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Being Volunteered? The Impact of Social Participation and Pro-Social Attitudes on Volunteering[1]

Thomas Janoski,[2,3] March Musick,[4] and John Wilson[5]

While disagreeing over the reasons why the performance of civic obligations seems to be declining, conservatives and liberals agree that people need to be reminded of their duties as citizens for this decline to be halted. But do these exhortations work? This paper tests two theories about how people become volunteers. The "normativist" perspective assumes that volunteer behavior flows from socialization into pro-social attitudes; the "social practice" perspective stresses the formative role of practical experiences and social participation. Using a panel study of high school seniors who were reinterviewed in their mid-20s and again in their early 30s, we show that volunteer work undertaken in high school has long-term benefits as does social participation more generally but that socialization into pro-social attitudes has an even stronger influence on volunteering in middle age. The implications of our study are that mandatory community service programs can boost later volunteer efforts but that socialization into appropriate citizenship attitudes is of equal, if not greater, importance.

KEY WORDS: volunteer work; social participation; civic obligation; citizenship; pro-social attitudes; social practice; normativist; community service programs.

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INTRODUCTION

Volunteering has recently become the focus of much political debate. Can volunteer labor replace the work previously done by government agencies whose staffs have been reduced by budget cuts? Who will replace the women who once comprised the bulk of the volunteer labor force but who now are entering the paid labor force in increasing numbers (Ellis and Noyes, 1990:292)? Social scientists can contribute to this debate by throwing more light on the supply of volunteer labor. How do people get into volunteering in the first place? What kind of inducement is most likely to attract and keep volunteers (Hodgkinson, 1995)? Most important of all, how can the supply of volunteer labor be increased?

The profile of the typical volunteer is familiar. He or she is likely to be above average in education and income (Smith, 1994). There is a good chance that he or she will be active in the church (Wilson and Janoski, 1995). He or she is likely to be a parent. Unfortunately, little of this information is of help in deciding how the supply of volunteer labor can be increased unless we conclude that increasing the size of the middle class, or religiosity, or the birth rate is the appropriate strategy. A better method of understanding how to boost the supply of volunteers is to learn more about how volunteers are created in the first place. Where are the roots of volunteering? Why do some young people become involved and others not? How are young people socialized into a culture of volunteering? How do experiences in early life affect the likelihood of volunteering later in life?

In the political debate over volunteering, the question of how to encourage more people to give their time occupies center stage. For some, a more abundant supply of volunteer labor will follow if people are taught early and reminded often of their duties as citizens to help those less fortunate than themselves. While churches and many private bodies already spread the message, public institutions also can play a role. Schools can provide citizenship training that disseminates appropriate values and attitudes. Other participants in the debate, while not discounting the value of socialization, point to the need for more practical preparation for volunteer work. They argue that it is important to get young people involved in volunteering early in life. They should be encouraged to accumulate what Putnam (1995) calls "social capital"—organization memberships and social ties that connect them to other people.

The first approach emphasizes the role of values and beliefs in guiding conduct; the second emphasizes the role of structured opportunity and social resources. The first attaches importance to altruistic motives and fellow-feeling among volunteers. The second assumes that, while most people are "virtuous" in the sense of caring about others, only a minority actually

put these virtuous feelings into practice. This minority is already "embedded" in social organizations and "at risk" of being asked by others to do good (Hodgkinson, 1995:41). Today, this debate takes place over the wisdom of "forcing" high school students to take on community projects, whether or not they wish to do so or believe in the value of the work. Those in favor of "service learning" believe in the efficacy of practice. They are opposed by those who see obligatory volunteering as a contradiction in terms.

THEORY

In this paper we contribute to the debate about how to increase the supply of volunteers. We identify two perspectives on the roots of volunteering that capture not only the two sides of the political debate but two sociological approaches to social participation in general. We then design an analytical strategy to enable us to say which of these two approaches does the best job of identifying the most fertile soil for new volunteers. We call the first sociological perspective "normativist." Drawing chiefly from Durkheim (1973) and Tocqueville (1960), the normativist perspective emphasizes the role of values, norms, and attitudes as explanations of human behavior. Patterns of behavior reflect people's socialization into appropriate and legitimate values. Wuthnow (1995) as a representative of this perspective argues that an ethic of caring is fostered originally in the family. It is later channeled into volunteer work by secondary institutions such as churches, schools, and voluntary organizations. Quite simply put, attitudes favorable toward a behavior will have a positive influence on whether or not the individual engages in it (Christenson *et al.*, 1988:810). For example, people for whom helping others is a value are more likely to act in a socially responsive way (Christenson, 1976).

We call the second perspective "social practice" to invoke the idea that patterns of social behavior need not reflect norms and values as much as they do habitual ways of acting acquired through practical experience. Thus, volunteering is not the outcome of objective social structures such as value patterns and normative systems. Nor, however, is volunteering to be explained adequately by reference to individual motives and subjective interpretations. Instead, we use Bourdieu's (1977) idea of "habitus" to explain volunteering. Habitus is a system of predispositions. People become habituated to certain modes of conduct through everyday practice. Through these practices, people become used to and comfortable with social routines and situations. They learn and reproduce what Collins (1987) calls "interaction ritual chains."

The social practice perspective downplays the role of values and attitudes and emphasizes instead the binding role of practice. According to this theory, people acquire the "habit" of volunteering because they are routinely placed in social situations and social relationships where the social skills and dispositions requisite for volunteer work are developed. They might or might not be aware of values extolling volunteer work. One implication of this perspective is that people need not have developed any knowledge of, or attraction to, volunteering before they undertake it, although favorable (or unfavorable) attitudes might develop once it is begun.

ANALYTICAL DESIGN

As we indicated earlier, the normativist and the social practice perspectives already are represented in the writings on volunteering. For example, in a recent review of research on volunteering, Schervish (1995:10) identifies "frameworks of consciousness" as one of five sets of factors mobilizing volunteer effort. "Some mobilizing beliefs are better described as general values, other beliefs are really fundamental orientations, while still other beliefs involve causes we are dedicated to." Another set of factors Schervish identifies is "communities of participation," by which he means the contribution to volunteering made by participation in formal or informal organizations, what Putnam (1995) calls "social capital" and Verba *et al.* (1995) call "civic skills."

The simplest way of finding out which of these sets of mobilizing factors has the stronger impact on volunteering is to estimate linear regression models and compare beta coefficients for the two sets of factors. However, this method fails to consider an important possibility. "Mobilizing factors" might actually be the effect and volunteering the cause. It is quite plausible that volunteer work draws people into social participation more generally, and equally plausible that volunteer work fosters pro-social attitudes.[6] Disentangling cause and effect calls for a longitudinal design, permitting mobilizing factors to occur before volunteering. Not only this, but we have to allow for the simultaneous possibility that volunteering and mobilizing factors might be reciprocally related. Social participation provides the right skills and social contacts for volunteer work, but volunteer work can also encourage membership in organizations devoted to that work or involvement in local political campaigns where community problems are being tackled (Verba *et al.*, 1995). Likewise, pro-social values can encourage vol-

[6]An extensive literature in sociology, social psychology, and political science points to the problematic nature of the causal relationship between attitudes and behavior (Chaiken and Stagnor, 1987; Eagly and Chaiken, 1993; Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975; Liska, 1974).

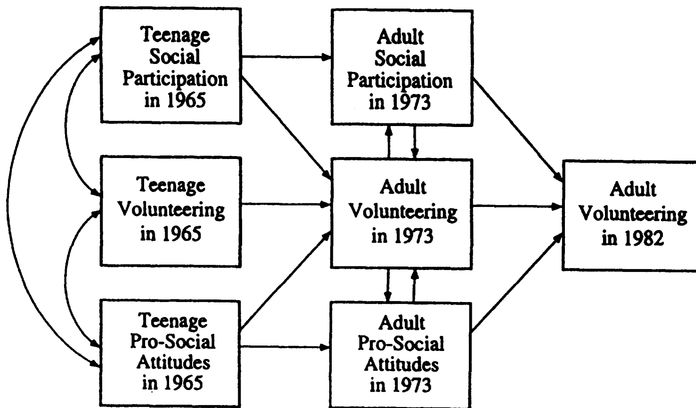

Fig. 1. A longitudinal model predicting volunteering from youth to middle age.

unteer work, but that volunteer work, if it is satisfying and meaningful, can reinforce and strengthen those same values. These possibilities call for a design not only allowing for reciprocal and simultaneous effects, but also lagged effects. The ideal design is modeled in Fig. 1.

The figure assumes that there will be continuity in volunteering over the life span (Gallagher, 1994:569). Early volunteering leads to later volunteering. It might be said that, once people enter the volunteer labor force, they become attached to it. This assumption constitutes the core of the model. We propose to examine whether attitudes or practice have any impact on this attachment. Using three waves of data gathered at different stages of the life course, we ask first, whether social practice and attitudes in the first wave determine volunteering in the second wave (net of volunteering in the first wave); second, if social practice and attitudes in the second wave have simultaneous and reciprocal effects on volunteering in the second wave; third, if social practice and attitudes in the second wave have any effect on volunteering in the third wave.

DEPENDENT VARIABLE

In the survey we use for this study, respondents were asked if they had volunteered to help solve a community problem. Respondents first were asked this question in their 20s and again when they were in their 30s. Since this was a panel study, respondents were asked if they had volunteered since the time of the last survey. On each occasion, they were given two chances to mention instances of volunteer work. We constructed

an index of these three responses for each wave, ranging from 0 to 3. This is a measure of breadth, how extensive a person's involvement in volunteer is. This seems to be a more appropriate measure of variation in volunteer work over an eight-year span than a measure of hours. It is much more likely that a respondent would recall correctly how many activities with which she or he had been involved, than how many hours (a month or year) she or he had devoted to that work. The reference to "community problems" gives this item a more "public" connotation than is found in other surveys of volunteering.[7]

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Pro-Social Attitudes

When volunteers are asked why they contribute their time to helping solve community problems, they typically invoke ethical considerations, such as an obligation to help those in need (Hodgkinson and Weitzman, 1992:243). The role of altruistic values in prompting charitable behavior has been the subject of considerable research. Most of this research has concentrated on the role of religion in promoting good works on the assumption that religion inspires benevolence (Wilson and Janoski, 1995; Wuthnow, 1991). However, the part played by more secular values in encouraging people to volunteer is less clear. For this reason, we focus on a cluster of attitude items designed to measure how people think about citizenship while controlling for religiosity. We believe the secular attitudes most likely to encourage volunteer effort are those that express opinions about people's obligation to society and how confident they are of being able to meet those obligations.

Some see citizenship as involving lots of activity. Civic duty requires you to get out and do things in the community. Others think of citizenship more passively; they might think of it as a status to which certain rights adhere, being law-abiding, or simply not being a public nuisance and minding one's own business. We do not regard these attitudes as mutually exclusive. Rejecting the idea that citizenship calls for social action does not

[7]Perhaps respondents would not think to mention volunteer work focused (in their view) on individuals, such as providing support and comfort to children hospitalized with cancer. However, the item in the Youth-Parent Socialization Study is open-ended. A total of 73 different categories of volunteer activity are actually listed in the codebook. Some of these are indeed "community oriented." But the rest span a wide range of forms of volunteer work and include "improvement of education," helping in hospitals, assisting in youth programs, counseling in crisis intervention, distributing food and clothing, cleaning up the environment, and reducing pollution.

cause a person to believe more firmly in individual rights. Nor does believing citizenship is a matter of individual rights cause a person to dismiss the idea that citizenship calls for social action. Because we see citizenship attitudes as multidimensional, we construct separate measures of "active" and "passive" citizenship.

We operationalize these concepts in the following way. We use a survey item asking respondents, "In your mind, what makes good citizenship?" We coded their answers to form two variables.

Active Citizenship

This variable was created by coding "one" if the respondent selected any of the following: being active, taking responsibilities, voting with adequate information, writing to public officials, joining organizations and volunteering, trying to improve the country, working to improve or better the nation, working to better the community, being active in community affairs, being interested in school affairs, helping people, working within the system to change things, and trying to change unjust laws. Otherwise, the variable was coded zero. In the first wave of the study, when the respondents were in high school, they were given only one chance to answer this question. The range for that wave is 0–1. In the second and third waves, each respondent could respond to this question four times. These responses were weighted—giving 60% to the first response, 20% to the second, 10% to the third, and 10% to the fourth—added together and multiplied by 10. The resulting range is 0-10.

Passive Citizenship

This variable was created by coding "one" if the respondent selected any of the following: loyalty to country, respect symbols, not being critical, obeying laws, paying taxes, getting along with others, minding your own business, setting a good example, concerned about home and family, and ambitious. Otherwise, the variable was coded zero. Again, in the first wave, only one response was permitted and the range of the variable is 0–1. In the second two waves, responses were summed and weighted by the same method as used for active citizenship attitudes, providing an adjusted range of 0–10.

Pro-social attitudes include more than people's ideas about citizenship. Studies of volunteers indicate quite clearly that they link their own welfare to that of others. "Altruists share a view of the world in which all people are one" (Monroe, 1996:13). We had no direct measure of this sense of oneness. However, it was possible for us to construct a measure of how

tolerant people are of others. We treat this as a proxy measure of fellow-feeling. We assume that the higher the score on this measure, the more likely are people to volunteer.

Civic Tolerance

This variable was created by combining responses to three statements:

> If a person wanted to make a speech in this community against churches and religion, he or she should be allowed to speak.
>
> If a communist were legally elected to some public office around here, the people should allow him or her to take office.
>
> The American system of government is one that all nations should have.

The variable sums the number of "agree" responses to the first two questions and the "disagree" response to the last question. The last question, being much more general than the first two, was weighted twice, yielding an adjusted range of 0–4.

The final measure of pro-social attitudes we use has to do with people's feeling that their actions can play a role in improving society or solving social problems. Volunteers are much more likely than nonvolunteers to believe their actions on behalf of others will make a difference (Piliavin and Callero, 1991). Such feelings help foster the "intention to act" that comprises the vital connecting link between attitudes and behavior (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975).

Political Efficacy

This variable was created by combining responses to two statements:

> Voting is the only way people like me can have any say about how the government runs things.
>
> Sometimes politicians and the government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what is going on.

If the respondent disagreed with both items, a score of three was assigned, indicating the respondent had a strong sense of political efficacy. If the respondent agreed with both items, a score of one was assigned. Respondents who split on the questions received a score of two.

Social Practice

From the social practice perspective, volunteering can be described in terms of habitus—it is part of a set of routines, habits, and practices in

which people become involved. The idea that "social capital"—networks of friends and acquaintances, organizational affiliations—is an important volunteer resource is a cognate idea. So also is the idea that volunteer work requires "civic skills" acquired through acts of social participation such as attending church services, lodge meetings, or events at the local union hall (Verba *et al.*, 1995).

We test for the effects of social practices of this kind by measuring two kinds of social participation. We look first at voluntary association memberships. Being a member of a voluntary association provides many opportunities for volunteer work, especially if membership is not nominal but means active engagement in the organization's work. This is by no means true by definition, unless volunteer work is defined in such a way as to include the "self-maintenance" activities such organizations require. Our dependent variable, volunteering to solve a community problem, excludes these activities. Many voluntary associations make little effort to encourage volunteer work in the wider community (Janoski and Wilson, 1995). Consequently, the relation between voluntary association membership and volunteering is contingent.

Voluntary Association Membership

To measure this variable, we use respondents' answers to questions about organizational memberships. Respondents were asked specifically about membership in nine categories of organization (e.g., "business and professional groups"). They were given three further chances to name groups to which they belonged not included in the list of nine. We coded this variable zero for not a member, one for member but not active, two for member but only moderately active, and three for active member, yielding a range of 0–36. In the first wave of data collection, respondents were high school seniors. The voluntary association membership question was not put to them. We therefore constructed a variable measuring the student's participation in extracurricular activities. This teenage voluntary participation variable consisted of being: a member of a school athletic team, school band, school debating team, publication board, hobby club, school subject club, occupation club, or neighborhood club. Responses were coded to match adult voluntary association memberships, from zero for not a member to three for an active member. Scores were then summed, yielding a range of 0–24.

Besides voluntary association membership, we also decided to include a measure of more orthodox political involvement to test the social practice theory. Again, getting involved in local politics, such as voting, is by no means the same as volunteering, although one can easily lead to the other.

Political Participation

To measure this variable, we used respondents' responses to questions about a range of routine political activities: attending an election rally, influencing others about an election, participating in an election campaign, giving money to a campaign, wearing a political button, contacting a public official, writing a letter to a newspaper editor stating your political opinion, and participating in a political demonstration. The range of this variable is from 0–8. Again, in the first wave of data collection, when respondents were high school seniors, this political participation question was not put to them and, of course, they were not eligible to vote. We therefore created a variable measuring participation in high school politics including: voting, running for office, helping others in election campaigns, and serving as an elected official. The range of the variable is 0–7.

It is not our goal to attempt a complete explanation of volunteering. Many factors known to influence volunteering are omitted from our study (e.g., family status). Our objective is to assess the relative contributions of social practice and pro-social attitudes. However, to control for possible spurious effects and to make possible the estimation of reciprocal effects in the structural equations, we include education, religiosity and income in the model.

Education

All the respondents in our first wave of data have the same level of education, since they are all high school seniors. We measure education in the second wave as years of schooling completed by that time, an interval of eight years since the first wave. We assigned the completion of trade school or an apprenticeship a two-year increment over the high school diploma.

Income

This variable measures respondent income coded in increments of $2000 until "$35,000 and above."

Religiosity

This variable measures frequency of church attendance, reverse coded to make higher numbers equal more frequent attendance (one = never, two = a few times a year, three = once or twice a month, four = almost every week, five = weekly).

Table I. Volunteering in 1965, 1973, and 1982

Volunteering Categories	Responses Percentages
1965 Service membership activity	
None	69.8
1 inactive	7.8
2 inactive or 1 fairly active	10.9
1 very active or 1 fairly active and 1 inactive	11.5
All other combinations	0.0
1973 Volunteer experiences (includes 1965 to 1973)	
No experiences	73.1
1 experience	21.5
2 experiences	5.4
3 experiences	0.0
1982 Volunteer experiences (includes 1974 to 1982)	
No experiences	63.7
1 experience	27.3
2 experiences	6.7
3 experiences	2.3

DATA

Our data are drawn from the Youth-Parent Socialization Study conducted by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan (Jennings and Niemi, 1981). The first panel of the study, in 1965, yielded 1699 randomly selected high school seniors from a national probability sample of high schools. The response rate was 99%. In 1973, a second wave of data was collected from 1348 of the youths from the original panel. In 1982, a third wave of 1135 students was resurveyed. The Youth-Parent Socialization Study also collected parent data, in some cases the mother, in some cases the father, and in some cases both. Because we initially were interested in exploring the possibility of the transmission of volunteering across generations (which we will be exploring in future papers), we created a special data set consisting of those cases where the student was interviewed in all three waves and at least one parent was interviewed in the first two waves (n = 924).

RESULTS

Table I reports the frequencies for volunteering in all three waves. The proportion of young adults at about age 25 reporting some kind of volunteer work in 1973 is 26.9%, which is considerably less than the 44% reported for the under-30 age group in a 1984 Gallup Survey (Hodgkinson and Weitzman, 1984:25). On the other hand, it is higher than the proportions reported by Hayghe (1991) in his analysis of the Current Population

Table II. Means for Independent Variables in 1965, 1973, and 1982

Variables	Years		
	1965	1973	1982
Social participation			
Voluntary association participation	4.17[a]	2.17	2.99
Political activity	5.68[a]	1.89	1.90
Pro-social attitudes			
Active citizenship	.41[a]	3.14	3.15
Passive citizenship	.27[a]	2.09	2.35
Political efficacy	2.13	1.98	2.02
Civic tolerance	2.77	3.30	3.12

[a]These variables are measured differently than those in the other two years. See the text for details.

Survey of 1989. He reports volunteer rates for the 25–34 age group of 21.7% for whites, 12.7% for blacks, and 9.6% for Hispanics. In all cases, the time frame is twelve months. The discrepancy is probably due to the more generous volunteer measure used in the Gallup survey (i.e., it is not restricted to "community problems" and could include informal kinds of helping, such as babysitting for the neighbors), which might inflate that figure, and to the fact that the volunteer item in the current population survey (CPS) is one of many in a long list of items unrelated to volunteering (Freeman, 1996), which might deflate the numbers reported there.

As found in other studies of volunteerism, the likelihood of volunteering rises with age (or life-cycle stage). The proportion of young adults who reported some volunteer work rises from 26.9% in 1973 to 36.3% in 1982. The mean number of volunteer activities rises from 0.324 in 1973 to 0.475 in 1982.

Table II reports the means for the independent variables used in the study. Active membership in voluntary associations rises between the second and third waves, in parallel with the increase in volunteering. The rate of political participation hardly changes. Respondents gave more support for active citizenship in 1982 than they had in 1973. Interestingly, support for more passive citizenship displays the same upward trend. Feelings of political efficacy were quite stable over the three waves (this measure was identical on all three waves), while civic tolerance (also with identical measures), which had risen between 1965 and 1973, declines between young adulthood and middle age.

Table III reports the zero-order correlations between the independent variables and volunteering in 1973 and 1982. The measures of social participation (voluntary association membership and political participation) are correlated with volunteering in each subsequent wave. The pattern for attitudes is not so consistent. Political efficacy shows clear lagged effects, i.e.,

Table III. Zero-Order Correlation Coefficients Between Volunteering, Social Participation, and pro-Social Attitudes

	Volunteering in 1973	Volunteering in 1982
Social Participation		
1965		
Volunteering	.13[c]	.07[a]
Extracurricular activities	.20[c]	.14[c]
Political activity	.14[c]	.14[c]
1973		
Volunteering	–	.30[c]
Organization activity	.22[c]	.19[c]
Political activity	.27[c]	.22[c]
Pro-social attitudes		
1965		
Activite citizenship	–.04	.05
Passive citizenship	–.04	–.06
Political efficacy	.10[b]	.06
Civic intolerance	.06	.05
1973		
Activite citizenship	.03	.01
Passive citizenship	–.04	–.04
Political efficacy	.15[c]	.07[a]
Civic intolerance	.10[b]	.07
Control Variables		
Education	.09[b]	.13[c]
Income—1973	.07	.02
Attend church—1973	.04	.08[a]

[a] $p < .05$.
[b] $p < .01$.
[c] $p < .001$.

1965 efficacy increases volunteering in 1973, and 1973 efficacy increases volunteering in 1982. Neither active nor passive citizenship attitudes have effects on later volunteering.

In the multivariate stage of our analysis, we combine our independent variables into constructs, using LISREL. Rather than treating the attitude items independently, we assume they are separate dimensions of a multidimensional but latent construct we call "pro-social attitudes." The pro-social construct combines four concepts: a generally positive outlook on being active and responsible in the community, a passive and individualistic set of attitudes toward government, an acceptance of and sympathy for diverse opinions and interests, and a belief that one's own actions will be effective. In the case of social practice, we assume that voluntary association membership and participation in local political activities are part of the same activity syndrome we call "social participation."

To test the model displayed in Fig. 1, we used a three-step process. We first estimated a model calculating the lagged effects of social participation and pro-social attitudes in the previous wave on volunteering, ig-

noring in this model the possibility of reciprocal effects. We do not attempt to achieve a close fit for this model but use it simply to lay the foundation for the combined model to follow. The results of estimating the lagged effects model are shown in Fig. 2. The impact of high school socialization is evident in this figure. Students who begin volunteering in high school are highly likely to be volunteering in their mid-20s. The carryover of social participation from one wave to the other is almost as strong. The transmission of pro-social attitudes is even stronger. More important for our analysis, both social participation and pro- social attitudes in high school have a positive effect on volunteering in 1973, net of the level of volunteering in 1965.

The attachment to volunteer work is even stronger across the second two waves of the panel. However, the impact of our other two variables is now much weaker. Indeed, social participation in 1973 neither increases nor decreases the increment to volunteering in 1982 that previous levels of volunteering have brought about, and the impact of attitudes is extremely small. The implication of Fig. 2 is that *if social participation or pro-social attitudes have not had much impact on volunteering by early adulthood they are unlikely to make much difference later.*

Figure 2 is a highly simplified model because it deliberately neglects the reciprocal effects within each wave. What if social participation and volunteering condition each other, and pro- social attitudes and volunteering are also reciprocally related? To answer these questions, we estimate a simplified reciprocal effects model, this time omitting the cross-lagged effects. The broad pattern of results in the lagged effects model (comparing the standardized coefficients) is that attitudes are more important than social participation. The reciprocal effects model should begin to give us some idea as to whether simultaneous pro-social attitudes are also the driving force in their relation with volunteering.

Figure 3 displays the results of estimating a reciprocal effects model using only the lagged variables as instruments. The model confirms that there indeed are reciprocal effects between volunteering and the two latent constructs. In addition, the model confirms a pattern that had begun to emerge from the cross-lagged effects model, which is that attitudes seem to be more powerful than social participation. Thus, while the relation between attitudes and volunteering is bidirectional, attitudes have a stronger impact on volunteering than volunteering has on attitudes. The same cannot be said for social participation, where volunteering has a stronger impact on social participation than social participation has on volunteering. In summary, Fig. 3 indicates clearly that *volunteering is not simply the consequence of pro-social attitudes and social participation but, in turn, also has an effect on those forces.*

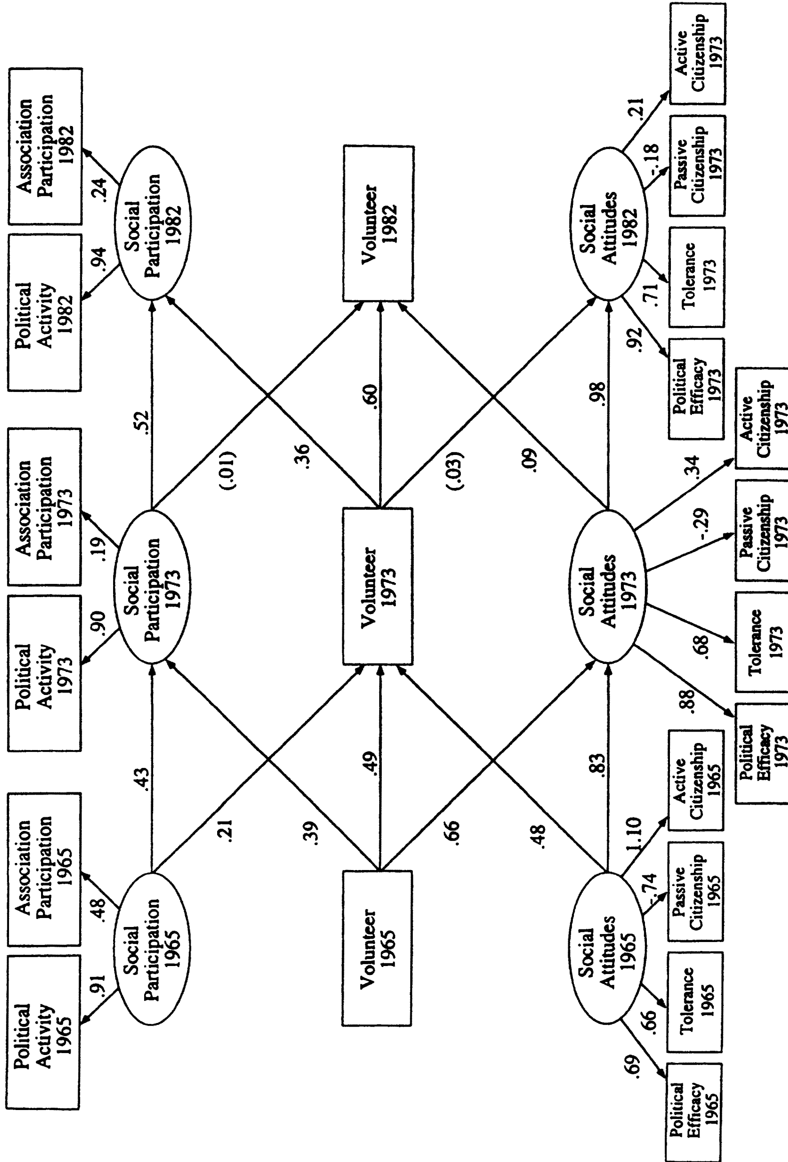

Fig. 2. Estimated cross-lagged effects model for volunteering across three waves (standardized LISREL weighted least squares estimates). $\chi^2 = 4644.8/184$; GFI = .81; AGFI = .77; $N = 620$. Coefficients in parenthesis are not significant at $p < .05$.

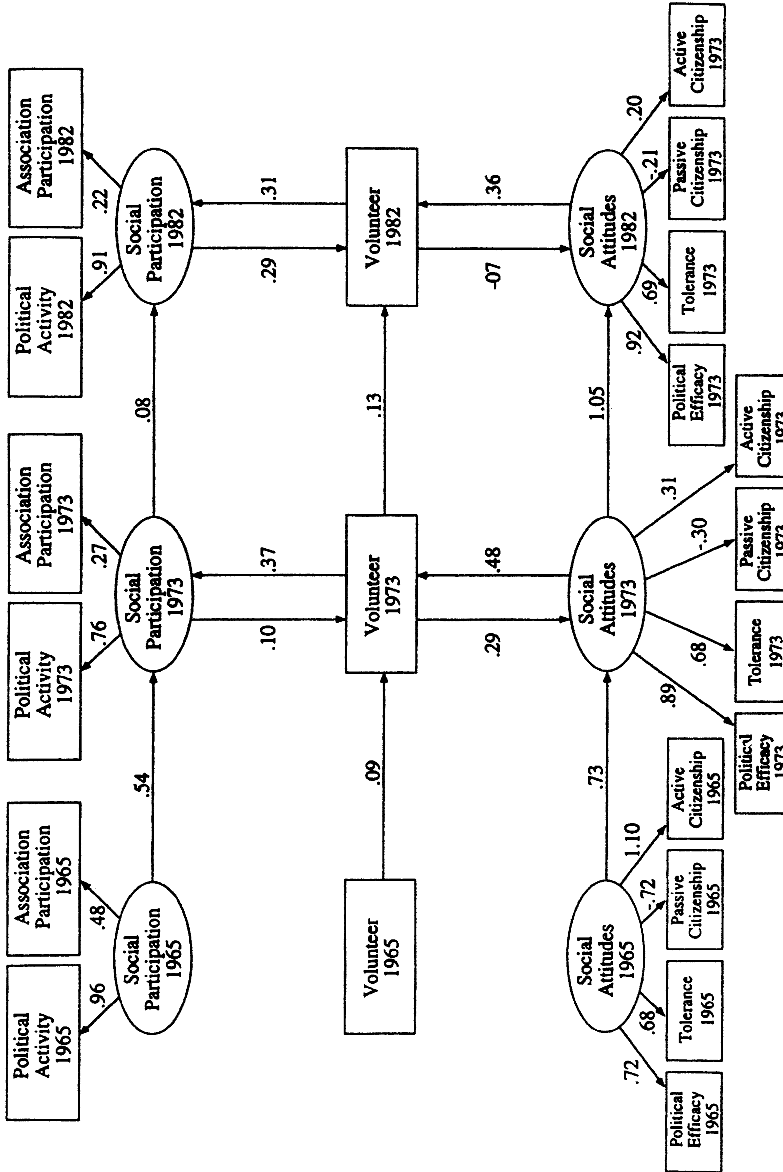

Fig. 3. Estimated reciprocal effects model for volunteering across three waves (standardized LISREL weighted least squares estimates). χ^2 = 4364.74/184; GFI = .02; AGFI = .78; *N* = 620.

The final step is to combine the two models, assuming (a) that there indeed are latent constructs underlying our indicator variables, (b) that there indeed are lagged effects of our independent variables on our dependent variable, and (c) that there also are reciprocal effects between them. To estimate the reciprocal effects in a more complete model, we introduce our control or "instrumental" variables. We control for income when estimating the effect of social participation in 1973, since income and social participation are highly correlated (Verba *et al.*, 1995:187–227). We control for religiosity (church attendance) when estimating the effect of volunteering in 1973 because they, too, are positively correlated (Wilson and Janoski, 1995). We control for education when estimating the effect of pro-social attitudes in 1973 because of the positive correlation between level of education and political efficacy (Verba *et al.*, 1995:349). Figure 4 reports the results from the final LISREL model.[8]

The Latent Constructs

In LISREL, the measurement model specifies how well the latent constructs are measured by the observed variables. The relation between each construct and its indicator variable is shown in the form of lambda coefficients. As expected, the conventional scales for political efficacy and civic tolerance make a significant contribution to the pro-social attitudes construct. However, the measures of citizenship we have created also make a contribution. Interestingly, volunteer work among high school students is boosted by high scores on *both* the active and the passive citizenship measures. By the time respondents are in their 20s, the composition of the latent construct has changed. Now the conventional political attitude measures are more important, the measure of active citizenship is no longer contributing to the construct, and the passive citizenship measure has taken on the role we would have expected—it is negatively related to pro-social attitudes.

In the case of social participation, we were able to fit a model containing both voluntary association membership and political activity, indicating that they do, indeed, "hang together." Voluntary association participation makes its weakest contribution in the middle wave when respondents are in their 20s, a time of low involvement in voluntary associations.

[8]The path coefficients shown are the maximum likelihood estimates of the model based on matrices provided by PRELIS. We used PRELIS to generate a matrix of polychoric correlations and an accompanying matrix of asymptotic variances and covariances. With these matrices as input, we then estimated measurement models using the weighted least squares fitting function in LISREL VIII, which is asymptotically distribution free (Jöreskog and Sörbom, 1989).

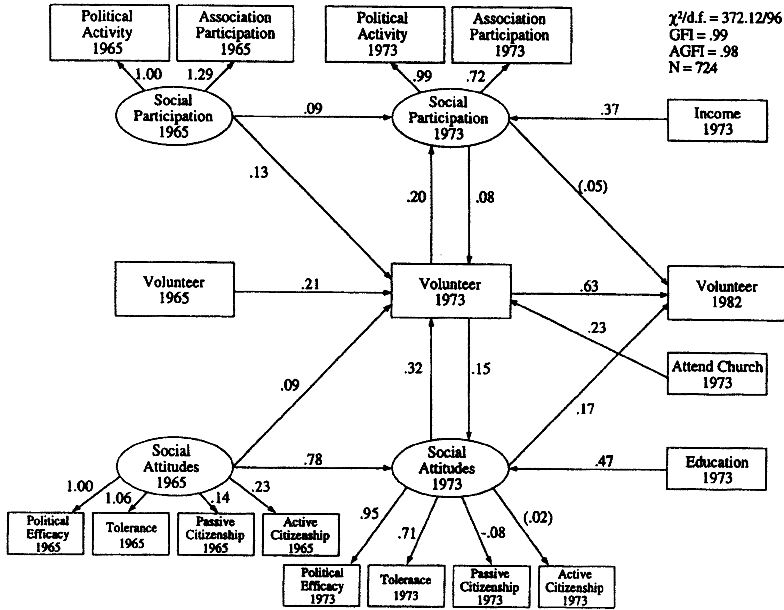

Fig. 4. Estimated net effects of social participation and pro-social attitudes on volunteering across three waves (standardized LISREL weighted least squares estimates). Coefficients in parenthesis are not significant at $p < .05$.

The Causal Model

Moving to the summary measures of the structural equation model, we see that the model fits the data well, with an adjusted goodness of fit (AGFI) of .98 and a ratio of model chi-square to degrees of freedom of 3.87. The estimates in the more complicated model are very similar to those of the simpler, separate models. Between 1965 and 1973, the lagged effect of social participation in high school is slightly stronger than the lagged effect of high school attitudes. The link from 1973 to 1982 is different. Social participation in 1973 has no effect on 1982 volunteering. However, 1973 pro-social attitudes do increase 1982 volunteering, net of volunteering in 1973. This is a rigorous test of the power of attitudes on behavior. Not only does it control for 1973 level of volunteering, but is also controls for the simultaneous effect of 1973 attitudes on 1973 volunteering.

As far as reciprocal effects are concerned, the final model confirms the strong impact of attitudes on volunteering and underlines even more clearly the rather trivial simultaneous impact of social participation on volunteering. This reciprocal effect between social participation and volun-

Table IV. Estimated LISREL Model for Volunteering to Solve a Community Problem in Three Waves (Standardized Weighted Least Squares Estimates)

	Volunteering to Solve a Community Problem in 1973			Volunteering to Solve a Community Problem in 1982		
	Direct Effect	Indirect Effect	Total Effect	Direct Effect	Indirect Effect	Total Effect
1965						
Volunteering	.21[c]	.01[c]	.22[c]	—	.15[c]	.15[c]
Participation	.13[c]	.02[b]	.14[c]	—	.10[c]	.10[c]
Attitudes	.09[a]	.27[c]	.36[c]	—	.37[c]	.37[c]
1973						
Volunteering	—	.07[c]	.07[c]	.63[c]	.08[c]	.71[c]
Participation	.08[a]	.01	.08[a]	.05	.06[a]	.10[b]
Attitudes	.32[c]	.02[c]	.34[c]	.17[c]	.23[c]	.40[c]
Controls						
Education—1973	—	.16[c]	.16[c]	—	.19[c]	.19[c]
Income—1973	—	.03[a]	.03[a]	—	.04[a]	.04[b]
Attend church—1973	.23[c]	.02[c]	.24[c]	—	.16[c]	.16[c]

Summary statistics	
Chi-square/*df*	372.12/96
GFI	.99
AGFI	.98
R^2—Volunteer 1982	.56
N	724

[a]$p < .05$.
[b]$p < .01$.
[c]$p < .001$.

teering in 1973 probably accounts for the fact that the lagged effect of 1965 social participation on 1973 social participation shown in Fig. 2 is weaker in the final model shown in Fig. 4. The pathway to 1973 social participation is mainly through 1973 volunteering.

The task of teasing out the direct, indirect, and total effects of the independent variables on volunteering in 1982 is made easier by Table IV.[9] The direct effect of high school social participation on 1973 volunteering is slightly amplified by the reciprocal relation between social participation in 1973 and volunteering in 1973. However, the indirect effect of high school pro-social attitudes on 1973 volunteering (through 1973 pro-social attitudes) is far stronger. *The total effect of attitudes is more than twice as strong as the total effect of social participation.* The 1965 variables also have an indirect effect on 1982 volunteering. Again, the difference between the

[9]The number of cases used in the models shown in Figures 2 and 3 are 620 because of a large number of missing cases on the 1982 citizenship questions. The number of cases reported in Table 4 is reduced to 724 chiefly because of missing data on the 1973 citizenship attitude variables and on the church attendance variable (respondents who indicated no church membership were not asked the church attendance question)

effect of social participation and attitudes is striking. *Attitudes are nearly four times as powerful as social participation.*

Moving to the second stage, an examination of what happens to respondents as they move from their 20s to their 30s, we see that the strong direct effect of 1973 volunteering on 1982 volunteering becomes even stronger once indirect effects are factored in. Volunteer work encourages people to be more "pro-social" which in turn solidifies their attachment to volunteering.

There is no direct effect of social participation on 1982 volunteering. However, there is a small indirect effect as a result of the connection between social participation and volunteering in 1973 which then follows through into early middle age. *We conclude that social participation in early adulthood increases the chances of volunteering in middle age only if it has already caused volunteering by the early adult stage* (i.e., there is no "sleeper effect").

Pro-social attitudes continue to have an effect on volunteering in the third wave. Not only are people who have pro-social attitudes in 1973 more likely to be volunteering in 1982 (regardless of their earlier volunteer work) but, since they also are more likely to be volunteering in 1973, there also is a strong indirect effect. *The total effect of 1973 pro-social attitudes on 1982 volunteering is four times stronger than the total effect of social participation.*[10]

DISCUSSION

Recent debate over how to encourage more volunteering when public investment in social services is falling and other demographic changes threaten the traditional supply of volunteer labor has implicitly drawn on sociological theories associated with the Durkheim's "normativist" perspective. This perspective attributes variations in patterns of behavior (such as volunteering) to variations in the degree to which appropriate norms are

[10]In the first two models, passive citizenship makes the expected negative contribution to the construct while the active citizenship indicator is positively related, in all three waves. In the combined model, passive citizenship makes a positive contribution to the construct in 1965, contrary to our expectations. Unlike the first two models, the final model is estimating both the direct and indirect effects of 1965 attitudes on 1973 volunteering simultaneously. We assume that the effect of 1973 attitudes on 1973 volunteering is stronger because it is more proximate. The 1973 construct is thus "absorbing" all the negative effect of passive citizenship shown in the first two models. What is left over from the 1965 construct is *any* attitude either negative or positive, having an effect on 1973 volunteering. What remains in the direct effect of 1965 pro-social attitudes on 1973 volunteering is simply some affirmation of citizenship ideas, it does not particularly matter what. Students who have formulated any idea about citizenship, rather than having these ideas unformulated and incoherent, are more likely to volunteer later.

inculcated and internalized. From this perspective, volunteering is inspired by a culture of benevolence or "virtue." Any decline in volunteering would be attributed to the decline of civic virtue, and any attempt to increase the rate of volunteering would hinge on restoring belief in and support for philanthropic work. One strategy for doing this would be to ensure that lessons of civic duty and social obligations are learned early and well.

Somewhat less audible is the argument for another strategy to increase the volunteer rate. This strategy rests less on socialization and more on providing practical guidance and "real world" experience in volunteer work or social participation. This strategy assumes that social groups and secondary associations, the world of "civil society," develop skills and forge contacts that enable and empower. "Getting kids involved" is the key to volunteering. Pro-social attitudes might well accompany, legitimate, or justify this volunteering, but they are not the cause. From this standpoint, the contradiction contained in making volunteer work compulsory makes sense—encourage people to act, make it possible for them to make a difference, and the appropriate attitudes are sure to follow, providing the seedbed for later volunteer work. It is similar to the action of priming a pump.

Our results enable us to draw a number of conclusions concerning this debate. The first has to do with our constructs because they throw some light on how the various attitudes and behaviors "hang together." The long-held belief that there is a "general activity syndrome" (Smith, 1994) is confirmed by these data. Furthermore, this syndrome already has begun to form in high school, where we were able to use two indicator variables to construct a cohesive social participation measure. The same can be said of pro-social attitudes. Thinking that the question of citizenship, which has received considerable theoretical scrutiny lately (Janoski, 1998; Beiner, 1995; Bridges, 1994; Steenbergen, 1994), would benefit from more empirical attention, we included in our attitude construct two new measures of attitudes toward citizenship, one we expected to be negatively related to volunteering, the other positively. How people think about citizenship, i.e., whether they see this in terms of active contribution to the welfare of the community or more in terms of correct behavior and receiving respect, goes along with how confident they are in being effective in the political arena and how empathic they are toward other people.

At the zero-order correlation level, the citizenship variables did not look promising; neither was related to volunteering. However, the LISREL method was able to detect an underlying connection between these attitudes and the two more conventional political measures. Although the results for the citizenship indicators could have been stronger, we remain convinced that citizenship attitudes are an important aspect of the study of volunteering and that more research should be devoted to them. We also notice that the pro-social construct coheres much better in the first wave than the second. By the time people

have reached early adulthood, when they can legally vote, they have become more politically oriented actors. More explicit and direct measures of political efficacy seem to work much better to predict their social activism than their general beliefs about the duties of a citizen. We might also be seeing a period effect here. By 1973, the sample population was much more politicized by events surrounding the Vietnam War, the New Left movements, and the civil rights campaign than they had been in 1965.

The second conclusion we draw is that people become "attached" to volunteering. Although only a minority of people volunteer, they tend to stick with it. Indeed, for some people, volunteering is an avocation. If one opportunity dries up, they look for another. From the standpoint of demand, or recruitment, it makes sense that volunteer agencies go to people who have volunteered before because they are more inviting targets. This second conclusion has a direct bearing on the current political debate. Although our measure of high school volunteering was not identical to the measurement in the two later waves, we went to some pains to ensure that the high school activities we coded as volunteer work were altruistic. Given that the high school measure was less strict or precise than the later measurements, it is all the more striking that volunteering across the three waves should be so stable. The evidence clearly seems to support the wisdom of encouraging young people to become engaged in service or community work if a mature adult population of volunteers is desired.

The third conclusion we draw is that pro-social attitudes have a stronger impact on volunteering than social participation. This is not to say that social participation is irrelevant. There is enough evidence here to support the view that even if youths are ill-disposed to volunteer work at the level of beliefs and values, getting them involved in group activities has payoffs for future recruitment drives. The social isolates in school are not future volunteers. However, the inculcation of pro-social attitudes appears to be much more effective a method of encouraging volunteering. There is a clear reciprocal effect. One way of encouraging a civic-minded population is to get them into volunteering and enjoying it. As Wuthnow (1991:108) has argued, "Fulfillment precedes caring, rather than deriving from it." But it is equally true that the supply of volunteer labor is increased by getting people to think about their obligations as citizens—fostering tolerance, fellow-feeling, and empathy—and boosting people's civic skills and self-confidence about how they can make a difference.

CONCLUSION

Are parents, who otherwise are sympathetic to volunteerism, right in thinking that mandatory school volunteer programs, making service a re-

quirement of graduation, are objectionable? Is this a violation of the spirit of voluntarism, as likely to kill as to nurture it? Would efforts not be more wisely directed at moral instruction and lessons in civic duty? Can you "be volunteered?" We began this research skeptical of the view that right attitudes lead to right conduct and receptive to the view that obligatory volunteering might be necessary. American culture is suffused with the morality of doing good to others. If values are such a powerful influence on charitable work, why is the rate of volunteering so low? And how do we account for the fact that so much sociological research has shown that social participation, regardless of values and attitudes, fosters volunteering? Does this not support the argument that building social capital, along with human capital, is the most effective strategy for creating a volunteer labor force? We see no reason to abandon the view that social practice is important. We see nothing wrong with finding ways of encouraging children to get involved in social clubs and community service organizations while in school. The payoff from this kind of extracurricular activity in later years is clear. However, it is also true that fostering the right perspective on social obligations and discouraging the view of citizenship that interprets it in terms of rights and statuses has an even greater benefit quite independent of the practice-based strategies, a benefit that continues to grow throughout the first half of the life-cycle and, possibly, beyond.

Future research on this topic would benefit from much more expansive definition of volunteer work in which the range of activities and the number of hours devoted to them can be measured and plotted against both socialization and social experiences in early life using longitudinal data or a life history method. The Youth-Parent Socialization Study data might well be producing biased results because they are gathered in the context of a study of political socialization. The definition of volunteer work might be tilted against volunteer work intensely focussed on a single cause, inspired by deep feelings of concern and care for a particular issue of a group in need of assistance. In other words, we might be measuring a general disposition to be socially active, to be "out in the community," rather than a moralistic concern to help others in need. It would make more sense that social participation and citizenship attitudes would predict this general disposition than if they could just predict private forms of volunteering. On the other hand, devoting 20 or 30 hours to a rape counseling center because of one's strong feminist beliefs or religious convictions can be "predicted" best by some good biographical knowledge of a person's previous life experiences and personal values. In short, we believe surveys in general measure breadth of involvement much better than they measure intensity of commitment.

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