.

Research in psychology that focuses on attachment and familiarity may be able to provide a better understanding of this contextual-level relationship. On the one hand, the scale of place (i.e. apartment, house, neighbourhood, city, and country) has been found to have a curvilinear U-shaped relationship with attachment to these places (Hernandez et al. 2007; Hidalgo and Hernandez 2001; Lewicka 2010). This may have implications for the current findings if residents in an unstable community have a heightened attachment to their new residence (apartment or house), which then causes them to collectively engage for causes in a local area. On the other hand, Oishi et al. (2012) demonstrate that residential mobility breeds familiarity-seeking behaviour among people. This finding may also contribute to the understanding of the curvilinear relationship between residential stability and volunteering if people self-select into voluntary groups to regain the familiarity of similar groups, with similar goals, comprised of similar people, from their previous voluntary groups. The instance of volunteering in this study is created by collapsing a diverse range of groups into one indicator for the instance of volunteering. These organizations in the CS2008 include sports clubs, religious groups, political parties, labour unions, which can be thought of as “brands” where their identities, codes of practice and group heuristics are relatively stable from organization to organization regardless of geographic location. For example, one’s preferred political group would comprise of similar people with similar interests and certainly similar party identification. Further research needs to be done, with alternative measures of geographic residential stability, before exploring some of these attachment and familiarity ideas.

Figure 4.2. Effect of area residential stability on likelihood of volunteering (estimates from full model)



Model 3 contains measures of urban location of local authority and the level of social class diversity in a local authority. People living in urban areas are have a 28% lower probability of volunteering compared to those living in a rural area ( $\exp[-.325]$ ). Social class diversity is a strong negative predictor of volunteering. These findings support hypotheses 6a and 3a, respectively.

Model 4 includes the area level of social deprivation. According to hypothesis 2a, higher levels of deprivation will be associated with a lower likelihood of volunteering. The results indeed demonstrate that the likelihood of volunteering is greatest in an area of low deprivation and lowest in an area of high deprivation. Thus, I find support for hypothesis 2a. This effect is independent of compositional effects in the model, i.e. the social class, education and income of individuals, which, for the most part, are also significant predictors of volunteering. Prior studies have failed to distinguish the above individual compositional effects

from geographical contextual-level effects as they focus on aggregating data to geographical areas or data on charities (cf. Banks and Tanner 1999; Clifford 2012; Clifford et al. 2012; Cowley et al. 2011; McCulloch et al. 2012; Pharoah and Tanner 1997). Figure 4.3 displays this effect based on the full model estimation. The effect of social class diversity disappears controlling for residential stability, however, the other contextual-level effects substantively remain, demonstrating the robustness of these effects in England.

Model 5 and 6 suggest that the likelihood of volunteering is lowest in an area of high ethnic and religious diversity, respectively. This supports hypothesis 3a and the findings of Putnam (2007), but challenges hypothesis 5a, the supply-side theory adopted by Borgonovi (2008). The latter compliments a lot of work in the Sociology of Religion that claims supply-side theories of religion are only applicable to the US case.

Figure 4.3. Effect of area deprivation on likelihood of volunteering (estimates from full model)

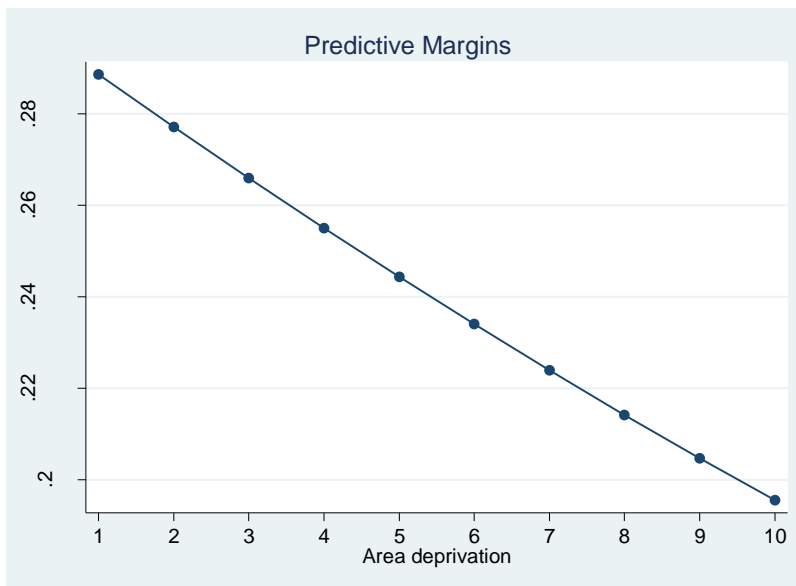


Table 4.4. Multilevel logit regression models predicting charitable giving.

	model 1	model 2	model 3	model 4	model 5	model 6
<b><i>Individual-level variables</i></b>						
Female	0.356*** (0.044)	0.356*** (0.044)	0.355*** (0.044)	0.354*** (0.044)	0.355*** (0.044)	0.356*** (0.044)
Age	0.016* (0.008)	0.016* (0.008)	0.016* (0.008)	0.017* (0.008)	0.017* (0.008)	0.017* (0.008)
Age squared	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Marital status (ref. married)						
Cohabiting	-0.046 (0.093)	-0.046 (0.093)	-0.045 (0.093)	-0.038 (0.093)	-0.038 (0.093)	-0.041 (0.093)
Single	-0.027 (0.066)	-0.027 (0.066)	-0.025 (0.066)	-0.019 (0.066)	-0.017 (0.066)	-0.015 (0.066)
Widowed	-0.100 (0.089)	-0.100 (0.089)	-0.099 (0.089)	-0.093 (0.089)	-0.095 (0.089)	-0.096 (0.089)
Divorced/separated	-0.066 (0.072)	-0.065 (0.072)	-0.063 (0.072)	-0.060 (0.072)	-0.061 (0.072)	-0.062 (0.072)
Income	0.056*** (0.008)	0.056*** (0.008)	0.055*** (0.008)	0.056*** (0.008)	0.056*** (0.008)	0.057*** (0.008)
Education (ref. Degree)						
Other higher qualification	-0.187* (0.090)	-0.187* (0.090)	-0.187* (0.090)	-0.192* (0.090)	-0.192* (0.090)	-0.194* (0.090)
A-levels	-0.044 (0.084)	-0.044 (0.084)	-0.044 (0.084)	-0.047 (0.084)	-0.048 (0.084)	-0.050 (0.084)
GCSE's	-0.245*** (0.073)	-0.245*** (0.073)	-0.245*** (0.073)	-0.248*** (0.073)	-0.250*** (0.073)	-0.252*** (0.073)
No Qualification	-0.674*** (0.076)	-0.674*** (0.076)	-0.673*** (0.076)	-0.672*** (0.076)	-0.675*** (0.076)	-0.679*** (0.076)
Unknown education	-0.657*** (0.096)	-0.657*** (0.096)	-0.657*** (0.096)	-0.658*** (0.096)	-0.659*** (0.096)	-0.661*** (0.096)

A Comparative Study of Volunteering and Giving

Social Class (ref. high)						
Middle social class	-0.244***	-0.244***	-0.241***	-0.240***	-0.241***	-0.242***
	(0.058)	(0.058)	(0.058)	(0.058)	(0.058)	(0.058)
Low social class	-0.413***	-0.413***	-0.410***	-0.407***	-0.408***	-0.411***
	(0.068)	(0.068)	(0.068)	(0.068)	(0.068)	(0.068)
Unknown social class	-0.516***	-0.516***	-0.513***	-0.511***	-0.510***	-0.507***
	(0.084)	(0.084)	(0.084)	(0.084)	(0.084)	(0.084)
Ethnicity (ref. white)						
Asian	-0.151	-0.149	-0.141	-0.113	-0.098	-0.069
	(0.102)	(0.102)	(0.103)	(0.103)	(0.104)	(0.104)
Black	-0.437***	-0.435***	-0.429***	-0.393***	-0.379***	-0.343***
	(0.083)	(0.084)	(0.084)	(0.085)	(0.086)	(0.087)
Other	-0.271**	-0.269**	-0.264**	-0.235**	-0.223**	-0.194*
	(0.083)	(0.083)	(0.084)	(0.084)	(0.085)	(0.085)
Born in the UK	0.247***	0.246***	0.246***	0.241***	0.239***	0.233***
	(0.064)	(0.064)	(0.064)	(0.064)	(0.064)	(0.064)
Employed	0.100+	0.100+	0.100+	0.095+	0.095+	0.095+
	(0.057)	(0.057)	(0.057)	(0.057)	(0.057)	(0.057)
Number of persons in household	0.077**	0.077**	0.077**	0.076**	0.076**	0.077**
	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.025)
Number of children <16 yrs.	0.003	0.003	0.003	0.004	0.003	0.002
	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.033)
Health status (ref. very bad)						
Bad	0.123	0.123	0.120	0.123	0.123	0.122
	(0.175)	(0.175)	(0.175)	(0.175)	(0.175)	(0.175)
Fair	0.426**	0.426**	0.423**	0.421**	0.421**	0.419**
	(0.160)	(0.160)	(0.160)	(0.160)	(0.160)	(0.160)
Good	0.467**	0.467**	0.462**	0.458**	0.459**	0.459**
	(0.159)	(0.159)	(0.160)	(0.160)	(0.160)	(0.160)
Very good	0.355*	0.355*	0.350*	0.345*	0.345*	0.345*
	(0.161)	(0.161)	(0.161)	(0.161)	(0.161)	(0.161)

A Comparative Study of Volunteering and Giving

Religious affiliation (ref. no religion)						
Christian	0.223*** (0.066)	0.223*** (0.066)	0.222*** (0.066)	0.221*** (0.066)	0.220*** (0.066)	0.220*** (0.066)
Muslim	0.192+ (0.106)	0.192+ (0.106)	0.192+ (0.106)	0.199+ (0.106)	0.201+ (0.106)	0.205+ (0.106)
Hindu	-0.317* (0.126)	-0.316* (0.126)	-0.317* (0.126)	-0.318* (0.126)	-0.311* (0.126)	-0.300* (0.126)
Other	0.004 (0.109)	0.004 (0.109)	0.004 (0.109)	0.004 (0.109)	0.007 (0.109)	0.013 (0.109)
Actively practicing religion	0.623*** (0.051)	0.623*** (0.051)	0.622*** (0.051)	0.624*** (0.051)	0.625*** (0.051)	0.628*** (0.051)
Homeowner (ref. non-homeowner)	0.204*** (0.050)	0.204*** (0.050)	0.203*** (0.050)	0.191*** (0.050)	0.189*** (0.050)	0.185*** (0.050)
Years resided in neighbourhood	0.030* (0.014)	0.030* (0.014)	0.030* (0.014)	0.034* (0.014)	0.034* (0.014)	0.036* (0.014)
<b><i>Contextual-level effects</i></b>						
Area residential stability		0.011 (0.065)	0.008 (0.066)	-0.026 (0.067)	-0.054 (0.072)	-0.081 (0.069)
Social class diversity			-0.887 (2.327)	2.008 (2.515)	1.278 (2.622)	-0.950 (2.690)
Urban area of residence			-0.070 (0.078)	-0.014 (0.081)	-0.007 (0.081)	-0.001 (0.081)
Level of deprivation				-0.046** (0.017)	-0.040* (0.018)	-0.035* (0.017)
Religious diversity					-0.320 (0.315)	
Ethnic diversity						-0.561** (0.192)
Intercept	0.436* (0.191)	0.435* (0.191)	0.494* (0.203)	0.431* (0.204)	0.414* (0.205)	0.384+ (0.205)

<i>Variance components</i>						
Level 2 variance	-2.408***	-2.408***	-2.405***	-2.454***	-2.454***	-2.539***
	(0.212)	(0.212)	(0.213)	(0.216)	(0.215)	(0.224)
Level 1 Units	13366	13366	13366	13366	13366	13366
Level 2 Units	313	313	313	313	313	313
Log Likelihood	-7254.164	-7254.150	-7253.661	-7249.924	-7249.407	-7245.737
Df	34	35	37	38	39	39
AIC	14580	14582	14585	14580	14581	14573
BIC	14850	14860	14878	14880	14888	14881

#### **4.6.2 Predictors of charitable giving**

Table 4.4 displays the results associated with the instance of charitable giving. As discussed, I estimated a null model with random intercepts only, which demonstrated that the probability of charitable giving varies across local authorities.

Model 1 again includes individual-level controls for sex, age, age-squared, marital status, income, educational level, social class, ethnicity, birth location, employment status, number of people in the household, number of children in the household, health status, religious affiliation, housing tenure, length of residence in an area, and religious activity. As with the volunteering analyses, I also find that homeowners are more likely to give to charity compared to those that do not own their own home, and respondents that have lived in their home for longer period of time are more likely to give money to charity, both of which support Rotolo et al. (2010). Again, robustness checks were conducted on the latter finding to assess whether this relationship was linear across levels of the independent variable. When included as a set of dummy variables the coefficients of each level was significant and grew in size.

Higher levels of age, social class, income and health are associated with a greater likelihood of giving money. All education levels lower than degree-level were associated with a lower likelihood of giving money with the exception of A-levels. Females were also more likely to give to charity. There were no differences between marital status and the likelihood of giving money. As with the volunteering analysis, respondents from larger households are more likely to give money compared to respondents from smaller households. Black and Other respondents were less likely to give to charity compared to those reporting a “white” ethnicity. British born respondents are more likely to give compared to those born abroad. I find that Christians are more likely to give, while Hindus are less likely to do so, than the non-religious.

Those who actively practice religion are more likely to give money. Being employed was associated with a greater likelihood of giving compared to the unemployed.

Model 2 includes my contextual-level measure of residential stability. Hypotheses 2b states that neighbourhood residential stability will be positively associated with giving, however, I failed to find support for this, challenging previous findings in economics (Sampson 1997; Sampson 1999) and social and experimental psychology (Oishi 2007).

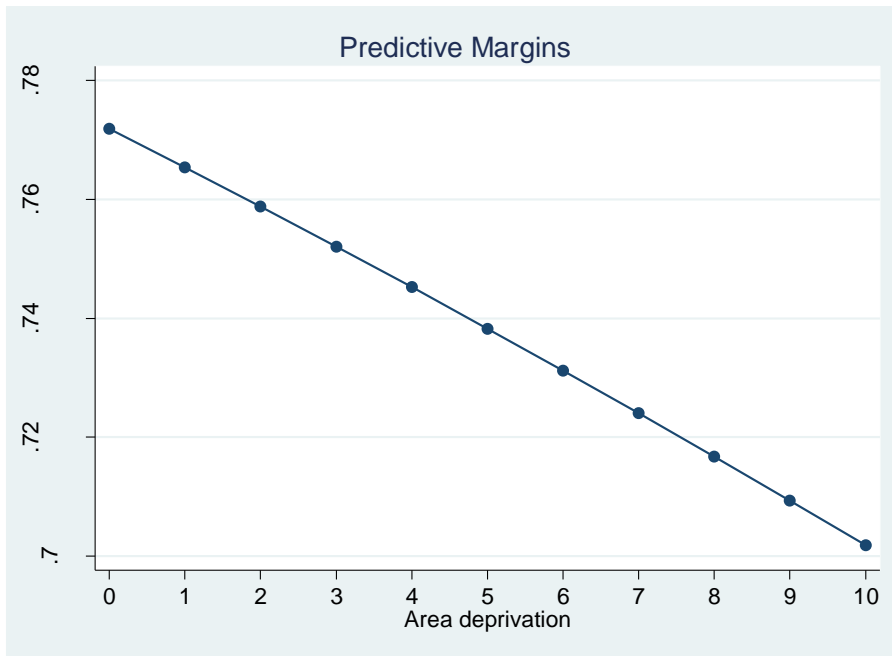
Model 3 includes an indicator for the urban location of the area and the level of social class diversity in the area. Unlike in the volunteering analysis, both measures are insignificant of charitable giving, thus failing to support hypotheses 6b and 3b, respectively.

Model 4 includes the measure of social deprivation in an area. According to hypothesis 2b, higher levels of deprivation will be associated with a lower likelihood of giving money. The results indeed demonstrate that the likelihood of giving money is greatest in an area of low deprivation and lowest in an area of high deprivation. Thus, I find support for hypothesis 2b. This effect is independent of compositional effects in the model i.e. the social class, education and income of individuals, which, for the most part, are also significant predictors of volunteering. Prior studies have failed to distinguish the above individual compositional effects from geographical contextual-level effects as they focus on aggregating data to geographical areas or data on charities (cf. Banks and Tanner 1999; Clifford 2012; Clifford et al. 2012; Cowley et al. 2011; McCulloch et al. 2012; Pharoah and Tanner 1997). Figure 4.4 displays this effect based on the results of the full model.

Model 5 and 6 include measures for ethnic and religious diversity, respectively. Religious diversity is insignificant, however, ethnic diversity does have a negative effect on the likelihood of giving money, over and above the effect of area deprivation. The latter finding

supports Putnam's (2007) notion that residents in diverse neighbourhoods hunker down and retreat from collective civic life.

Figure 4.4. Effect of area deprivation on likelihood of charitable giving (estimates from full model)



## 4.7 Conclusions

This chapter uses a multilevel framework and investigates how the background attributes of people and the social environment in which they live influences their volunteering and charitable giving activities in England. Two factors motivated this study. First, testing the contextual explanations of volunteering and giving are particularly scarce in single-nation studies, and in England this is all the more surprising given the wealth of data sources available in Britain. Volunteering and giving happens within a wider social context and these behaviours are social and economic activities, thus the contextual explanations of volunteering and giving

are important if we are to fully understand the antecedents of civic engagement. Second, and most importantly, original substantive hypotheses were derived regarding the role of contextual residential stability and level of deprivation of local areas. Other contextual-level explanations from previous studies were also considered alongside these substantive contributions.

The first substantive contribution of this chapter built on previous studies and the role of area residential stability. Rotolo et al. (2010) found that length of time living in a neighbourhood at the individual level was associated with a greater likelihood of volunteering. Wilson (2012) made a call for academics to theorize as to why contextual level attributes would have an additive effect over and above individual-level characteristics. With this in mind, this research built on the work of Sampson et al. (1999) and Sampson et al. (1997) who theorized that lower crime rates in areas of high residential stability were due to stronger collective efficacy and social connections between residents. Similarly, Oishi et al. (2007) find that residential stability can lead to a stronger identification with one's community, which in turn leads to more pro-community action. There was no support for this theory as the current research, which found a curvilinear relationship between area residential stability and volunteering whereby higher rates of volunteering occur in relatively unstable *and* stable communities. There was no relationship between area stability and charitable giving. The former finding is puzzling but can perhaps be explained in a number of ways. Firstly, volunteering can be used as an entry device into social networks. Individuals in relatively unstable communities may use volunteering to plug themselves into new social pipelines. Second, high residential stability may be associated with areas that comprise of students or young professionals. This highly educated population is more likely to engage in volunteering and may create a "culture" of volunteering or a more expansive network of volunteer

opportunities. Third, the link between attachment and scale of place may result in a heightened attachment to a new residence (apartment or house) (Hernandez et al. 2007; Hidalgo and Hernandez 2001; Lewicka 2010), which causes new movers to engage for causes in a local area. A network theory extension to this would hypothesize that a higher proportion of these volunteers in an area would also increase the likelihood that these individuals are part of social networks and thus provide opportunities for others to volunteer as well. Fourth, if residential mobility breeds familiarity seeking behaviour among people (Oishi et al. 2012), if people self-select into voluntary groups to regain the familiarity of similar groups, with similar goals, comprised of similar people, from their previous voluntary groups. A higher proportion of familiarity-seeking new residents in an area would also increase the likelihood that these individuals are social network ties in an area, again, increasing volunteering opportunities for everyone in these areas.

An important caveat must be identified in terms of data limitations. It was not possible to use an external data source to create aggregate levels of residential stability. The data that were available were contained in the CS2008 and were coded ordinally, which may create a degree of measurement error that would not exist in a richer continuous scale. As such, these findings should be interpreted with caution, although the patterns across individual-level stability and the measures of volunteering and giving do increase linearly as predicted by the theory and findings from previous studies.

The second substantive contribution focused on differentiating between compositional and contextual-level effects of social deprivation. Previous studies in the UK have demonstrated that both of these factors are important explanations of volunteering and giving but until now have not considered these explanations simultaneously at the individual and

contextual levels. For example, a number of British studies have investigated the associations between aggregate levels of volunteering, voluntary organization existence, and charitable giving by region and found less activity in more deprived areas (cf. Banks and Tanner 1999; Clifford 2012; Clifford et al. 2012; Cowley et al. 2011; McCulloch et al. 2012; Pharoah and Tanner 1997). However, government regions are large geographical units and arguably fail to capture how voluntary and giving behaviours are influenced by local geographies that are more likely to affect local behaviour (c.f. Borgonovi 2008; Bielefeld et al. 2005). Likewise prior studies raise an important question regarding these behaviours: is the negative association between deprivation and these behaviours due to the composition of individuals in an area or does a deprived context provide an additional negative effect over and above individual-level traits? This study suggests that both factors are at work: individuals with low socioeconomic characteristics are less likely to volunteer and give, but living in a deprived area also has an extra negative effect on everyone within that geographic area, regardless of socioeconomic background.

People living in an urban location are less likely to volunteer relative to those living in a rural area, but this was not associated with charitable giving. Contrary to Borgonovi (2008), religious diversity was not associated with a higher probability of volunteering and giving. In fact, religious diversity was associated with a lower likelihood of volunteering. There is a long debate in the sociology of religion and whether supply-side theories are applicable to European contexts that are more a kin to the secularization thesis. This research suggests that the rational choice literature, as outlined above, is not applicable to the British case study. In fact, given the high correlation between religious diversity and ethnic diversity, and the negative relationship that these measures have with volunteering and giving, it suggests support for Putnam's

hunkering down thesis and previous studies that have explored the link between diversity and civic engagement (c.f. Costa and Kahn 2003; Musick and Wilson 2008). Indeed, this finding has also been reported in the British context investigating a broader construct of “social capital” that does not include volunteering or giving (Laurence 2011).

This study suggests that volunteering and giving occur within a context and that those measurable attributes matter, but to different degrees. For example, the level of social deprivation and ethnic diversity in an area both had significant negative effects on volunteering and giving. This research provides academics and policy makers with information that can increase volunteer and giving participation. This research also suggests that volunteering is sensitive to multiple aspects of context, whereas giving behaviour is less so. This research leads to a number of important questions for future study. Firstly, do people who have not lived in an area for long volunteer more in areas of high residential stability? How does education vary by area deprivation? Are the highly educated more likely to volunteer in more deprived areas due to a greater need? Are people less likely to volunteer and give in highly stable urban areas?

# Chapter 5: School Characteristics and Youth Civic Engagement in England

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## 5.1 Abstract

Does the ethnic and religious diversity of schools affect the civic activity of youths? There are conflicting views regarding the role of social diversity on community cohesion with some arguing that diversity promotes social cohesion, while others argue that it enhances competition and conflict. This chapter tests these competing perspectives alongside other individual-level, household-level and school-level explanations of civic engagement (volunteer, youth club and school-based extracurricular involvement) among 13,573 youths aged 14 and 15 years old in 637 English schools. There is more support for the contact perspective. Ethnic diversity is positively related to school extra-curricular activities, but negatively with youth club activity. Religious diversity of schools was not associated with any measures of youth civic activity. Parenting strategies are also predictive of youth engagement: high communication and organisational parenting strategies encourage all forms of civic engagement. Religious affiliation, subjective religiosity, and religious class attendance increases all forms of youth civic engagement. There is also support for role-modeling – pro-social parents are more likely to have civically engaged youths. Youths with part-time jobs are more likely to participate in all forms of civic engagement.

## 5.2 Introduction

This chapter explores whether the social environment of schools that youths attend influences their civic activities. More specifically, it asks whether the ethnic and religious diversity of schools affects youth civic engagement? There are conflicting views regarding the role of diversity on community cohesion. Some argue that diversity promotes social cohesion, while others argue that it enhances competition and conflict. This chapter tests these competing claims simultaneously by analysing the individual, household and school-level factors predicting civic engagement among 13,573 youths aged 14 and 15 years across 637 schools in England. I contribute to the scant literature in this area in the UK by analysing the extent to which these characteristics are associated with volunteering, youth club and school-based extra-curricular involvement among youths.

The empirical literature regarding the explanations of civic engagement using large-scale representative survey data is non-existent among the youth demographic in the UK despite the proliferation of research in other countries (for an overview see Sherrod et al. 2010; Flanagan 2013). This research is relevant as academics, politicians and policy makers have raised concerns over the apparent apathy among youths in their interest in and levels of civic engagement. The notion is typically that an alienated and disengaged generation of youths today is detrimental to a flourishing civil society tomorrow. Disengaged youths and their apparent lack of civic engagement is all the more relevant given the importance stressed on civic skills (Brady et al. 1995; Verba et al. 1995) and the links between civic engagement and social cohesion (Putnam 1993, 2000, 2007). The lack of empirical evidence is somewhat surprising for three main reasons.

First, the British Government has made great efforts to encourage volunteering and civic engagement among youths, including Millennium Volunteers (2000), Active Citizens in Schools (2001), Giving Campaign and Giving Nation (Giving Nation 2006), Young Volunteers Challenge (2003-2005), and Vinspired (2006), and compulsory citizenship classes (CountinYou 2010). More recently, the Conservative party established the National Citizen Service, signalling their commitment to, and involvement of, the young in their Big Society. A number of reports also document this encouragement, including the Crick Report (1997), the Russell Commission report on youth action and engagement (Russell Commission 2005), the Morgan Inquiry into young adult volunteering (Morgan 2008), and the Manifesto for Change (Commission for the Future of Volunteering 2008).

However, given the efforts made by successive governments on policy, initiatives and reports, the factors predicting youth civic involvement and descriptions of such behaviours have not featured using nationally representative data. If the goal of policy is to increase participation among youths, then identifying patterns and isolating characteristics of civically engaged youngsters are important features of policy recommendations, especially if these insights can be used to identify those youths that are civically disengaged. This is the first time that these behaviours have been described and explanations modelled in a representative sample of youths. Prior UK studies are often based on limited qualitative case studies or “small N” quantitative studies that do not allow for generalisations to the wider population of youths (c.f. Brooks 2007; Henn and Weinstein 2006; Roker et al. 1999), or are purely descriptive in nature thus failing to isolate theoretical mechanisms (c.f. Sarre and Tarling 2010; Henn et al. 2005). Similarly, most studies documenting “youth” engagement typically do so for an older cohort of young adults over 18 years of age (c.f. Fahmy 2006; Henn et al. 2005; Henn and

Weinstein 2006; Lee et al. 2012). The focus in this study is on nationally representative data that allows the testing of explanations of civic engagement among those more accurately described as youths.

Second, youth civic engagement has been linked to a number of positive outcomes in American and European empirical research. Such outcomes include voluntary and political activity in later life (McFarland and Thomas 2006), reduced incidence of problem behaviours (Eccles and Barber 1999; Youniss et al. 1997a), higher wellbeing (Hansen et al. 2003; Johnson et al. 1998), higher academic/career aspirations and achievement (Eccles and Barber 1999; Johnson et al. 1998; Sundeen and Raskoff 1994), higher levels of citizenship and greater sense of community (Johnson et al. 1998; Youniss et al. 1997b; Torney-Purta and Amadeo 2003).

Third, and of most substantive importance for the current research, the debate regarding the effects of racial diversity on social cohesion continues. Putnam (2007) ignited this line of research with findings that suggest ethnically and racially diverse communities have lower levels of in-group and out-group trust and civic attitudes (cooperation, altruism, political efficacy and confidence in local institutions). This has resulted in an explosion of research on the topic. Some researchers have pointed out negative associations between ethnic diversity and aspects of social cohesion as varied as civic engagement, social connectedness, and interpersonal trust and reciprocity (c.f. Van der Meer and Tolsma 2012 for an overview). However, other researchers have found no such negative associations (e.g. Gesthuizen et al. 2009; Hooghe et al. 2009); Lancee and Dronkers 2011), whilst others still have suggested that diversity offers an opportunity for contact, which can improve social cohesion (e.g. Stolle et al. 2008; Wagner et al. 2006). Ethnic heterogeneity has been argued to be negatively associated with social capital nationally (Putnam 1993; 2000; 2007) and cross-nationally (Knack and

Keefer 1997). It has been suggested that a lack of trust can undermine the foundations of civil society and engagement among its citizens to contribute to collective causes that would otherwise benefit wider society. There does appear to be a greater consensus regarding the role of ethnic diversity in the “civic engagement” literature. While these studies define civic behaviours differently depending on the country and the time period under investigation, the consensus is that diversity is negatively related to civic participation (c.f. Costa and Kahn 2003 for an overview of single nation studies).

However, the bulk of this research focuses on the adult population, with limited attention to the younger generations. Education policy makers have typically championed ethnic diversity as a supplement of multiculturalism and inter-group relations because it offers youths more opportunities to interact across ethnic and religious groups (Herbert 2001). According to this line of thought ethnic diversity among schools should increase the bridging ties across diverse school communities, thus increasing the level of trust and in turn the likelihood that youths come together and mobilize for collective causes.

In what follows, I outline the theory related to contextual-level effects of ethnic and religious diversity and relate this to the youth civic engagement literature. I follow this with a description of the data and methods used for this study before discussing the results and the implications for future research.

### **5.3 School diversity and youth civic engagement**

Schools provide an important context where children are taught, encouraged and rewarded for behaviour. Schools are an important setting as a significant proportion of socialization and human capital formation occurs within their walls. Not only can children be moulded and shaped by the salient resources a school offers such as curriculum and learning opportunities, but social groups and group dynamics also play an important role in shaping the attitudes and behaviours of students. Schoolteachers and senior management may also encourage volunteering as it increases sense of responsibility to school and community (Elder and Conger 2000). Focusing on school characteristics, and in particular ethnic and religious composition of schools, is also a unique opportunity as schools provide a micro-context in which to investigate behaviour and interactions, which is a smaller level of geographical aggregation and a better proxy for context.

The role of ethnic diversity can be broken down into two competing theories: the *conflict* perspective and the *contact* perspective. On the one hand, the larger the relative ethnic out-group size, the larger the degree of threat that should be experienced by members of an in-group. The threat can be economic in terms of resources but also ideological in terms of differing ethnic and religious norms and values. The threat causes the level of in-group bias and group solidarity to increase (bonding social capital), resulting in less trust between groups and more prejudice. According to this perspective, out-group hostility should be highest in diverse areas. Thus, there should also be lower levels of social or community cohesion – such as civic engagement – among individuals living in areas of high diversity

On the other hand, the contact perspective argues that isolation breeds stereotypes and hostility. If diverse areas are also those where interactions are characterized by equality,

common objectives and repeated interactions, contact should decrease prejudice and increase social cohesion. In such contexts, the levels of in-group bias and in-group solidarity are reduced resulting in bridging forms of social capital and high levels of trust and social cohesion. In principle, the classroom offers a unique opportunity where the underlining conditions for social cohesion are met, at least in principle.

The role of ethnic diversity of classrooms and schools is relatively novel in the education literature, but has risen in popularity in recent times. Research, however, typically focuses on the relationship between ethnic diversity and educational attainment (Campbell 2007; McGlynn et al. 2004; Agirdag et al. 2012; Brännström 2008; Cebolla Boado and Garrido Medina 2011; Cebolla Boado 2007). A limited amount of research exists investigating the relationship between school-level ethnic *and* religious diversity and civic engagement among youths.

Janmaat (2012) looks at the role of ethno-racial diversity using comparative data on England, Sweden and Germany, and finds that ethnically mixed schools increase the tolerance and community cohesion among 14 year olds, supporting the contact perspective. Janmaat (2012) finds that ethnic diversity is associated with greater tolerance and likelihood of intended political participation. Isac et al. (2012) investigate youth attitudes towards equal rights of immigrants across 18 countries and find that a higher proportion of immigrants in a classroom increase positive immigrant attitudes. However, Campbell (2007) finds that diversity at the school level is negatively associated with political discussions in the classroom. Studies, however, appear to lack other forms of social cohesion, specifically in the form of actual civic *behaviour*.

Alternatively, another theory predicting a positive relationship between diversity and civic engagement can be found in the Sociology of Religion. Borgonovi (2008) builds on the supply-side theory of religion and hypothesizes that religious diversity may encourage civic engagement. According to the supply-side theory, diversity creates competition among religious groups, and the need to create a higher quality religious product, which would increase the likelihood that members will commit to and be more committed to a church (Finke and Stark 1988, 1992; Iannaccone 1998). The mechanisms that produce this finding have been discussed at length elsewhere in this thesis, but it does mean that religious diversity may have important implications in the classroom for participation. The religious diversity in a classroom may be a proxy for the religious diversity in a community. Thus, the religious diversity effects of the community may increase the likelihood of youths getting involved in civic behaviours via church membership. This may produce a positive relationship between religious diversity and forms of non-school-based civic engagement, but not for school-based civic engagement. While the contact perspective of ethnic diversity and the supply-side perspective of religious diversity offer different explanations of civic engagement, the outcome should be the same: higher levels of ethnic and religious diversity are associated with higher levels of participation. If, on the other hand, religious diversity serves as the same measure of ethnic diversity, and classroom interactions are not characterized by equality, common objectives and repeated interactions, diversity should increase prejudice and decrease social and community cohesion and thus the civic engagement of youths. The fundamental question, therefore, concerns whether, holding all else constant, school-level ethnic and religious diversity promotes or inhibits civic engagement among youths.

## **5.4 Data and Methods**

The data used in this study come from Wave 1 of the Longitudinal Study of Young People in England (LSYPE; Department for Children, Schools and Families and National Centre for Social Research, 2010), hereafter referred to as LSYPE, which is a cohort study containing a large nationally representative sample of 16,122 fourteen year olds yearly between 2004 and 2010. Wave 1 was selected as it contains a battery of questions measuring civic engagement. The data capture self-reported demographics, attitudes, and behaviours of respondents, including questions on family background, pastimes, and civic engagement. LSYPE also contains detailed information on youths, schools, parents and households. I selected only youth respondents for whom complete information for the dependent and independent variables was available, accounting for 13,573 youths (2,549 dropped cases) in 637 schools.

### **5.4.1 Dependent variables**

The dependent variables capture the *instance* of youth volunteering, youth club and school-based extracurricular involvement in the past month. Youths were asked “Here is a list of some more things people do when they are not at school. Can you please tell me which, if any, you have been to or done in the last four weeks?” Youths were then presented with options including “Done community work (such as helping elderly, disabled or other dependent people; cleaning up the environment; helping volunteer organisations or charities)” and “Gone to a youth club or something like it (including scouts or girl guides)”. Responses for each activity “volunteering” and “youth club” were coded 1 if they participated and 0 if not. These forms of civic engagement are thus activities that occur outside of the school context. The weakness of the volunteer question (“community work”) is its breadth and may include some forms of

informal volunteering. Similarly, self-reports are problematic among adult populations, which raises the question of how youths interpret these questions. That the measure of volunteering may also include forms of informal volunteering may bias some of the estimated models as formal and informal volunteering are typically associated with different demographics. For example, higher levels of human capital are associated with formal volunteering, whereas informal volunteering is associated with lower levels of human capital (Musick and Wilson 2008).

Youths were also asked “Does your school have clubs and societies after lessons for things like hobbies, or art or music, which you can go to if you want to?”. If yes, youths were then asked “How many times a week on average would you say you go to one of these at your school during term?” To make this question comparable to the previous question, responses were coded 1 if youths had participated in a school activity and 0 if not. Descriptive statistics for the instance of volunteer, youth club and school-based activity in the past month are displayed in Table 1. According to the data, 4% of youths volunteer at least once in the past month, 21% of youths are involved in organisations in the past month, and 39% take part in school clubs in the past month. To my knowledge, this is the most substantial contemporary description of civic activity among youths in the England to date.

Multilevel logistic regression is used to model each dependent variable. The data are clustered where youths are nested in schools. As such there exists dependence among school members who share the same school characteristics, making multilevel techniques the most appropriate method to analyse the data (Snijders and Bosker 1999). The data contain two levels: level one is the lowest level and accounts for youth respondents (13,573 youths); level two accounts for the schools within which youth respondents are clustered (637 schools).

Table 5.1. Descriptive Statistics for dependent and independent variables

Variable	Mean/proportion	SD	Min	Max
<b><i>Dependent variables</i></b>				
Volunteer	0.04	0.20	0	1
Youth club	0.21	0.41	0	1
School club	0.39	0.49	0	1
Female	0.49	0.50	0	1
Family structure				
Married	0.66	0.47	0	1
Cohabiting	0.08	0.27	0	1
Lone father	0.02	0.15	0	1
Lone mother	0.23	0.42	0	1
No parents in household	0.01	0.10	0	1
Ethnic minority	0.32	0.47	0	1
Attends private school	0.01	0.09	0	1
Informal youth volunteering	0.05	0.22	0	1
Social class				
Social class I	0.24	0.43	0	1
Social class II	0.06	0.16	0	1
Social class III	0.12	0.32	0	1
Social class IV	0.10	0.30	0	1
Social class V	0.15	0.35	0	1
Social class unknown	0.34	0.47	0	1
Educational attainment	33.75	6.67	15	53.28
Disability	0.13	0.34	0	1
Siblings in the household	1.63	1.20	0	6
Part time job	0.19	0.40	0	1
Religious affiliation				
No religion	0.31	0.46	0	1
Other	0.01	0.11	0	1
Hindu	0.03	0.16	0	1
Muslim	0.14	0.35	0	1
Sikh	0.03	0.16	0	1
Catholic	0.09	0.29	0	1
Anglican	0.28	0.45	0	1
Other Christian	0.10	0.30	0	1
Religious class attendance	0.16	0.37	0	1
Importance of religion	1.88	1.55	0	4
Parent informal care	0.16	0.37	0	1
MP school civic engagement	0.15	0.36	0	1
<b><i>Parenting strategy</i></b>				
Communication	0.09	0.91	-2.64	2.12
Involvement	0.11	0.81	-3.42	1.57
Organization	0.01	1.02	-0.85	5.29
<b><i>School composition</i></b>				
Ethnic diversity	0.30	0.26	0.00	0.86

Class diversity	0.70	0.09	0.00	0.82
Religious diversity	0.60	0.18	0.00	0.86

### 5.4.2 Independent variables

Basic descriptive statistics for all independent variables are displayed in Table 1. I first describe the school-level measure of diversity that are of the most substantive interest to this research.

At the school contextual level, measures of religious diversity, ethnic diversity and social class diversity are measured are all measured using derived data from the restricted LSYPE data provided by the UK data archive, defined as the inverse of the Herfindahl Index. The three measures vary from 0-1, where scores of 1 indicate the highest level of diversity.

Social class diversity is included to account for the degree of homophily within a classroom. Shared values and goals may be harder to establish in a classroom where a greater proportion of peers are from a different social background, and there may be lower levels of cohesion, which would inhibit the degree of collective mobilization and civic engagement. The correlation matrix between the contextual diversity measures is displayed in table 2.

Table 5.2. Correlation matrix between school characteristics

	Religious diversity	Ethnic diversity	Social class diversity
Religious diversity	1.00		
Ethnic diversity	0.16	1.00	
Social class diversity	-0.10	-0.22	1.00

A number of human, social and cultural capital control variables are included to account for factors in previous studies found to be associated with civic engagement in adult populations (c.f. Wilson and Musick 1997; Wilson 2000; Musick and Wilson 20008; Bekkers

and Wiepking 2011; Wiepking and Bekkers 2012) as well as the youth-specific literature (c.f. Sherrod et al. 2010; Flanagan 2013). Human capital describes individual-level resources relating to skills, knowledge, and experience. Access to human capital resources enable youths to engage in civic behaviours. These resources can be used by youths to participate, but also increases the likelihood that they will be asked or invited to take part in civic behaviours. Social capital resources are those that are available to youths via the networks in which they are embedded. Social connections increase the information available to youths regarding civic opportunities as well as the likelihood that they will be asked to take part in these opportunities. An increase in social capital likely represents more social connections, weak ties, and ultimately resources that can be drawn upon to consciously invest in civic skills or indeed be recruited into civic activities (Coleman 1988; Granovetter 1973). Cultural capital resources available to youths help explain how civic engagement is guided in part by ethical principles (Wilson and Musick, 1997). While social relationships may elicit pressures and obligations to engage civically, doing so also requires participants to donate their time and effort. The decision to take part is often morally guided by ideals of social responsibility, care, and altruism. These moral ideals may be derived from religious beliefs and religious participation and other socialization processes such as the behaviour and examples set by one's parents.

Previous studies have found that parental *socioeconomic* status is positively associated with a greater likelihood that children will volunteer (Sundeen and Raskoff 1994, 2000). Socioeconomic status and income are indicative of resources available to youths as they benefit directly from the resources of their parents. For example, wealthier parents can afford the transport needed to take their children to activities, or the equipment or membership fees needed to take part in clubs. Social Class of youths was measured by imputing data from their

parents in the form of the Goldthorpe Class Schema. I assigned values for the social class of each youth based on the social class of his or her father, and if the father was not present in the household, the social class of the youth's mother. Seven categories of social class were used in the analysis: upper middle class (class I), middle class (class II), lower middle class (class IIIa), skilled working class (class IIIb), working class (class IV), those at lowest level of subsistence (class V) and unknown class background. *Educational attainment* has been found to be associated with increased organizational involvement (Sundeen 1998, 2000). Educational attainment is included as past attainment at keystage-three. These are the results of the youths SAT scores that are sat in year 8 (one year prior to the LSYPE wave 1 data – youths are between the ages of 12 and 13 when they sit these). This is continuous measure and ranges from 15-53 (the scale is constructed additively by combining the A-F grades of youths across 5 core subjects). Wilson and Musick (1997) also argue that *health status* can also be seen as a resource conducive to participation as lower levels of health inhibit civic engagement. This study is only able to differentiate youths with a long-term disability, coded 1 if they have a disability and 0 if not.

The *number of children* in the household increases the likelihood of parents getting involved in formal and informal volunteering (Wilson and Musick, 1997). It is reasonable to assume that an increased number of children in a household increases the potential number of social ties available to the youth through their household network. The number of children under the age of 18 in the household ranges from 1-9. The *employed* volunteer more than the unemployed, and part-time employees volunteer more than those employed full-time (Music and Wilson 2008). The employed have more social ties than the unemployed, which increases the likelihood that they will be asked or hear about opportunities to volunteer. Studies that

focus on youth volunteering also find this (Sundeen and Raskoff 1998). I include this as a dummy variable coded 1 if youths report that they have a part-time job during school time and 0 if not.

Religiosity is a robust predictor of civic engagement. Religious adults volunteer more than the secular, and frequent service attendees volunteer more than nominal members and the secular, which can be decomposed into “believing” and “belonging” explanations (c.f. Bekkers and Wiepking 2012). On the one hand, *religious affiliates* are likely to internalise to a greater degree the norms of stewardship and altruism common to their religious texts (“believing”). On the other hand subjective *importance of religion* is a better gauge of religious commitment. A similar argument can be made for youths that attend *religious classes*: they are more likely to volunteer because they are specifically studying the doctrine of their faith, and such classes are probably organised by religious leaders at their place of worship. Religious classes probably also serve as a proxy for a more overtly religious household, as it is unlikely that secular parents would involve their children in these activities. In such a household, stewardship is probably encouraged to a greater degree than in a secular household. Some previous studies also find that religious children are more likely to volunteer compared to the non-religious in the USA and Europe (Bekkers 2007; Sundeen and Raskoff 1994). Religious involvement was measured with 3 variables capturing the a) *religious affiliation* of youths, b) *subjective importance of religion* to youths and c) youth participation in extracurricular *religious classes*, included as a dummy variable coded as 1 if the youth reported that they had and 0 otherwise.

The example set by parents, or “*role modelling*”, is also an explanation as to how civic engagement may be transmitted between parents and youths. If parents are civically engaged, so are their children (Sundeen and Raskoff 1994;) and this effect persists into adulthood

(Bekkers 2007; Janoski and Wilson 1995). Role modelling was measured with two questions gauging parental informal volunteer activity inside and outside the home and any form of participation in the child's school across ten areas (e.g. Helping out in the classroom, helping out in the library, parent-teacher association, school governor, hosted an exchange student, etc.). Both questions are included as a dummy variable to indicate if either parent in the household volunteered in either of these two ways, coded as 1 if they did and 0 if not.

Lastly, I control for the *parenting strategies* adopted by parents that may increase the likelihood of civic engagement. Parenting styles and the way that parents raise their children has been demonstrated to be an important influence on volunteering among youths (Amato and Booth 1997; Fletcher et al. 2000; Bohnert et al. 2007). Amato and Booth. (1997) demonstrate that affection, praise and encouragement are associated with altruistic behaviours among children. Fletcher et al. (2000) demonstrate that parental warmth (“care, concern, support, and encouragement”) and reinforcement (“encouragement of activities, interests and ideas”) towards children is associated with more school and community based extra-curricular activity among their children. Bohnert et al. (2007) employed structural equation models to investigate the effect of family relationship quality (the extent of family cohesion, expressiveness, and conflict) and found that it indirectly affected organized youth activity via more positive adolescent cognitions.

Henderson (2013) builds on the cultural capital literature by testing Lareau's (2003) theory of *concerted cultivation*, which argues that the variation in child attainment can be explained in part by the different parenting strategies adopted by the middle and lower classes (notably in the way that parents communicate with, and organize their children's time, as well as how they intervene in institutions on behalf of their children). She finds a positive

relationship between all three parenting strategies and the educational attainment of their children. Furthermore, these parenting strategies also increase the children's enjoyment at school, teacher perceptions of progress, child's perception of progress, the likelihood of applying to university, and whether they also believe that they will be accepted. I adopt the same principal components factor analysis strategy as Henderson (2012), which identifies 3 underlying constructs that capture 1) the *communication* between parents and their children; 2) the extent that parents *organize* the time of their children; and 3) the *involvement* of parents in the daily lives of their children. The question wording of these constructs is displayed in table 3. Some caveats must be addressed with the measurements of these constructs, which may result in some endogeneity issues. For example, students may self-select into private lessons or classes because they are performing poorly at school, which means that youths are pressured or forced to engage in extra-curricular clubs, which would result in a positive relationship between this measure and some of the outcome measures. Past educational attainment is measured and controlled for in the models, which may limit the effect of behavioural problems or poor performance in schools. Similarly, parents whose children are performing well and have fewer behavioural problems in school may have less need to discuss their day or issues with them. As such, some caution is advised when interpreting these results, however, Lareau's (2003) theory does explicitly dictate that working class parents will have different parenting strategies to middle/upper class parents, and are indeed distributed unevenly among social classes as well as education outcomes (Henderson 2013).

Table 5.3. Henderson's operationalization of Lareau's Concerted Cultivation

<p><b><u>Communication (Young person's report):</u></b></p> <p>a) How often would you say that your parents talk to you about the day's events at school? (Never, Sometimes, Often, Don't know, No answer)</p> <p>b) How often do you talk to your mother/step-mother about things that matter to you? (Most days, More than once a week, Less than once a week, Hardly ever, Never / Not at all, Don't know, No answer).</p> <p>c) How often do you talk to your father/step-father, about things that matter to you? (Most days, More than once a week, Less than once a week, Hardly ever, Never / Not at all, Don't know, No answer)</p> <p><b><u>Involvement in institutions (Parent's report):</u></b></p> <p>d) How involved do you personally feel in young person's school life (Very involved, Fairly involved, Not very involved, Not at all involved, Don't know)?</p> <p>e) I know all I need to know about how I can help with young person's education. (Agree strongly, Agree a little, Disagree a little, Disagree strongly, Don't know)</p> <p><b><u>Organisation of daily life (Parent's report):</u></b></p> <p>f) In the last 12 months how often, on average, did young person go to these private lessons or classes (More than once a week, Once a week or, Less than once a week, Once only, Don't know)?</p> <p>g) How often does/did young person go to these classes – is/was it ... (Three or four times a week or more, Less than this but more than once a week, Once a week, or Less than once a week, One off, Don't know)?</p>
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I also control for other relevant individual-level demographic variables that may be associated with volunteering, capturing gender, age, ethnic minority status, and household structure. **Gender** takes the value 1 if the respondent is female and 0 if male. **Ethnic minority** status is assigned according to the ethnicity of the youth's mother, but if information is missing, takes the ethnicity of the father, coded 0 if white British or Irish and 1 if not. **Household structure** is a dummy that indicates whether the youth lives in a household with married, cohabiting, single-father, single-mother, or on their own, coded 1 if yes, and 0 if no. An indicator is included that measures the **type of school** that the youth attends, coded 1 if private (fee-paying) and 0 if state-

funded. Studies have shown that youths attending private schools volunteer more (Brown 2003). Lastly, I also include as control for the informal volunteer activity of youths. This is to take into account any civic engagement that happens that may be directly linked to the informal care of the youth's parents.

Table 5.4 multilevel logit odds ratios predicting the likelihood of youth civic engagement in the past month.

	Volunteer (1a)	Volunteer (2a)	Youth club (1b)	Youth club (2b)	School club (1c)	School club (2c)
<b>Controls</b>						
Female	1.282** (0.121)	1.282** (0.121)	0.832*** (0.038)	0.829*** (0.038)	0.875*** (0.035)	0.879** (0.035)
Family structure						
Cohabiting	1.074 (0.194)	1.074 (0.194)	1.148 (0.101)	1.144 (0.101)	0.975 (0.075)	0.98 (0.076)
Lone father	0.658 (0.288)	0.658 (0.288)	0.836 (0.148)	0.833 (0.147)	1.237 (0.174)	1.247 (0.175)
Lone mother	0.886 (0.187)	0.886 (0.187)	1.302* (0.139)	1.300* (0.139)	0.998 (0.088)	1.006 (0.088)
No parents in household	1.483 (0.695)	1.483 (0.695)	1.070 (0.275)	1.073 (0.276)	1.282 (0.261)	1.281 (0.261)
Ethnic minority	0.640** (0.110)	0.642** (0.104)	1.153+ (0.091)	1.101 (0.083)	1.049 (0.073)	1.136+ (0.076)
Youth engaged in informal care	1.224 (0.238)	1.224 (0.238)	0.857 (0.094)	0.856 (0.094)	1.031 (0.094)	1.033 (0.094)
Private school	0.994 (0.461)	1.014 (0.467)	0.401** (0.135)	0.416** (0.140)	1.896* (0.549)	1.892* (0.549)
<b>Human capital</b>						
Social class (ref. social class I)						
Social class II	1.521 (0.388)	1.521 (0.388)	0.907 (0.131)	0.904 (0.130)	1.006 (0.122)	1.009 (0.122)
Social class IIIa	1.029 (0.170)	1.029 (0.170)	0.919 (0.074)	0.919 (0.074)	0.929 (0.064)	0.929 (0.064)
Social class IIIb	1.264 (0.214)	1.264 (0.214)	0.913 (0.079)	0.908 (0.078)	0.969 (0.071)	0.974 (0.071)
Social class IV	0.99	0.99	0.851*	0.846*	0.885+	0.889+

	(0.164)	(0.164)	(0.068)	(0.068)	(0.060)	(0.060)
Social class V	1.674+	1.676+	0.915	0.900	0.861	0.876
	(0.477)	(0.478)	(0.141)	(0.139)	(0.110)	(0.112)
Social class unknown	1.169	1.170	0.833*	0.827*	1.017	1.024
	(0.204)	(0.204)	(0.075)	(0.075)	(0.077)	(0.077)
Educational attainment	1.028***	1.028***	1.006	1.006	1.038***	1.037***
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Youth has disability	1.472**	1.471**	0.921	0.923	0.877*	0.876*
	(0.187)	(0.187)	(0.064)	(0.064)	(0.053)	(0.053)
<b><i>Social capital</i></b>						
Siblings in the household	1.020	1.020	1.153*	1.154*	1.065	1.062
	(0.116)	(0.116)	(0.068)	(0.068)	(0.049)	(0.049)
Youth in part time work	1.624***	1.623***	1.263***	1.270***	1.150**	1.139**
	(0.175)	(0.175)	(0.071)	(0.071)	(0.058)	(0.057)
<b><i>Cultural capital</i></b>						
Religious affiliation						
Other	0.579	0.578	0.400***	0.407***	1.011	0.997
	(0.270)	(0.270)	(0.105)	(0.107)	(0.206)	(0.204)
Hindu	0.444*	0.443*	0.258***	0.261***	0.466***	0.464***
	(0.179)	(0.179)	(0.056)	(0.057)	(0.076)	(0.076)
Muslim	0.413**	0.413**	0.323***	0.320***	0.520***	0.525***
	(0.134)	(0.134)	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.070)	(0.071)
Sikh	0.524	0.523	0.306***	0.313***	0.549***	0.540***
	(0.213)	(0.213)	(0.064)	(0.066)	(0.091)	(0.089)
Catholic	0.395***	0.396***	0.581***	0.576***	0.685***	0.684***
	(0.110)	(0.110)	(0.076)	(0.076)	(0.077)	(0.077)
Anglican	0.552**	0.551**	0.797*	0.812*	0.821*	0.801**
	(0.116)	(0.115)	(0.079)	(0.081)	(0.070)	(0.068)
Other Christian	0.756	0.755	1.009	1.029	0.757*	0.743**
	(0.193)	(0.194)	(0.125)	(0.128)	(0.083)	(0.082)

Religious class	1.679*** (0.220)	1.679*** (0.220)	1.923*** (0.131)	1.923*** (0.131)	1.204** (0.072)	1.202** (0.072)
Importance of religion	1.313*** (0.101)	1.314*** (0.101)	1.155*** (0.043)	1.145*** (0.043)	1.183*** (0.038)	1.198*** (0.039)
Parents informally care	1.335* (0.158)	1.335* (0.158)	1.122+ (0.070)	1.124+ (0.070)	1.110+ (0.060)	1.106+ (0.060)
Parent school civic engagement	1.062 (0.130)	1.062 (0.130)	1.163* (0.072)	1.164* (0.072)	1.284*** (0.070)	1.282*** (0.069)
<b>Parenting strategy</b>						
Communication	1.141* (0.063)	1.141* (0.063)	1.108*** (0.029)	1.108*** (0.029)	1.175*** (0.026)	1.174*** (0.026)
Involvement	1.026 (0.055)	1.026 (0.055)	1.000 (0.026)	0.998 (0.026)	1.090*** (0.024)	1.092*** (0.024)
Organization	1.108* (0.048)	1.108* (0.048)	1.082*** (0.025)	1.083*** (0.025)	1.208*** (0.024)	1.207*** (0.024)
<b>School composition</b>						
Ethnic diversity	1.017 (0.262)		0.764* (0.103)		1.691*** (0.211)	
Class diversity	0.783 (0.489)	0.780 (0.484)	0.950 (0.309)	1.030 (0.332)	0.738 (0.230)	0.589+ (0.182)
Religious diversity		1.018 (0.328)		0.810 (0.136)		1.159 (0.186)
Level 1 Units	13573	13573	13573	13573	13573	13573
Level 2 Units	637	637	637	637	637	637
Log Likelihood	-2106.76	-2106.76	-6504.65	-6505.86	-8368.7	-8377.13
df	39	39	39	39	39	39
AIC	4296	4296	13091	13094	16819	16836
BIC	4602	4602	13398	13400	17126	17143

Source: LSYPE 2004

Notes: + $p < 0.10$  \* $p < 0.05$  \*\* $p < 0.01$  \*\*\* $p < 0.001$ . Standard errors in parentheses.

## 5.5 Results

Two models are estimated for each of the dependent variables and are displayed in Table 4. Model 1 includes all individual-level covariates and the measures for ethnic and social class diversity. Model 2 mirrors model 1 except that it replaces ethnic diversity with religious diversity to test the robustness of each separate contextual indicator. The substantive results do not change when both religious and ethnic diversity are included in the same model. Null models were estimated for each dependent variable (not shown) and demonstrate that the likelihood of participation in each form of civic engagement varies across schools.

I first discuss the contextual effects of substantive interest. In model 1, ethnic diversity is not associated with volunteering, however it is negatively associated with youth club participation and positively associated with school club participation. There is thus mixed support for the “hunkering down” thesis, which may reflect differences in school-based activities and non-school-based activities. In model 2, religious diversity is not related to volunteering, youth club participation or school club participation, again challenging the hunkering down thesis. One of the contrasts between the dependent variables is that two of them gauge engagement outside of school (volunteering and youth clubs), while the other captures school-based extra-curricular activities. In terms of the negative association between ethnic diversity and non-school-based youth club participation, this does not paint an optimistic picture for practitioners who argue that diversity is good for social and community cohesion, however, that diversity is also associated with school-based activities suggests that youths are indeed more likely to engage in heterogeneous school-based extra-curricular activities. These contrasting effects will be discussed in more detail in the conclusion. Social class diversity was not associated with civic engagement across any of the dependent variables.

Educational attainment was positively associated with volunteering and extra-curricular participation, but not youth club involvement. Long-term disability was positively associated with volunteering but negatively related to extra-curricular activities. The socioeconomic class background of youths was not related to the three dependent variables in a systematic way, however separate unsaturated models that include basic controls alongside social class do yield significant class differences, thus demonstrating a differential in social and cultural capital investments by social class. A youth in part-time employment has greater odds of volunteering, youth club and extra-curricular participation compared to youths without part-time jobs. The number of children in a household is predictive of youth club participation, but not of volunteering and extra-curricular participation. All religious groups have a lower likelihood of volunteering, youth club and extra-curricular involvement compared to the non-religious. Subjective religiosity and youths that attend religious classes are both positive predictors of volunteering, youth club engagement, and extra-curricular engagement. Further investigation of these “belonging” and “believing” effects suggests similar findings from previous studies: earlier unsaturated models demonstrate that there are some engagement differences across religious groups compared to the non-religious but that these disappear controlling for subjective religiosity and religious class attendance (Ruiter and De Graaf 2006). Thus, subjective religious identity and religious class attendance moderate the initial differences between religious affiliates and the non-religious.

In terms of parenting styles, a high degree of communication and organization are both associated with greater odds of all three measures of civic engagement. Henderson (2012) demonstrated a class differentiation in these parenting strategies and that they were associated with a wide range of positive outcomes (educational attainment, children’s enjoyment at

school, teacher perceptions of progress, child's perception of progress, the likelihood of applying to university, and whether they also believe that they will be accepted). Given the positive outcomes associated with civic engagement, it implies that the higher social classes are more likely to enjoy these benefits as they are more likely to adopt positive parenting strategies and their children are more likely to engage civically. Turning to the measures capturing parental role modelling, I find that informal caring is a positive predictor of youth volunteering, youth club and extra-curricular engagement. The school-based civic engagement of parents is also a significant predictor of youth club and extra-curricular activities.

## **5.6 Conclusion**

There are conflicting views regarding the role of diversity on community cohesion with some saying it promotes community and social cohesion and others saying it enhances competition and conflict. This chapter tests these competing perspectives alongside other individual-level, household-level and school-level explanations of civic engagement (volunteer, youth club and school-based extracurricular involvement) among 13,573 youths aged 14 and 15 years old in 637 English schools. The conflict perspective was only supported in terms of a negative relationship between ethnic diversity and youth club involvement. There was a positive association between ethnic diversity and school-based extra-curricular involvement (supporting the contact perspective), and non-significant (null) associations between ethnic and religious diversity and the remaining models of volunteer, youth club and school-based extracurricular involvement). Youths that went to private schools were less likely to participate in youth clubs but more likely to engage in school-based extra-curricular opportunities, which may be a

substitution effect of the resources and opportunities available to youths attending private schools.

One of the contrasts between the dependent variables is that two of them gauge engagement outside of school (volunteering and youth club), while the other captures school-based extra-curricular activities. This may help reconcile some of the contradictory relationships that ethnic diversity has on civic engagement. The positive relationship between ethnic diversity and school-based participation (and null findings to a certain extent) support practitioner's claims that diversity is good for social and community cohesion (at least inside schools). It supports the idea that youths are indeed more likely to engage in heterogeneous environments (as opposed to disengaging in such schools). This is an important point because research has often suggested that organizational participation can increase bonding capital among homogenous groups and fail to live up to the wider bridging social capital benefits (Theiss-Morse and Hibbing 2005).

What explains the discrepancy between positive and negative effects of ethnic diversity across two of the measures of civic engagement? In terms of the positive association between ethnic diversity and school-based civic engagement. Firstly, some parents may self-select their children into diverse schools because of the learning environment they provide. These parents that welcome diversity may be more likely to encourage their children to take part in civic activities that are organized by schools (which may spill over into civic participation outside of school or counter any negative effects that would otherwise be present). Second, Campbell (2007) highlights the influence of teachers on civic participation, finding that political discussion was *lower* in diverse classes, a finding he attributes the propensity of teachers to avoid conflict due to heterogeneous socio-political views. However, in my study the opposite

could be true due to the self-selection of teachers into diverse schools. Again, teachers may value the experience of teaching in a diverse school and encourage participation among students by providing more opportunities or encouragement for them to get involved.

The negative association between ethnic diversity and youth club engagement may reflect fewer resources in the social environment that the school is located in or perhaps a “conflict” mind-set among parents who do not allow their children to participate in diverse settings outside of school. A socially deprived area may reflect fewer resources and opportunities to engage outside of schools. This may reconcile the positive association between ethnic diversity and school-based participation and the negative association with diversity and participation outside of schools because schools can compensate for fewer opportunities to engage outside of school by providing more school-based opportunities. Of course, the negative association between diversity and engagement may support the conflict perspective in that parents do not allow their children to engage (or indeed youths do not like to engage in these environments), however, this may be a spurious relationship that can be explained by the social deprivation of an area. Chapter 4 found that the level of social deprivation of a social environment was a strong explanation of lower levels of civic engagement, while a growing body of work in the UK suggest that it is the primary explanation of lower levels of social cohesion (including civic participation) (Laurence 2011; Letki 2008; Sturgis et al. 2011).

The chapter also highlighted for the first time in England the background, household and parental characteristics that are associated with youth engagement. I find two distinct patterns of participation across all three measures of civic engagement that can be attributed to the cultural capital resources available to youths. Firstly, parenting strategies increase civic engagement: high levels of communication and organisation were both associated with youth

volunteer, youth club and school-based extra-curricular involvement. I agree with Wilson and Musick (1997) that civic engagement can be regarded as a form of cultural capital. I also agree with Bourdieu's (1986) argument that cultural capital signals "superior" tastes and preference, but additionally suggest that an investment in civic engagement also potentially signals the same "superior" tastes and preferences as aesthetic cultural capital. While the data do not allow me to demonstrate this, one can easily conceive that civic involvement may be beneficial to youths in university applications and job interviews. Further work is needed to show this empirically, but if evidence is indeed found for such a status-signalling effect of civic engagement, then civic engagement amongst youths may well be another way for those who possess this cultural capital to differentiate themselves from those who have not made the same investments (or who are less able to signal this effectively). The finding that parenting styles are correlated with civic engagement is all the more important because these strategies and investments are not equally made across classes. Those social classes that do invest in cultural capital and parenting styles have been found to increase their life chances in terms of higher educational attainment, higher well-being, and lower risk behaviours, to name but a few.

Secondly, I find evidence that parental role-modelling in terms of pro-social behaviours is associated with youth volunteering and organisational engagement. Parental involvement in informal volunteering and school-based civic engagement are associated with a greater likelihood of volunteer, youth club and school-based extra-curricular involvement or youths. Causal claims are beyond the scope of this chapter – I cannot say with certainty whether or not youths follow the example of their parents, or whether or not youths' civic involvement encourages parental activity. Another caveat concerns whether this measure does indeed capture role-modelling effects, or where social network effects are measured, whereby parents

bring along their children to their own volunteering activities that may be political or otherwise in nature. This is a question that can be answered with more certainty in future work, which should explore these competing mechanisms. I do, however, control for the informal caring activities of youths to take account for any civic engagement activities that are engaged simultaneously with those of their parents.

I found some interesting human capital results. Educational attainment was positively correlated with volunteering and extra-curricular activities, and youths with a long-term disability were more likely to volunteer, but less likely to take part in school-based extra curricular activities. Perhaps more needs to be done to make school-based extra curricular activities more accessible to disabled youths. There were no significant findings with the social class indicators once cultural capital measures were included; this likely reflects differences in the way that social classes invest in cultural capital. This is supported by the results from earlier estimated models that included only social class as a predictor of civic engagement (available upon request) in which there were significant social class differences. In terms of social capital, youths that had part-time jobs were more likely to engage in all modes of civic engagement. Number of siblings also increased the likelihood of youth club and school-based extra-curricular activity.

This study has provided a better understanding of the role played by the social context of schools in the likelihood of youth civic engagement in England. Most importantly, while the mechanisms responsible for the link between ethnic and religious diversity cannot be isolated, that diversity only reduces civic engagement among youths in one instance is good news for practitioners and multiculturalists who encourage diversity. I hope this study, given its power, provides a benchmark for future research, particularly in terms of descriptive findings and

analytical explanations. This was the first time that participation has been described, and explanations tested, among youths in England. This work also provides policy makers with a profile of youths that are more likely to engage civically, and can be used in future policy. For example, parental role-modelling had a consistent effect across all forms of engagement, thus, local Government could consider introducing schemes that provide youths without role models at home with positive mentors. With an ageing population and shrinking of the welfare state under the current Conservative government, resources will become scarcer and younger generations may need to civically engage more to meet needs that cannot be met by the state. This study provides politicians and policy makers with analytical explanations that can be used to develop and civically engage the next generation of citizens.

## Chapter 6: Conclusion

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### 6.1 Introduction

Investigating the explanations of volunteering and giving has fascinated academics and policy makers for some time. Volunteering and giving are considered important parts of social life, and are indicative of committed citizens (Brady et al. 1995; Verba et al. 1995), particularly with regards to social cohesion (Putnam 1993, 2000). Discussions have often focused on how best to prevent the seeming decline of these activities (Putnam 2000) and how to stimulate their growth, with a significant amount of academic work also being devoted to these volunteer and giving trends (Anderson et al. 2006; Baer et al. 2001; Banks and Tanner 1999; Cowley et al. 2011; Hall 1999; Li et al. 2005; Pharoah and Tanner 1997; Rotolo 1999; Van Ingen 2008; Warde et al. 2003). The current global economic climate highlights the relevance of this field of study in terms of the goods and service provision pressures on the Third Sector, while the recent socio-political focus on the “Big Society” in Britain highlights the importance of the timing of this thesis.

This thesis examined the ways in which the social environment that people live influences their decisions to volunteer and give. It did so using unique data in previously undocumented case studies. Chapters 2 and 3 investigated this topic cross-nationally in over 100 countries that more appropriately represent the populations and living conditions of people worldwide. Chapters 4 and 5 then explored this topic in England among the general population and youth population, respectively. Each chapter asked specific questions that were tailored to the empirical scope conditions and data sources used. Relatively novel individual and contextual explanations of volunteering and giving were tested throughout the chapters and

previous explanations and findings were also generalised to the case studies used. Where possible, this approach also provides an assessment of how the individual and contextual explanations differ between the scope conditions, and thus ecological measurement, in each chapter. The main empirical findings of each chapter are summarized below, before a discussion of the empirical consistencies and limitations of this research. Finally, suggestions for future research are made.

## **6.2. Contributions**

This thesis has made both substantive and methodological contributions to the understanding of the antecedents of volunteering and giving.

### **6.2.1 Substantive contribution**

Each empirical chapter applies prior explanations of volunteering and giving along with relatively novel explanations of these behaviours. At the individual level these explanations can be broadly grouped together as human, social and cultural resources using Wilson and Musick's (1997) integrated framework. At the contextual level, Musick and Wilson (2008) group these explanations into structural and cultural explanations, whereby on one hand, the structural characteristics describe aspects such as method of government, income distribution and inequality, social class hierarchies, and ethnic and religious heterogeneity; while on the other hand cultural characteristics refer to values, beliefs and attitudes, such as religious beliefs and practices, and trust. However, this distinction appears to be a false dichotomy: the empirical chapters have tested a number of these explanations, but these explanations actually stress the importance of social relations and social networks. For example, labelling income

inequality or ethnic and religious heterogeneity as “structural” characteristics ignores the role of social networks. Wilkinson (1996; 2001) indeed labels his relative income hypothesis as a *psycho-social* explanation that argues that the unequal distribution of income shapes attitudes and behaviours by increasing status anxiety when people compare themselves to each other in the social hierarchy. Likewise, Putnam’s (2007) “hunkering down” thesis stresses the importance of social relations between groups. Accordingly, while larger out-group size increases the level of threat for resources or ideology, it is actually the level of equality, common objectives and repeated interactions between people from different groups, which lead to the lack of trust and hunkering down. Similarly, I derived new hypotheses relating to the level of residential stability in an area based on the increased network ties and trust that results from living in such areas. Social network theory is also relevant when discussing the effects that educational expansion and gender equality have on volunteering and giving. A higher proportion of higher educated individuals in a society increases the likelihood that they will be in one’s social network, thus increasing the opportunities to volunteer and give. Greater gender equality likewise increases the formal and informal social network ties of females in labour markets and community groups, thus increasing opportunities to volunteer and give. The following section gives a more in-depth overview of the contextual empirical findings, however, the role of social networks in these contextual explanations of volunteering and giving have been important explanations of these behaviours.

Another substantive finding has been the degree to which contextual explanations have influenced volunteering and giving. The thesis has found that volunteering is influenced by contextual-level characteristics to a greater degree than giving. The reasons for this are unclear but may stem from differences in time and investment between both activities that again

highlight the different effects that social networks have across behaviours. Volunteering time to an organisation is a relatively more visible and collective activity, and it is therefore no surprise that volunteering is influenced by social networks and group dynamics to a greater extent than charitable giving, which is relatively anonymous and does not require the same physical or time investment. The role of networks is more salient when mobilizing people to give up their free time for a collective cause.

The comparative focus of chapters 2 and 3 tested the generalizability of these individual and contextual-level explanations to people living in 119 countries that more appropriately represent the populations and living conditions of people worldwide. The contextual explanations of volunteering and giving founded on social network theory that were tested were: religious devoutness, ethnic diversity, religious diversity, income inequality, and religious minority group status. The structural explanations tested included were: level of democracy, economic development, age-structure, and rural population. Chapter 3 expanded on the findings of chapter 2 and previous research and tested hypotheses relating to how individual-level gender, education and income effects vary according to changes in country levels of gender empowerment, educational expansion and income inequality, respectively. The variance in these country-level attributes is indicative of richer and bigger social networks, thus demonstrating the effects of social networks and individual-level characteristics between countries.

The second half of the thesis focused on the adult and youth populations in England. Chapter 4 provides the first ever examination of the contextual-level explanations of volunteering and giving among the general population in England. Likewise, it is the first ever study to test a new theory related to social networks and the role of contextual-level residential

stability on volunteering and giving. Chapter 5 is the first ever large-scale nationally representative study of civic engagement among youths in England. This is the first study to describe civic engagement among this demographic, but also to test how individual-level characteristics and school-level characteristics are related to these behaviours.

### **6.2.2 Methodological contribution**

This is the first time that Gallup World Poll (GWP) has been used in an extensive analysis of volunteering *and* giving. This also required matching data from other external sources in order to create the majority of contextual-level measures. Similarly, this is also the first time that the Longitudinal Study of Young People in England (LSYPE) data have been used to examine forms of civic engagement among youths in England, or to explore whether there are school effects for these behaviours. The 2008 Citizenship Survey (CS2008) is a popular data source among academics, but it is rarely used to link contextual information from Census data to estimate how these measures influence individual-level behaviour. The multilevel models used in each chapter provide the most appropriate method for assessing the role of individual-level and contextual-level effects. Another unique feature of the comparative half of this thesis is that the number of countries in the analysis allow for a wider range of country-level covariates in the models without suffering from issues related to the degrees of freedom problem (Snijders and Bosker 1999). This provides a richer picture of the country-level explanations of volunteering and giving simultaneously in the same model.

## **6.3 Empirical Findings**

This section provides an overview of the findings within the empirical chapters.

### **6.3.1 Volunteering and giving worldwide**

Chapter 2 investigated volunteering and giving among 172,725 people living in 119 countries and was motivated by five closely related substantive and methodological gaps in the comparative literature. Firstly, it explored the role played by individual and contextual-level explanations of volunteering and giving, and the common explanations across both measures. Second, while the cross-national study of volunteering is relatively well established, the cross-national study of giving is less so and is limited to very few countries. The chapter therefore advanced knowledge in this domain. Third, relatively little is known about volunteering and giving outside of the western world, let alone the factors that influence it in such countries. Fourth, the generalizability of previous individual and contextual explanations of volunteering and giving were tested using data that is more representative of the world's population and societal conditions therein. Fifth, methodologically the GWP also allows for more reliable macro-level inferences due to increased number of cases at the country level (Snijders and Bosker 1999). The larger number of countries not only allows researchers to test a larger number of covariates, but also reduces the likelihood and influence of outliers (Lim and MacGregor 2012).

At the individual level, there were a number of explanations that had the same effects across the measures of volunteering and giving. The shared profile of a volunteer and charitable giver is someone who is middle aged, more educated, married, richer, healthier, and a religious service attendee.

At the contextual-level, the ethnic diversity of a society was not associated with a decreased likelihood of volunteering or charitable giving. This challenges the notion that ethnic diversity encourages “hunkering down” among individuals, resulting in less trust and social cohesion in a society (Putnam 2007). There was also no association between the level of democracy, economic development and age structure of a society and the likelihood of individuals volunteering or donating money.

There was support for Wilkinson’s (1996, 2001) relative income hypothesis that argues that there is an independent effect of social inequality and the psycho-social mechanism of status anxiety over and above individual-level resources available to people. According to this perspective people will retreat from social life in societies with higher levels of social inequality as there will be incongruence in individuals’ collective goals and ideals, levels of trust, and ultimately social cohesion. Income inequality was associated with a lower likelihood of volunteering and giving for countries that were above Wilkinson’s absolute income threshold. This is a relatively novel explanation of volunteering and giving that has not been applied to comparative studies of these behaviours.

A number of religious contextual explanations were tested. Religious diversity in a society was associated with higher levels of volunteering, however, it is not associated with monetary donations. These findings support those of Borgonovi (2008) in US counties, albeit at the country level. Belonging to a religious minority group in a country was associated with a greater likelihood of volunteering, but was not associated with donating money. The inclusion of this indicator was motivated by Borgonovi (2008) who applied the work in social identity theory to volunteering and giving (Tajfel 1979 and Tajfel and Turner 1979) arguing that the strength of commitment and group solidarity amongst members of a minority religion should

be greater. It follows that members of a religious minority group are more sensitive to group norms, especially the mobilization of collective in-group causes such as volunteering. National religious devoutness was associated with an increased likelihood of volunteering, however, so was a low level of devoutness, which challenges the network spillover arguments posited by Ruiter and De Graaf (2006). The authors argued that a higher proportion of religious adherents in a society increases the likelihood of volunteering for everyone in a society because there is a greater probability that a service attender will be in one's social network and thus diffuse information about volunteering opportunities or indeed ask a network tie to get involved in efforts they take part in. Religious devoutness was, however, associated with a strong positive effect on donating money. Contrary to the volunteering analysis, the donating results support the network spillover arguments posited by Ruiter and De Graaf (2006). This finding must be interpreted with caution as demonstrated with Lim and MacGregor (2012) in their ecological investigation of volunteering and religious devoutness at multiple levels of analysis. Future research should focus on these findings and reconcile the differences across both measures of prosocial behaviour and at lower geographical areas as per Lim and MacGregor (2012) to ascertain whether a network spillover exists or if, like Ruiter and De Graaf (2006), this finding also falls victim of the ecological fallacy. However, my discussion of future directions will highlight some of the ecological work that has been done, and why they fail to deliver on their promises until more comprehensive network data become available.

### **6.3.2 Gender, educational and income cross-level interactions**

Chapter 3 built on the findings of chapter 2 and applied theories from previous research to test claims that gender, education level, and income level vary in their effect sizes cross-nationally

depending on societal characteristics of gender empowerment, educational expansion and social inequality, respectively. Three hypotheses were derived: firstly, females would be more likely to volunteer and give in societies where they are more empowered; secondly, the lower educated are more likely to volunteer and give in societies with a higher average level of education; and third, citizens with lower levels of income are less likely to volunteer and give in societies with a higher level of social inequality. The first two hypotheses were formulated in response to the authors of previous work to generalize their findings to data more globally representative of individuals and the variation in societal characteristics. The third hypothesis was, however, derived from studies that looked at other forms of civic engagement, such as political engagement and support for democracy and areas of health outcomes, and was thus applied to volunteering and giving, which themselves fit into Wilkinson and Pickett's (2010) framework of social "goods" or social cohesion.

Females were more likely to volunteer and donate money in societies with higher levels of female empowerment and gender equality. This suggests that the institutional factors associated with the rights and roles women within a society play an important role in their levels of civic engagement.

There was inconsistent support for the idea that lower educated citizens are more likely to volunteer their time and donate money in societies with a higher average level of education. The lower educated were more likely to volunteer in more educated societies, but they were not more likely to donate money in more educated societies.

There was no support for the idea that social inequality exacerbates the already low likelihood of civic engagement among lower income groups. According to the theory, the psychosocial mechanism of status anxiety results in low levels of trust and community

disengagement over and above individual and societal resources that promote engagement. However, it was hypothesized that this effect would be more pronounced among low-income groups in societies with higher levels of social inequality, but was unsupported in the empirical analysis. This research has provided researchers and policy makers with a better understanding of the antecedents of volunteering and giving by investigating how individual and contextual explanations interact.

### **6.3.3 Volunteering and giving in England**

Chapter 4 explored the individual and contextual explanations of volunteering and giving in England. The main substantive question focused on the role of area residential stability as a explanation of volunteering and giving. The chapter built on previous studies that argued that high levels of residential stability would increase the collective efficacy, trust and sense of belonging in an area to reduce crime (Sampson et al. 1997; Sampson et al. 1999) and procommunity action (Oishi et al. 2007). As such, it hypothesized that area-level residential stability would be positively associated with volunteering and giving. Homeownership and length of residence at the individual level were both associated with a higher likelihood of volunteering and giving. However, there was no support for this theory at the contextual level and instead a curvilinear relationship was found between area residential stability and volunteering (volunteering occurred in relatively unstable *and* stable communities), while there was no significant statistical relationship between area stability and giving.

A second substantive contribution was that the contextual-level effects of social deprivation were decomposed from the compositional effects of these areas merely comprising of more socioeconomically disadvantaged people. This chapter did indeed find that individuals

with low socioeconomic characteristics are less likely to volunteer and give, but living in a deprived area also has an extra independent negative effect on everyone within that geographic area, regardless of socioeconomic background.

An urban location was associated with a lower likelihood of volunteering relative to those living in a rural area, but was not associated with charitable giving. The lack of consistency between volunteering and giving is interesting and may reflect differences in the role of social networks in both behaviours. For example, if rural areas are supposed to be relatively more tightknit communities compared to urban areas, then they should have higher levels of trust and reciprocal altruism, and thus a higher likelihood of collective mobilization for volunteering and giving causes. However, volunteering time to an organisation is a relatively more visible activity compared to charitable giving, which is relatively anonymous and does not require the physical or time investment. Civic engagement may be deemed a cultural capital investment that signals prestige and status to other community members (Verba 1995; Wilson and Musick 1997), however differences in the visibility of both activities may incentivize people to engage in them differently, because volunteering is more visible than giving. In other words, an instrumentally rational individual would benefit from higher levels of prestige or status if they engaged in volunteering over giving. People are also more sensitive to pressures and obligations to volunteer if this behaviour is indeed influenced to a greater degree by social networks.

Religious diversity was not associated with a higher probability of volunteering and giving. In fact, religious diversity was associated with a lower likelihood of volunteering. There is a long debate in the sociology of religion about whether supply-side theories are applicable to European contexts that are more akin to the secularization thesis (Bruce 1999; Voas et al

2002; Gorski and Altinordu 2008; Voas and Doebler 2011). This research suggests that the rational choice framework, which argues that competition encourages religious participation and thus religious based prosocial behaviour, may not be applicable to the British case study. In fact, given the high correlation between religious diversity and ethnic diversity, and the negative relationship that these measures have with volunteering and giving, it suggests support for Putnam's "hunkering down" thesis (Putnam 2007) and previous studies that have explored the link between diversity and civic engagement (c.f. Costa and Kahn 2003; Musick and Wilson 2008).

There were also some notable individual-level findings. At the individual level, actively practicing religious people were more likely to volunteer than the non-religious. This finding challenges claims that religion does not play an important role in volunteering and giving in Europe (Musick and Wilson 2008: 360). It cements religion as one of the most robust predictors of volunteering and giving. Females were more likely to give and volunteer compared to men. These findings support those of chapter 3, which argued that the higher levels of empathy and altruism of females would be realized in countries with higher levels of gender empowerment. Higher levels of education were associated with a greater likelihood of volunteering and giving. Higher levels of subjective health were associated with a greater likelihood of volunteering and giving.

### **6.3.4 Youth engagement and school effects**

Chapter 5 explored the individual and contextual-level characteristics predictive of three broader measures of civic engagement that are popular measures in American and European studies (for overviews see Sherrod et al. 2010, and Flanagan 2013) albeit among the youth

population in England. The research was motivated substantively by the complete lack of representative large-scale empirical work among this demographic in England, but also more substantively by claims that school-level diversity has a negative impact on cohesion and thus levels of volunteer, youth club, and school-based extracurricular involvement among 13,573 youths aged 14 and 15 years old in 637 English schools.

There was more limited support for the conflict perspective of ethnic and religious diversity, holding constant other background, household, and school characteristics. Ethnic diversity was only negatively associated with one form of civic engagement (youth club activity), while it was positively related with school-extra-curricular activity. No statistically significant relationships were found between ethnic diversity and volunteering. Religious diversity was not associated with any the measures of civic engagement. Social class diversity was not associated with the measures of civic engagement. Youths that went to private schools were less likely to participate in youth clubs but more likely to engage in school-based extra-curricular opportunities, which may be a substitution effect of the resources and opportunities available to youths attending private schools.

Chapter 5 also highlighted the background, household and parental characteristics that are associated with youth engagement for the first time in England. Two robust “cultural capital” patterns were found across each measure of civic engagement. Firstly, parenting strategies comprising of high levels of communication *and* organisation were both associated with youth volunteer, youth club and school-based extra-curricular involvement. Secondly, parental role-modelling was also predictive of youth civic engagement: parental involvement in informal volunteering and school-based civic engagement are associated with a greater likelihood of volunteer, youth club and school-based extra-curricular involvement or youths.

In terms of human capital resources, educational attainment was positively correlated with volunteering and extra-curricular activities, and youths with a long-term disability were more likely to volunteer, but less likely to take part in school-based extra curricular activities. There were no significant findings with the social class indicators once cultural capital measures are included; this likely reflects differences in the way that social classes invest in cultural capital. In terms of social capital, youths that had part-time jobs were more likely to engage in all modes of civic engagement. Number of siblings also increased the likelihood of youth club and school-based extra-curricular activity.

Table 6.1 Summary of empirical findings

Ch.	Scope	DV	Operationalisations	Individual-level findings	Contextual-level findings
2	Cross-national analysis of volunteering and giving	Volunteering	Have you done any of the following in the past month?... how about volunteered your time to an organization?	The middle aged, more educated, married, richer, employed, healthier, and religious service attendees are more likely to volunteer and give; All religious affiliates are more likely to volunteer and give with the exception of Jews and Hindus who are less likely to volunteer.	Religious diversity and belonging to a religious minority group are associated with a greater likelihood of volunteering; Income inequality is associated with a decreased likelihood of volunteering for respondents in developed countries, but positively for respondents in developing countries; Curvilinear relationship between national devoutness and volunteering; No effects for ethnic diversity, economic development, democracy and age-structure, or rural population of a society.
		Giving	Have you done any of the following in the past month?... how about donated money to an organization?		Income inequality is associated with a decreased likelihood of giving for respondents in developed countries, but positively for respondents in developing countries; Strong positive correlation between national devoutness and giving; No effects for ethnic diversity, economic development, democracy and age-structure, or rural population of a society.
3	Cross-national analysis of volunteering and giving	Volunteering	Have you done any of the following in the past month?... how about volunteered your time to an organization?	Females were more likely to volunteer in societies with more female empowerment and gender equality; The lower educated were more likely to volunteer in more educated societies; Income disparities were not exacerbated in more unequal societies.	
		Giving	Have you done any of the following in the past month?... how about donated money to an organization?	Females were more likely to give in societies with more female empowerment and gender equality; The lower educated were not more likely to give in more educated societies; Income disparities not exacerbated in more unequal societies	

Table 6.1 Summary of empirical findings (continued)

Ch.	Scope	DV	Operationalisations	Individual-level findings	Contextual-level findings
4	Volunteering and giving in England	Volunteering	Any unpaid help to any groups, clubs or organisations (12 groups listed in questionnaire – see chapter 4).	Human, social and cultural capital indicators are typically predictive of volunteering and giving as in previous studies; Females more likely to volunteer and give than males;	Curvilinear association between area residential stability and volunteering; Neighbourhood deprivation, urban location, ethnic diversity, religious diversity all negatively associated with volunteering.
		Giving	Given money to charity in past 4 weeks. Please exclude donating goods or prizes (12 ways to give money listed in questionnaire- see chapter 4).	Owning home and living in home for longer time both positively associated with volunteering and giving.	No relationship found between area-level stability and charitable giving; Neighbourhood deprivation and ethnic diversity both negatively associated with giving.
5	Civic engagement among youths in England	Volunteering	Monthly outside school activity. ...“Done community work (such as helping elderly, disabled or other dependent people; cleaning up the environment; helping volunteer organisations or charities).”	<i>Human Capital:</i> Social class differences disappear controlling for cultural capital; Educational attainment associated with greater likelihood of volunteering and school extra curriculars. <i>Social capital:</i> Part-time work associated with greater likelihood of all forms of engagement.	No relationship between contextual measures and volunteering.
		Youth club	Monthly outside school activity. ...“Gone to a youth club or something like it (including scouts or girl guides).”	<i>Cultural Capital:</i> high communication and organisational parenting strategies positively associated with all forms of civic engagement; Religious affiliation, subjective religiosity, and religious class attendance associated with all forms of youth civic engagement.	Private schools negatively associated with youth club engagement. Ethnic diversity negatively related to youth club engagement.
		School clubs	Monthly school-based clubs, societies, lessons. ... “How many times a week on average would you say you go to one of these at your school during term?”	<i>Role-modeling:</i> pro-social parents are more likely to have civically engaged youths.	Ethnic diversity positively related to school extra-curriculars; Private schools positively associated with school club engagement.

## **6.4 Bringing the contextual findings together**

This study has built on the volunteering and giving literature by investigating the individual and contextual explanations of volunteering. Each empirical chapter has explored contextual explanations of these behaviours in relatively novel case studies, using established as well as relatively novel explanations of volunteering and giving. This section provides an overview and discussion of the contextual-level inconsistencies. The methodological caveats that follow this section also draw these inconsistencies together.

The first consistency between the chapters is that volunteering is influenced by the social environment to a greater degree than giving. The discussion above and information in the summary table 6.1 supports this. The reasons for this are unclear but may stem from differences in time and investment between both activities. Volunteering time to an organisation is a relatively more visible activity compared to charitable giving, which is relatively anonymous and does not require the same physical or time investment. Volunteering is influenced by context to a greater degree than giving, and the role of networks are more salient when mobilizing people to give up their free time for a collective cause. This is also in contrast to giving, which can be done relatively anonymously online and sporadically in the street. This is reflected in descriptive statistics in almost all studies that demonstrate that giving rates are substantially higher than volunteering rates – perhaps giving is already at a ceiling where the contextual-level factors do not add much to the explanation of this behaviour, whereas social relations are the building blocks collective community action. Lastly, while not explicitly discussed in the empirical chapters, the contextual-level characteristics explain approximately 20% of the variation in volunteering and less than 10% of the variation in charitable giving.

There were inconsistent effects for ethnic / religious diversity and volunteering and giving across the empirical chapters. Ethnic diversity had no effect in the comparative chapters, a negative effect among adults in England, and overall a positive effect in English schools. The inconsistencies between the findings in the cross-national chapters (chapters 2 and 3) and the English neighbourhoods chapter (chapter 4) may be explained by the ecological units under investigation. Country measures of ethnic diversity fail to capture the lower level contexts that people live in, which means that the analysis in England may be a more appropriate proxy for neighbourhood context and ultimately how these contexts influence decisions to volunteer and give. This leads to the question as to why school ethnic diversity is, on average, associated with no association or a positive association with engagement among youths. A number of ad hoc explanations were proposed in chapter 5, relating to the self-selection of teachers and parents into diverse schools. However, it may be more likely that a cohort effect is more realistic, whereby schools provide youths from different backgrounds with opportunities to interact characterized by equality, common objectives and repeated interactions, which should decrease prejudice and increase social cohesion. Youths are more accustomed to these interactions and have grown up in a multicultural society, making them less susceptible to these contextual effects. Alternatively, homogenous schools may be those that are more socially deprived on average. Schools that comprise of homogenous ethnic minority groups or white majority groups may be located in socially deprived areas and have fewer school and neighbourhood resources, or teachers and senior management teams that are unable to provide the opportunities for youths to engage in these behaviours. The negative association between ethnic diversity and youth club engagement may reflect the unwillingness of parents to take their children to youth clubs in diverse areas (thus children are indirectly affected by the hunkering

down thesis outside of the school setting). Alternatively, it may be that diverse neighbourhoods are also deprived neighbourhoods, which affects civic activism. Clearly, this is an area that requires further investigation to isolate the mechanisms responsible for these contradictory findings.

Religious diversity was positively associated with volunteering worldwide, but negatively with volunteering in England. These results can be reconciled with the above discussion regarding the size of ecological units, but may also reflect the idea that supply side theories of religion are not applicable to secular countries such as England (Bruce 1999; Voas et al. 2002). Furthermore, chapter 4 displays a high correlation between religious diversity and ethnic diversity at the neighbourhood level, suggesting that the two measures are indeed proxies for each other, which also explains the consistency between measures of ethnic and religious diversity in England. Again, this raises the question as to why religious diversity was not related to engagement among youths in England. This may be consistent with the secularization thesis and the decreasing role of religion in some western societies (Bruce 1999; Voas et al 2002; Gorski and Altinordu 2008; Voas and Doebler 2011).

## **6.5 Data and methodological caveats**

In this section, a number of methodological caveats are discussed in relation to the measurement of volunteering and giving as well as the measures of context. Measurement issues have been discussed where relevant in the individual chapters, however, this section provides a summary of the issues in this area of the literature. The suggestions for future research explicitly follow on from this discussion in terms of some practical solutions for researchers.

### **6.5.1 Measurement error in volunteering and giving**

Methodological issues must be discussed in relation to the measures of volunteering and giving between the datasets used. Firstly, sampling bias affects estimates in terms of how representative each survey is of the target population. All three surveys use stratified random samples that are representative of countries (GWP), the UK (CS2008) and 14 and 15 year olds in England (LSYPE). The CS2008 and the LSYPE also oversample ethnic minorities and deprived schools. The survey methodologies do however vary between surveys. The GWP is relatively more complicated than the CS2008 and the LSYPE (see introduction for a more in-depth discussion of the datasets), which use face-to-face interviews for the most part (the LSYPE uses self-completion questionnaires for a subsample of questions including the civic engagement). The GWP uses face-to-face surveys in counties with fewer than 80% phone coverage.

Second, the design of the questionnaire affects recall bias. Surveys that spend longer asking specifically about prosocial behaviour will elicit higher levels of volunteering and giving (Rooney et al. 2001). The CS2008 contains a comprehensive module devoted to civic engagement in terms of the instance, amount, type, and duration of formal and informal volunteering, as well as charitable giving. The GWP in comparison only contains three questions on pro-social behaviour (the other asks about helping strangers), whereas the LSYPE contains its civic engagement questions in a module on activities and pastimes. Most experts in survey methodologies would argue that the civic engagement module contained in the CS2008 would elicit the most accurate responses (Bekkers and Wiepking 2006, 2011c; Rooney et al. 2001; Rooney et al. 2004). However some studies have found that these extensive prompts may increase recall rates from certain social groups including females, the lower educated, higher

income households, rural residents, the religious, and homeowners (Bekkers and Wiepking 2006), while larger donations are more likely to be remembered than smaller donations (Bekkers and Wiepking 2011c). To put some of the above into context in a range of UK datasets see Staetsky and Mohan (2011). In terms of the LSYPE, the list of prompts included in the volunteering (community service) question is very broad and may upwardly bias volunteering estimates among youths. Each survey prompts respondents to recall acts of volunteering and giving over the past month, which is arguably the most accurate and reliable timeframe as it is short and recent (Bekkers 2012). Each survey is also gathered quarterly, which minimizes the likelihood that seasonal effects associated with the Christmas period will upwardly bias estimates (Cowley et al. 2011).

Chapter 2 discussed the caveats related to the cross-national investigation of volunteering and giving, but they are summarized here too. Recall and the difficulty of translating a question accurately into the language and cultural context of such a broad range of countries will be problematic. Furthermore, the survey design will illicit different responses across datasets that may be the result of question wording, interview method, and question ordering within an interview. For example, as discussed above, asking a number of related questions on civic engagement or pro-social behaviour may “prime” respondents to remember other types. However, the lack of priming in the GWP may make the responses less culturally biased between countries.

Third, social desirability will also affect responses to volunteering and giving, especially if surveys are conducted in person (i.e. in a face-to-face survey interview) as opposed to anonymously in a questionnaire (Stocke and Hunkler 2007). The CS2008 and “developing” countries in the GWP may suffer from this, however, the “developed” countries

in the GWP (with phone interviews) may suffer less, and the LSYPE (with anonymous questionnaires) will suffer from this problem the least. An additional bias in the GWP may also be an unequal distribution of positive response bias across countries given that for many countries in the GWP volunteering and other pro-social behaviours are relatively more socially desirable than in other countries (Govaart et al. 2001). As such, people may overestimate how much they volunteer and give if such deeds are honoured and esteemed.

### **6.5.2 Measurement error in contextual characteristics**

Another issue that spans the empirical chapters is the measurement of the social environments. These issues relate to; a) the external data sources used to create measures; b) creating contextual-level characteristics by aggregating individual-level data; and c) the inconsistency of contextual measures between chapters that challenges the ability to generalize effects across scope conditions.

Firstly, the external data sources used to create the contextual measures are, where possible, gathered from independent statistical agencies that use inconsistent measures across scope conditions. For example, the data collected by Alesina et al. (2003) enable researchers to use “fine-grained” measures of diversity (that is to say rich in terms of a more complete listing of categories available in the data). However, this measure is more crass in the 2001 or 2011 UK census, particularly in terms of religion, which, for example, collapses all Christian denominations into the same religious group, resulting in a less diverse measure of religious diversity than there is in reality.

Secondly, the creation of some contextual-measures throughout the chapters required the aggregation of individual-level characteristics. For example, chapter 4 extended previous

work on area-level residential stability to test effects on volunteering and giving by aggregating individual-level data. Future versions of these chapters will require independent and accurate sources of data, such as neighbourhood residential “churn” (i.e. residential turnover), which, in this case, would result in a very different substantive explanation of residential stability. This should also caveat what has been discussed in section 6.4. Until consistent independent data sources are used to measure context there will always be a degree of uncertainty regarding the generalizability of findings across scope conditions.

## **6.6 Suggestions for future research**

In this section, a number of suggestions for future research are set out which may provide insights into some of the questions raised by this thesis, and may address some of the limitations herein.

### **6.6.1 Demand-side explanations in volunteering and giving**

This thesis highlights the importance of social context as an important explanation of volunteering and giving across multiple settings. This raises the question as to how other measurable aspects of social context may influence volunteering and giving, such as the organisations to which individuals give their time and money. The demand-side characteristics of organisations have traditionally received minimal attention, which is only beginning to be rectified (Kinsbergen et al. 2011; Sargeant et al. 2008; Wiertz et al. 2013). The composition of organisations is relevant to network theories as social networks may be important for participation as they a) increase the information available to volunteers about the organisation, and b) increase the information about the skill sets of the volunteer to the organisation. Social Homophily would also dictate that potential volunteers and organisations would prefer to work

closely with like-minded people with comparable social characteristics, and that organisation senior management would prefer to recruit members that not only share the vision of the organisation, but also offer valuable human capital skillsets for the sake of organisation cohesion, efficacy and efficiency. In sum, the composition of voluntary groups should influence participation. Wiertz et al. (2013) makes the first contribution to the volunteering literature by exploring how voluntary organisational characteristics influence people's decisions to begin and end their voluntary participation. Wiertz et al. (2013) highlights three robust explanations of engagement – gender, education and religion – and finds that gender and religious homophily are important explanations of joining *and* quitting decisions. In other words, people join volunteer groups when the group consists of people who are like them in terms of gender and religion, and quit when the group becomes dissimilar. There was no support for educational homophily influencing joining or quitting decisions.

As mentioned, increased interest from government officials and policy makers in the areas of giving, and particularly volunteering, have been premised on the assumption that these behaviours are a panacea of social cohesion and positive social outcomes. However, for issues of social cohesion to be addressed, there is an assumption that voluntary groups consist of heterogeneous individuals and offer bridging social ties between people and communities that would not otherwise have the opportunity to interact. The initial findings of Wiertz et al. (2013) may challenge the role of voluntary groups in fostering social cohesion, but more work will need to be done, especially in terms of the ethnic and religious composition of groups.

### **6.6.2 The geographical distribution organisations as a demand-side explanation of volunteering and giving**

Another social environment explanation of volunteering and giving is the geographical location of voluntary and charitable organisations. Previous work suggests that there are significant variations in the distributions of voluntary and charitable organisations (cf. Clifford 2012; Mohan 2012) and future work would benefit from investigating how the geographical location of organisations has an impact on whether and where individuals give their time and money. The Third Sector Research Centre has collected an impressive amount of data on all registered charities in the UK over the past 30 years, by drawing on multiple sources including the Charity Commission, Cooperative UK, and the National Survey of Charities and Social Enterprises. Matching these organisational data to (multiple) large-scale secondary surveys and assuming that the distribution of registered organisations represents a reasonable approximation to the distribution of opportunities to volunteer and give, may offer insights into another aspect of social contextual effects of volunteering and giving.

### **6.6.3 Testing social network mechanisms**

This thesis has discussed and built upon a number of social network theories of volunteering and giving. For example, network spillover effects have been tested relating to the role of religion (Ruiter and De Graaf 2006; Lim and MacGregor 2012) and education (Gesthuizen et al. 2008). Hypotheses related to these network theories were derived deductively before testing them empirically without *actually* testing the mechanism at the individual level. Lim and MacGregor (2012) argue that in some instances, inferring network explanations at the

individual-level by using data aggregated to a higher geographical level is not appropriate. In their work they test the religious devoutness contextual associations at multiple levels and find different effects for religious devoutness. Contrary to Ruiter and De Graaf (2006), Lim and MacGregor (2012) find a curvilinear association between volunteering and religious devoutness at the country level, a negative association between volunteering and religious devoutness at the county level, and positive effect between volunteering and religious devoutness in network data. While their critique is commended, two obvious criticisms arise from their approach. Firstly, where possible the current thesis has used geographical information from independent sources that averages measures from “census” data, such as national school records collected by official agencies such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), or the composition of respondents in national survey data, such as the level of ethnic diversity or area social deprivation. This approach may be less problematic in single nation studies, such as chapters 4 and 5, where there is a greater likelihood that individual-level data are representative of England, but is more problematic in cross-national datasets, where sampling in rural and hard-to-reach areas are not represented (although the Gallup World Poll collectors claim that rural areas are representative). Second, testing network effects and mechanisms requires detailed network data. Typically network modules in large-scale datasets only contain information about the respondents’ five closest friends (or similar), which negates the fact that many network theories stress the role of weak ties, which, necessarily, are not included in information about “five closest friends”. Until more complete network data are available, there will always be an element of deductive “black box” mechanism based work. Likewise, Wilkinson’s (1996, 2001) psychosocial relative income hypothesis has been tested, however, the level of psychosocial stress among individuals is omitted from studies. Inclusion of this

variable would test the mechanism associated with Wilkinson's claims, and may increase the variance explained in analyses or indeed explain away the contextual-level social inequality effect.

#### **6.6.4 Cross-classified models**

The thesis suggests that social contexts have independent effects on volunteering and giving. It also finds that social contextual measures have different effects depending on the ecological unit. This raises the question as to whether these ecological units have separate independent effects on volunteering and giving. For example, in chapter 5 school characteristics were associated with the civic engagement of youths, but is school context also a proxy for neighbourhood context? If a youth lives in a socially deprived neighbourhood but attends a school in an area that is less socially deprived, how does this affect their community engagement? The empirical findings indicated that religious class attendance was predictive of engagement, but it is unclear whether this religious activity occurs in the context of schools, neighbourhoods, or indeed elsewhere. In sum, it is unclear how the complex geographical boundaries of social activities interact, and how these spheres of activity capture contextual effects or contribute independent effects.

#### **6.6.5 Improving the measurement of volunteering and giving**

Section 6.5.1 highlights that the methodological approaches between survey datasets make it hard to ascertain and validate the "true" rates of volunteering and giving. Comparative survey programmes that capture information on volunteering and giving can be contradictory or non-existent. Definitions of volunteering and giving differ, governments do not routinely collect

administrative data on it, and there are both temporal and spatial gaps in the coverage of surveys. Differences in methodologies give rise to varying estimates, even within individual countries (for examples, see Staetsky and Mohan 2011; Musick and Wilson 2008: 342-344).

Bayesian methods could be adopted to harmonise estimates of volunteering and giving worldwide by integrating multiple sources of empirical data with expert judgements and uncertainty to reconcile estimates. Similar approaches have been used to develop models for the analysis of migration data across Europe (Raymer et al. 2013; Smith et al. 2010) as well as for predictions of international migration from time series models, non-migratory spatial movements, forecasts of fertility and mortality, and the estimation of population size under situations of very limited information (see Lynch 2007 for an overview). Bayesian statistical methods are ideal for situations in which the data are inadequate or missing because additional expert information can be included in the form of distributions reflecting expert opinions. The resulting estimates represent distributions obtained by the combination of expert beliefs and the available data. These distributions can be used to quantify the uncertainty in the estimates. Such an approach would give academics and policy makers more reliable estimates of volunteering and giving worldwide.

## **6.6 Final note**

The aim of this thesis was to contribute towards a better understanding of the antecedents of volunteering and giving. The empirical chapters tested a number of individual and social environment explanations of these behaviours in different study designs. This thesis makes a number of methodological and theoretical contributions. Firstly, it provides a better comparative understanding of individual and contextual explanations of volunteering and

giving. Second, the comparative investigation generalized previous and relatively novel explanations of both behaviours to a large, more representative, sample of populations and living conditions of people worldwide. Third, the large number of countries investigated enabled the simultaneous testing of more social environment explanations than previous studies. Fourth, it demonstrated that the interplay between individual-level characteristics vary in their effect sizes cross-nationally depending on societal characteristics. Fifth, the contextual-level explanations of volunteering and giving were tested in England for the first time. Sixth, to my knowledge, this is the first time that the effects of area residential stability have been tested as explanations of volunteering and giving. Finally, this study is the first to describe and explore *both* the individual *and* social explanations of youth engagement in England. In sum, this thesis hopefully provides a better understanding of volunteering and giving comparatively and in England. The antecedents of these behaviours are complex, and the findings and recommendations for future research herein demonstrate that this area of research will continue to flourish and proliferate for years to come.

## **APPENDICES**

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## **Appendix 2.1: Gallup World Poll sampling and methodology**

Table A2.1.1 provides basic information about the sampling and methodology of the Gallup World Poll. The Gallup World Poll is a series of cross-sectional data sets that have been collected annually by Gallup since 2005. Individual-level data were gathered via phone or face-to-face interviews in the main language of each country, based on nationally representative samples, capturing a standardized set of questions. Face-to-face interviews lasted approximately one hour, while telephone interviews lasted approximately 30 minutes.

A Random-Digit-Dial (RDD) telephone survey design was used in countries with +80% landline coverage, and face-to-face “Area Frame” surveys were used if the country where this condition was not met. The sample is representative of *all* parts of each country (unless stated in Table A2.1.1 ), including rural areas. Respondents were eligible for interview if aged at least 15. Respondents were selected from households using either a random latest birthday method of Kish Grid.

The face-to-face surveys were sampled using census listings of Primary Sampling Units (PSU), consisting of clusters of households, and random route procedures were used to select sampled households. Interviewers made three attempts to survey the sampled household, unless an outright refusal occurs. If unsuccessful in gathering an interview from a sampled household, interviewers selected the household to the immediate right of the initial household, and then the immediate left of the original household if that was also unsuccessful. In the RDD survey, at least five call attempts are made to reach a person, aged 15 and older, in each household. Typically the design is not stratified, but otherwise the other processes and procedures follow those used in the face-to-face design.

A panel survey was used for US data. These data were collected using national probability sampling as part of Random-Digit-Dial methodology. Respondents that agreed to take part committed to 2-3 years of the survey, which is conducted via telephone. The Gallup Panel is a probability based, nationally representative panel, for which all members

### **Discussion of data quality**

The GWP has been designed and collected in collaboration with the Brookings Institute, World Bank, USAID, the UN, Daniel Kahneman, Angus Deaton, John Halliwell and Jeffrey Sachs. The data are checked centrally for consistency and stability by region and interviewer and study design effects and margins of error are also calculated (see Table A2.1.1).

The data are weighted to account for national representation per country sample. Base sampling weights were used to correct for oversampling and household size (which corresponds with a lower probability of being selected into the sample). Post-stratification weights were also included based on population estimates (where available) of age, gender, socioeconomic status and education.

The format of the GWP data make independent robustness checks problematic. For example, income data are coded in quintiles or in formats such as household income that do not match independent sources such as those contained by the World Bank. Likewise, education data are collapsed into large ordinal variables (i.e. up to 8 years of basic education; 9-15 years of education; and beyond 15 years of education; and unknown). The data collected by most external and independent agencies such as the World Bank and UN include some of these categories as a proportion of 18-25 years old in a country, but not the remaining population who might have achieved a certain level of attainment. In sum, it has been problematic to

assess the data quality independently, however Gallup have disclosed some information regarding in-house robustness checks. For example, the Gallup Methodology (Gallup 2011:8) does thank Angus Deaton for creating the comparable income measures and includes the following statement regarding robustness checks:

“Annual household income in international dollars (ID) is calculated using the Individual Consumption Expenditure by Household PPP ratio from table 1 of the World Bank Global Purchasing Power Parities and Real Expenditures 2005 International Comparison Program (ICP-iceh) report. The ICP-iceh 2005 PPP values are adjusted for inflation relative to the United States for years 2006 and 2007 to arrive at the 2008 PPP. Household income values in local currency are divided by the ICP-iceh PPP ratio to obtain ID. For those countries not covered by the World Bank ICP, GDP-based PPPs from the CIA World Factbook are used. A Pearson Correlation of .94 with the World Bank estimate of per-capita GDP (PPP) has been achieved” (Gallup 2011:8).

Likewise, the Gallup organization claims to have assessed the theoretical robustness of their bespoke country-level indicators with external and independent sources. The GWP includes a range of country-level indicators that are created by aggregating individual-level data, including indexes measuring Law and Order; Food and Shelter; Personal Economy; Personal Health; Citizen Engagement; Well-Being; National Institutions; Corruption; and Youth Development. The reliability of these measures was assessed against country-level data held by a number of independent and external sources including The World Bank, CIA UN, Freedom House. The correlation between GWP measures and these external and independent measures is at least at the .05 level (Gallup 2011: 11).

There was a discussion of the comparability and robustness of “true” estimates of volunteering and giving in chapters 2 and 6. Comparative survey programmes that capture information on volunteering and giving can be contradictory or non-existent. Definitions of volunteering and giving differ, governments do not routinely collect administrative data on it,

and there are both temporal and spatial gaps in the coverage of surveys. Differences in methodologies give rise to varying estimates, even within individual countries (for examples, see Rooney et al. 2001; Rooney et al. 2004; Staetsky and Mohan 2011; Musick and Wilson 2008: 342-344). It is problematic to comment on the volunteering estimates across datasets, however the associations of volunteering and giving with previous individual-level explanations of these behaviours is consistent with the findings of Ruiter and De Graaf (2006) who use the World Values Survey/European Values Survey, which are widely used in the social sciences. Females volunteer less than males, age is curvilinear (increasing with age but declining in later life), the higher educated volunteer more, married and single people volunteer more than the separated/divorced and widowed, and religious affiliates and service attendees volunteer more than the non-religious and those that do not attend. In terms of the giving estimates found in the GWP, the estimates are typically in-between those found in the European Social Survey and Eurobarometer for comparable countries (see Bekkers 2012).

Table A2.1.1 Gallup World Poll sampling and methodology information

Country	Sample <sup>a</sup>	Mode of data collection	Design effect <sup>b</sup>	Margin of Error <sup>c</sup>	No oversample unless stated <sup>d</sup>	Samples weighted unless stated
Algeria	1,084	Face-to-face	1.54	3.7		The sparsely populated deep South and governorates that represent security risks within Algiers were excluded. The excluded areas represent approximately 25% of the population.
Angola	852	Face-to-face	1.39	3.7		Coverage includes all urban and rural provinces. However, some rural areas were excluded because of inaccessibility or dangerous conditions. The excluded area represents approximately 30% of the population.
Argentina	1,859	Face-to-face	1.1	3.3		
Armenia	937	Face-to-face	1.35	3.6		
Australia	1,125	Landline telephone	1.31	3.2		
Austria	935	Landline and cellular telephone	1.47	3.8		
Azerbaijan	943	Face-to-face	1.24	3.5		Nagorno-Karabakh and territories not included for safety of interviewers. These areas represent less than 10% of the total population.
Bangladesh	2,189	Face-to-face	1.36	3.3		
Belarus	975	Face-to-face	1.07	3.9		
Belgium	1,717	Landline telephone	1.46	3.7		
Belize	389	Face-to-face	1.05	4.5		
Benin	944	Face-to-face	1.69	4		

Bolivia	1,930	Face-to-face	1.45	3.7	
Botswana	500	Face-to-face	1.85	4.2	The sample has a larger-than-expected proportion of respondents who report completing secondary education when compared with the data used for post-stratification weighting. <sup>c</sup>
Brazil	1,967	Face-to-face	1.27	3.4	
Burkina Faso	1,925	Face-to-face	1.19	3.4	
Burundi	962	Face-to-face	1.53	3.8	
Cambodia	1,984	Face-to-face	1.38	3.6	
Cameroon	1,938	Face-to-face	1.23	3.4	
Canada	1,751	Landline telephone	1.69	4	
Central African Rep.	966	Face-to-face	1.24	3.5	
Chad	1,905	Face-to-face	1.7	4	
Chile	1,960	Face-to-face	1.68	4	
Colombia	1,923	Face-to-face	1.24	3.5	
Congo Brazzaville	917	Face-to-face	1.49	3.8	
Costa Rica	1,881	Face-to-face	1.05	3.2	
Czech Republic	219	Face-to-face	1.09	3.1	
Denmark	1,692	Landline telephone	1.26	3.5	
Djibouti	973	Face-to-face	1.15	3.3	
Dominican Rep.	1,963	Face-to-face	1.42	3.7	
Ecuador	2,003	Face-to-face	1.07	3.1	
Egypt	1,056	Face-to-face	1.03	3.1	
El Salvador	1,847	Face-to-face	1.01	3.1	
Estonia	540	Face-to-face	1.02	3.1	
Ethiopia	976	Face-to-face	1.66	4	
Finland	913	Landline and cellular telephone	1.62	3.9	
France	1,782	Landline telephone	1.43	3.4	

Georgia	1,029	Face-to-face	1.19	3.4	Tbilisi	South Ossetia and Abkhazia were not included for the safety of the interviewers. The excluded area represents approximately 7% of the population.
Germany	1,782	Landline telephone	1.24	3.1		
Ghana	1,810	Face-to-face	2.99	5.4		
Greece	972	Face-to-face	1.03	3.1		
Guatemala	1,802	Face-to-face	1.03	3.1		
Guinea	950	Face-to-face	1.32	3.6		
Guyana	474	Face-to-face	1.12	4.6		
Haiti	354	Face-to-face	1.22	4.8		
Honduras	1,851	Face-to-face	1.01	3.1		
Hong Kong	406	Landline telephone	1.48	3.9		
Hungary	1,832	Face-to-face	1.29	3.5		
Iceland	297	Face-to-face	1.39	5.2		
India	5,103	Face-to-face	3.23	3.1	Urban	Excluded population living in Northeast states and remote islands. The excluded areas represent less than 10% of the population.
Indonesia	2,014	Face-to-face	1.04	3.2		
Iran	1,021	Face-to-face	1.12	3.3		
Iraq	948	Face-to-face	1.38	3.7		
Ireland	933	Landline telephone	1.79	4.1		
Israel	1,934	Face-to-face	1.14	3.3		The sample does not include the area of East Jerusalem. This area is included in the sample of Palestinian Territories.
Italy	1,917	Landline telephone	1.18	3.4		
Japan	3,977	Landline telephone	1.06	3		
Kazakhstan	905	Face-to-face	1.42	3.7		

Kenya	3,024	Face-to-face	2.2	4.6	Nairobi	
Kyrgyzstan	986	Face-to-face	1.27	3.5		
Laos	1,982	Face-to-face	1.1	3.2		Excluded remote rural areas. The excluded areas represent approximately 10% of the population.
Latvia	466	Face-to-face	1.03	3.1	Urban	
Liberia	1,811	Face-to-face	1.2	3.4		
Lithuania	478	Face-to-face	1.05	3.2		
Luxembourg	461	Landline telephone	1.44	5.3		
Madagascar	989	Face-to-face	1.8	4.2		Because of security issues, only villages within one day of foot travel and located near roads were included in the sample. The excluded areas represent approximately 70% of the population.
Malawi	986	Face-to-face	1.46	3.7		
Malaysia	2,128	Face-to-face	1.13	3		
Mali	985	Face-to-face	1.53	3.8		
Malta	494	Landline telephone	1.37	5.1		
Mauritania	1,924	Face-to-face	1.1	3.3		
Mexico	955	Face-to-face	1.5	3.8		
Moldova	870	Face-to-face	1.1	3.2		Transnistria (Prednestrovie) excluded for safety of interviewers. The excluded area represents approximately 13% of the population.
Mongolia	1,795	Face-to-face	1.26	3.5	Urban	
Mozambique	1,839	Face-to-face	1.24	3.5		
Namibia	980	Face-to-face	1.27	3.5		
Nepal	1,973	Face-to-face	1.45	3.7		
Netherlands	1,506	Face-to-face	1.33	3.6		

New Zealand	529	Face-to-face	1.09	3.7		
Nicaragua	1,861	Face-to-face	1.01	3.1		
Niger	1,970	Face-to-face	1.6	3.9		The Northern part of the country (Agadez region) was excluded due to insecurities. The excluded area represents approximately 5% of the population.
Nigeria	1,901	Face-to-face	1.19	3.4		
Norway	736	Face-to-face	1.42	3.7		
Pakistan	3,571	Face-to-face	1.54	3.1		FATA and AJK were excluded. The excluded area represents approximately 5% of the population. Gender-matched sampling was used during the final stage of selection.
Panama	1,934	Face-to-face	1.02	3.1	Urban	
Paraguay	1,938	Face-to-face	1.15	3.3		
Peru	1,939	Face-to-face	1.4	3.7		
Philippines	1,981	Face-to-face	1.36	3.6	Urban	
Poland	1,863	Face-to-face	1.23	3.4		
Portugal	908	Landline and cellular telephone	1.39	3.7		
Romania	960	Face-to-face	1.33	3.6		
Russia	1,863	Face-to-face	1.65	2.3	Urban	
Rwanda	945	Face-to-face	1.66	4		
Senegal	1,963	Face-to-face	1.02	3.1		The sample has a larger-than-expected proportion of respondents who report completing secondary education when compared with the data used for post-stratification weighting <sup>e</sup>
Sierra Leone	1,872	Face-to-face	1.23	3.4		
Singapore	2,222	Face-to-face	1.34	3.6		

South Africa	1,645	Face-to-face	1.55	3.9		
South Korea	1,192	Landline telephone	1.5	3.8		
Spain	1,812	Landline telephone	1.16	3.3		
Sri Lanka	980	Face-to-face	1.43	3.7	Urban	Excluded areas under conflict in the Northern and Eastern parts of Sri Lanka. The excluded area represents approximately 10% of the population.
Sudan	970	Face-to-face	1.12	3.3		
Sweden	1,418	Landline telephone	1.09	3.2		
Syria	1,068	Face-to-face	2.06	4		
Tajikistan	974	Face-to-face	1.29	3.5		
Tanzania	1,840	Face-to-face	2.51	4.9		The Tanga region was excluded. The excluded area represents approximately 5% of the population.
Thailand	2,012	Face-to-face	1.36	3.6		
Togo	844	Face-to-face	2.02	4.4		
Trinidad & Tobago	476	Face-to-face	1.2	4.8		
Tunisia	1,100	Face-to-face	1.36	3.4		
Turkey	1,940	Face-to-face	1.3	3.5		
Uganda	1,938	Face-to-face	1.41	3.7		Northern region was excluded due to presence of LRA rebels. The excluded area represents approximately 10% of the population. The sample has a larger-than-expected proportion of respondents who report completing secondary education when compared with the data used for post-stratification weighting. <sup>c</sup>
Ukraine	953	Face-to-face	1.74	4	Urban	
United Kingdom	1,690	Landline telephone	1.33	3.3		

United States	1,664	Panel	2.1	4.1		
Uruguay	1,630	Face-to-face	1.07	3.2		
Uzbekistan	968	Face-to-face	1.37	3.6		
Venezuela	1,973	Face-to-face	1.22	3.4		
Vietnam	1,106	Face-to-face	1.32	3.5	Urban	
Zambia	1,915	Face-to-face	2.45	4.9		The sample has a larger-than-expected proportion of respondents who report completing secondary education when compared with the data used for post-stratification weighting. <sup>c</sup>
Total	172,429					

Source: Gallup (2012): Worldwide Research – Country Data Set Details.

Notes: <sup>a</sup>Country samples refer to restricted model samples in chapter 2 in this thesis (i.e. respondents with full individual and contextual information).

<sup>b</sup>The design effect calculation reflects the weights and does not incorporate the intraclass correlation coefficients.

Design effect calculation:  $n * (\text{sum of squared weights}) / [(\text{sum of weights}) * (\text{sum of weights})]$

<sup>c</sup>Margin of error is calculated around a proportion at the 95% confidence level.

The maximum margin of error was calculated assuming a reported percentage of 50% and takes into account the design effect.

Margin of error calculation:  $\sqrt{(0.25/N) * 1.96 * \sqrt{DE}}$ .

<sup>d</sup>Areas with disproportionately high number of interviews in the sample.

<sup>e</sup>Reasons for these differences could include household sampling, respondent sampling in the household, errors in self-reports of actual attainment or dated population information

## Appendix 2.2. Robustness of contextual-level parameter estimation.

Table A2.2.1 Separate estimation of country-level parameters for multilevel logistic regression results predicting volunteering.

	model 1	model 2	model 3	model 4	model 5	model 6	model 7	model 8	model 9	model 10
<i>Individual-level variables</i>										
Female (ref. male)	-0.109*** (0.013)	-0.109*** (0.013)	-0.109*** (0.013)	-0.109*** (0.013)	-0.109*** (0.013)	-0.109*** (0.013)	-0.109*** (0.013)	-0.109*** (0.013)	-0.109*** (0.013)	-0.108*** (0.013)
Age	0.013*** (0.002)	0.013*** (0.002)	0.013*** (0.002)	0.013*** (0.002)	0.013*** (0.002)	0.013*** (0.002)	0.013*** (0.002)	0.013*** (0.002)	0.013*** (0.002)	0.013*** (0.002)
Age-squared	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)
Education (ref. ≤ 8 years)										
Education (9-15 years)	0.301*** (0.017)	0.300*** (0.017)	0.300*** (0.017)	0.300*** (0.017)	0.301*** (0.017)	0.300*** (0.017)	0.300*** (0.017)	0.301*** (0.017)	0.301*** (0.017)	0.301*** (0.017)
Education (≥16 years)	0.508*** (0.024)	0.506*** (0.024)	0.507*** (0.024)	0.507*** (0.024)	0.508*** (0.024)	0.507*** (0.024)	0.507*** (0.024)	0.507*** (0.024)	0.506*** (0.024)	0.507*** (0.024)
Unknown	0.227*** (0.027)	0.226*** (0.027)	0.226*** (0.027)	0.227*** (0.027)	0.227*** (0.027)	0.226*** (0.027)	0.227*** (0.027)	0.227*** (0.027)	0.227*** (0.027)	0.226*** (0.027)
Marital status (ref. married)										
Single	0.054** (0.018)	0.054** (0.018)	0.054** (0.018)	0.055** (0.018)	0.054** (0.018)	0.054** (0.018)	0.054** (0.018)	0.054** (0.018)	0.054** (0.018)	0.054** (0.018)
Separated/divorced	-0.048+ (0.028)	-0.049+ (0.028)	-0.049+ (0.028)	-0.049+ (0.028)	-0.048+ (0.028)	-0.048+ (0.028)	-0.048+ (0.028)	-0.048+ (0.028)	-0.049+ (0.028)	-0.049+ (0.028)
Widowed	-0.129*** (0.029)	-0.129*** (0.029)	-0.130*** (0.029)	-0.130*** (0.029)	-0.129*** (0.029)	-0.129*** (0.029)	-0.129*** (0.029)	-0.129*** (0.029)	-0.130*** (0.029)	-0.130*** (0.029)

A Comparative Study of Volunteering and Giving

Cohabiting	-0.068*	-0.069*	-0.067*	-0.067*	-0.068*	-0.068*	-0.068*	-0.068*	-0.068*	-0.068*
	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)
Unknown	0.023	0.029	0.020	0.025	0.021	0.026	0.026	0.025	0.024	0.026
	(0.075)	(0.075)	(0.075)	(0.075)	(0.075)	(0.075)	(0.075)	(0.075)	(0.075)	(0.075)
Income (ref. third income quintile)										
Poorest income quintile	-0.095***	-0.095***	-0.095***	-0.096***	-0.095***	-0.095***	-0.095***	-0.095***	-0.096***	-0.095***
	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)
Second income quintile	-0.015	-0.015	-0.015	-0.015	-0.015	-0.015	-0.015	-0.015	-0.014	-0.014
	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)
Fourth income quintile	0.063**	0.063**	0.063**	0.063**	0.063**	0.063**	0.063**	0.063**	0.062**	0.062**
	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)
Richest income quintile	0.151***	0.151***	0.151***	0.151***	0.151***	0.151***	0.151***	0.151***	0.151***	0.151***
	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)
Unknown income	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	0.000	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	0.000
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)
Health	0.025+	0.026+	0.025+	0.025+	0.025+	0.025+	0.026+	0.025+	0.025+	0.026+
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Children under 1f years (ref. none)										
1-10 children	0.043**	0.044**	0.043**	0.043**	0.043**	0.043**	0.043**	0.043**	0.043**	0.043**
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)
11+/unknown/unrealistic	-0.056+	-0.052+	-0.055+	-0.053+	-0.056+	-0.054+	-0.054+	-0.055+	-0.054+	-0.051+
	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)
Employed (ref. unemployed)	0.233***	0.233***	0.233***	0.233***	0.233***	0.233***	0.233***	0.233***	0.233***	0.233***
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Religious membership (ref. none)										
Catholic	0.143***	0.143***	0.144***	0.147***	0.143***	0.144***	0.144***	0.144***	0.176***	0.176***
	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.038)	(0.038)

A Comparative Study of Volunteering and Giving

Protestant	0.240*** (0.038)	0.240*** (0.038)	0.240*** (0.038)	0.243*** (0.038)	0.240*** (0.038)	0.241*** (0.038)	0.241*** (0.038)	0.241*** (0.038)	0.262*** (0.038)	0.260*** (0.038)
Orthodox	0.208*** (0.054)	0.216*** (0.054)	0.206*** (0.054)	0.204*** (0.054)	0.210*** (0.054)	0.210*** (0.054)	0.210*** (0.054)	0.209*** (0.054)	0.227*** (0.054)	0.223*** (0.054)
Muslim	0.142*** (0.043)	0.152*** (0.043)	0.148*** (0.043)	0.145*** (0.043)	0.142*** (0.043)	0.145*** (0.043)	0.146*** (0.043)	0.144*** (0.043)	0.173*** (0.044)	0.182*** (0.044)
Hindu	0.068 (0.067)	0.076 (0.067)	0.073 (0.067)	0.076 (0.067)	0.069 (0.067)	0.070 (0.068)	0.071 (0.068)	0.069 (0.068)	0.096 (0.067)	0.109 (0.067)
Buddhist	0.241*** (0.048)	0.244*** (0.048)	0.244*** (0.048)	0.244*** (0.048)	0.242*** (0.048)	0.241*** (0.048)	0.242*** (0.048)	0.241*** (0.048)	0.248*** (0.048)	0.256*** (0.048)
Jewish	0.075 (0.117)	0.077 (0.117)	0.078 (0.117)	0.083 (0.117)	0.074 (0.117)	0.075 (0.117)	0.075 (0.117)	0.076 (0.117)	0.116 (0.117)	0.120 (0.116)
Other	0.321*** (0.053)	0.323*** (0.053)	0.321*** (0.053)	0.325*** (0.053)	0.321*** (0.053)	0.322*** (0.053)	0.322*** (0.053)	0.322*** (0.053)	0.311*** (0.053)	0.314*** (0.053)
Service attendance	0.622*** (0.014)	0.623*** (0.014)	0.622*** (0.014)	0.623*** (0.014)	0.622*** (0.014)	0.622*** (0.014)	0.623*** (0.014)	0.622*** (0.014)	0.620*** (0.014)	0.621*** (0.014)
<i>Country-level variables</i>										
Ethnic diversity	0.309 (0.196)									0.308 (0.229)
Income inequality		0.014* (0.006)								0.020** (0.006)
Wilkinson's income threshold		0.089 (0.148)								0.369* (0.181)
Income inequality X threshold		-0.037** (0.014)								-0.048*** (0.014)
Religious diversity			0.745*** (0.215)							0.499* (0.207)
National devoutness				-4.759*** (1.151)						-3.536** (1.164)

A Comparative Study of Volunteering and Giving

National devoutness squared				4.917*** (1.192)						3.259** (1.222)
Age-dependency ratio					0.004 (0.003)					-0.001 (0.005)
Rural population						-0.000 (0.002)				-0.003 (0.003)
Democracy							0.006 (0.014)			-0.024 (0.016)
Economic development								-0.016 (0.039)		-0.140 (0.098)
<i>Cross-level interaction</i>										
Religious minority									0.055*** (0.016)	0.053*** (0.016)
Intercept	-2.103*** (0.066)	-2.200*** (0.073)	-2.115*** (0.065)	-2.126*** (0.064)	-2.102*** (0.066)	-2.108*** (0.066)	-2.108*** (0.066)	-2.106*** (0.067)	-2.145*** (0.067)	-2.345*** (0.076)
Level 1 units	171699	171699	171699	171699	171699	171699	171699	171699	171699	171699
Level 2 units	119	119	119	119	119	119	119	119	119	119
Log Likelihood	-86043.57	-86038.78	-86039.09	-86036.77	-86043.88	-86044.79	-86044.70	-86044.72	-86038.48	-86014.33
Degrees of freedom	30	32	30	31	30	30	30	30	30	41
AIC	172151	172146	172142	172140	172152	172154	172153	172153	172141	172115
BIC	172473	172487	172464	172471	172473	172475	172475	172475	172463	172547

Table A2.2.2 Separate estimation of country-level parameters for multilevel logistic regression results predicting giving.

	model 1	model 2	model 3	model 4	model 5	model 6	model 7	model 8	model 9	model 10
<i>Individual-level variables</i>										
Female (ref. male)	0.102*** (0.012)	0.102*** (0.012)	0.103*** (0.012)	0.102*** (0.012)	0.102*** (0.012)	0.102*** (0.012)	0.102*** (0.012)	0.102*** (0.012)	0.103*** (0.012)	0.102*** (0.012)
Age	0.021*** (0.002)	0.021*** (0.002)	0.021*** (0.002)	0.021*** (0.002)	0.021*** (0.002)	0.021*** (0.002)	0.021*** (0.002)	0.021*** (0.002)	0.021*** (0.002)	0.021*** (0.002)
Age-squared	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)
Education (ref. ≤ 8 years)										
Education (9-15 years)	0.312*** (0.016)	0.311*** (0.016)	0.312*** (0.016)	0.312*** (0.016)	0.311*** (0.016)	0.311*** (0.016)	0.312*** (0.016)	0.310*** (0.016)	0.312*** (0.016)	0.311*** (0.016)
Education (≥16 years)	0.582*** (0.023)	0.581*** (0.023)	0.583*** (0.023)	0.583*** (0.023)	0.582*** (0.023)	0.582*** (0.023)	0.583*** (0.023)	0.581*** (0.023)	0.583*** (0.023)	0.582*** (0.023)
Unknown	0.321*** (0.025)	0.322*** (0.025)	0.322*** (0.025)	0.321*** (0.025)	0.321*** (0.025)	0.321*** (0.025)	0.322*** (0.025)	0.321*** (0.025)	0.322*** (0.025)	0.322*** (0.025)
Marital status (ref. married)										
Single	-0.132*** (0.017)	-0.133*** (0.017)	-0.132*** (0.017)	-0.132*** (0.017)	-0.132*** (0.017)	-0.133*** (0.017)	-0.133*** (0.017)	-0.132*** (0.017)	-0.132*** (0.017)	-0.133*** (0.017)
Separated/divorced	-0.179*** (0.027)	-0.179*** (0.027)	-0.179*** (0.027)	-0.179*** (0.027)	-0.179*** (0.027)	-0.179*** (0.027)	-0.179*** (0.027)	-0.179*** (0.027)	-0.179*** (0.027)	-0.179*** (0.027)
Widowed	-0.116*** (0.026)	-0.116*** (0.026)	-0.116*** (0.026)	-0.116*** (0.026)	-0.116*** (0.026)	-0.116*** (0.026)	-0.116*** (0.026)	-0.116*** (0.026)	-0.116*** (0.026)	-0.116*** (0.026)
Cohabiting	-0.158*** (0.029)	-0.159*** (0.029)	-0.158*** (0.029)	-0.158*** (0.029)	-0.158*** (0.029)	-0.159*** (0.029)	-0.159*** (0.029)	-0.159*** (0.029)	-0.158*** (0.029)	-0.159*** (0.029)
Unknown	-0.150* (0.067)	-0.149* (0.067)	-0.153* (0.067)	-0.153* (0.067)	-0.149* (0.067)	-0.153* (0.067)	-0.154* (0.067)	-0.152* (0.067)	-0.154* (0.067)	-0.145* (0.067)

A Comparative Study of Volunteering and Giving

Income (ref. third income quintile)										
Poorest income quintile	-0.244***	-0.244***	-0.244***	-0.244***	-0.244***	-0.244***	-0.244***	-0.244***	-0.244***	-0.244***
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)
Second income quintile	-0.133***	-0.133***	-0.133***	-0.133***	-0.133***	-0.133***	-0.133***	-0.133***	-0.133***	-0.133***
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)
Fourth income quintile	0.121***	0.121***	0.121***	0.121***	0.121***	0.121***	0.121***	0.121***	0.121***	0.121***
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)
Richest income quintile	0.320***	0.320***	0.320***	0.320***	0.320***	0.320***	0.320***	0.320***	0.320***	0.320***
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)
Unknown income	-0.071***	-0.071***	-0.070***	-0.070***	-0.070***	-0.071***	-0.071***	-0.071***	-0.071***	-0.071***
	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.020)
Health	0.038**	0.038**	0.038**	0.038**	0.038**	0.038**	0.038**	0.038**	0.038**	0.038**
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Children under 1f years (ref. none)										
1-10 children	-0.032*	-0.031*	-0.032*	-0.032*	-0.032*	-0.032*	-0.032*	-0.031*	-0.032*	-0.031*
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)
11+/unknown/unrealistic	-0.132***	-0.129***	-0.134***	-0.133***	-0.132***	-0.132***	-0.133***	-0.130***	-0.134***	-0.128***
	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.027)
Employed (ref. unemployed)	0.195***	0.195***	0.195***	0.195***	0.195***	0.195***	0.195***	0.195***	0.195***	0.195***
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Religious membership (ref. none)										
Catholic	0.233***	0.232***	0.232***	0.233***	0.234***	0.232***	0.231***	0.233***	0.237***	0.236***
	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.036)	(0.036)
Protestant	0.227***	0.225***	0.225***	0.226***	0.227***	0.226***	0.225***	0.227***	0.228***	0.228***
	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.036)	(0.036)
Orthodox	0.146*	0.147*	0.148*	0.145*	0.142*	0.145*	0.147*	0.142*	0.150*	0.148*
	(0.058)	(0.058)	(0.058)	(0.058)	(0.058)	(0.058)	(0.058)	(0.058)	(0.058)	(0.058)

A Comparative Study of Volunteering and Giving

Muslim	0.346*** (0.042)	0.353*** (0.042)	0.343*** (0.042)	0.344*** (0.042)	0.345*** (0.042)	0.346*** (0.042)	0.349*** (0.042)	0.348*** (0.042)	0.347*** (0.042)	0.355*** (0.042)
Hindu	0.150* (0.061)	0.158** (0.061)	0.147* (0.061)	0.149* (0.061)	0.149* (0.061)	0.154* (0.061)	0.152* (0.061)	0.154* (0.061)	0.151* (0.062)	0.161** (0.062)
Buddhist	0.183*** (0.044)	0.192*** (0.044)	0.182*** (0.044)	0.183*** (0.044)	0.182*** (0.044)	0.187*** (0.044)	0.188*** (0.044)	0.187*** (0.044)	0.184*** (0.044)	0.193*** (0.044)
Jewish	0.949*** (0.105)	0.945*** (0.105)	0.948*** (0.105)	0.948*** (0.105)	0.950*** (0.105)	0.945*** (0.105)	0.948*** (0.105)	0.946*** (0.105)	0.956*** (0.106)	0.953*** (0.106)
Other	0.223*** (0.051)	0.224*** (0.051)	0.222*** (0.051)	0.223*** (0.051)	0.223*** (0.051)	0.223*** (0.051)	0.223*** (0.051)	0.224*** (0.051)	0.220*** (0.051)	0.222*** (0.051)
Service attendance	0.623*** (0.013)	0.624*** (0.013)	0.622*** (0.013)	0.623*** (0.013)	0.623*** (0.013)	0.623*** (0.013)	0.623*** (0.013)	0.624*** (0.013)	0.622*** (0.013)	0.623*** (0.013)
<i>Country-level variables</i>										
Ethnic diversity	-0.307 (0.328)									-0.352 (0.366)
Income inequality		0.028** (0.009)								0.022* (0.010)
Wilkinson's income threshold		1.113*** (0.212)								1.105*** (0.285)
Income inequality X threshold		-0.060** (0.021)								-0.062** (0.021)
Religious diversity			-0.127 (0.398)							0.106 (0.329)
National devoutness				1.659*** (0.401)						1.445** (0.475)
Age-dependency ratio					-0.018*** (0.005)					-0.012 (0.007)
Rural population						-0.015*** (0.004)				-0.000 (0.005)

A Comparative Study of Volunteering and Giving

Democracy							0.104***			-0.026
							(0.023)			(0.026)
Economic development								0.362***		0.052
								(0.060)		(0.142)
<i>Cross-level interaction</i>										
Religious minority									0.009	0.008
									(0.015)	(0.015)
Intercept	-1.749***	-2.139***	-1.732***	-1.750***	-1.756***	-1.748***	-1.733***	-1.765***	-1.739***	-2.138***
Level 1 units	172429	172429	172429	172429	172429	172429	172429	172429	172429	172429
Level 2 units										
Log Likelihood	-92375.73	-92353.37	-92383.16	-92381.88	-92377.06	-92375.22	-92374.17	-92367.49	-92383.05	-92347.27
Degrees of freedom	30	32	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	40
AIC	184815	184775	184830	184828	184818	184814	184812	184799	184830	184779
BIC	185137	185117	185152	185150	185140	185136	185134	185121	185152	185201

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