

Charity begins at home

How socialization experiences influence giving and volunteering

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Abstract

This paper shows that charity begins at home. Using retrospective reports on youth experiences from the Giving in the Netherlands Panel Survey (n=1,964, 2001) I find that (1) parents who volunteer when their children are young promote giving and volunteering of their children once they have become adults; (2) the intensity of youth participation in nonprofit organizations is positively related to current giving and volunteering; (3) that parental volunteering and youth participation promote current volunteering because volunteering enhances human and social capital and makes people accessible for mobilization networks; (4) that parental volunteering and youth participation promote charitable giving mainly because they promote prosocial values and build social capital.

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This paper is an elaborate version of a part of a paper that appeared in Dutch as “Langetermijneffecten van jeugdparticipatie: persistente effecten van deelname aan jeugdverenigingen in Nederland en de Verenigde Staten”, coauthored with Marc Hooghe and Dietlind Stolle, pp. 129-152 in: Völker, B. (Ed.). *Burgers in de buurt: Samenleven in school, wijk en vereniging*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Parents are an influential force in our lives. We go to church with them, are part of their families, attend schools and join clubs they select for us, go to the theatre as a family, and partly as a function of these events, we vote like our parents, adopt their religion, mimic their occupational careers, read their books, consume culture they like, and, when they die, we heir their fortunes. Philanthropy is another thing that parents transfer to their children. Volunteers recall their parents much more often as also being engaged in volunteer work and other acts of charity (Independent Sector, 2000). However, this finding does not prove that children volunteer because their parents volunteer. There could be other reasons why children volunteer like their parents did. Previous research has shown that the relation between volunteering of parents and their offspring is due to some extent to the transmission of other characteristics that are conducive to volunteering (Bekkers, 2004; Janoski & Wilson, 1995; Smith & Baldwin, 1974). Parents who volunteer are more likely to be higher educated and more religious, and because their children are also more likely to be higher educated and more religious, they are more likely to volunteer than children of less well educated and religious parents. However, even when a wide variety of confounding variables are held constant statistically, a substantial part of the effect of volunteering by parents on that of their children remains (Bekkers, 2004). If the influence of parents is real, a series of questions arise. How do parents affect the level of giving and volunteering of their children? How can the effect of parental volunteering on acts of philanthropy by their offspring be explained? And do mothers and fathers have equal influence on their sons and daughters?

This paper investigates how parents affect contributions of time and money to nonprofit organizations by their adult offspring. The basic argument is that parents try to inculcate prosocial values and social skills in their children by sending their children to clubs where they expect them to learn these values and skills by interacting with others and organizing activities. Parents have a substantial influence on decisions about the leisure time activities of their children. They may use this influence to guide their children in directions they find desirable. In many cases, these directions are close to the ones they have followed themselves. As a result, children of religious parents attend Sunday school, children of musical parents join musical groups, and children of politically active parents are more likely to participate in the student council at school. Youth participation experiences may influence giving and volunteering in adulthood in several different ways. I study four pathways of influence. A first pathway is through the socialization of prosocial values. A second pathway of influence is by the development of social capital: youth participation creates social relations to others who are actively participating in community life. A third pathway is by learning skills. A fourth pathway is by reducing the social distance to mobilization networks of nonprofit organizations.

By testing these four pathways, I improve upon previous studies of the intergenerational transmission of giving and volunteering. Most of these studies focus on relations between concurrent giving and/or volunteering of parents and children (Wilhelm, Brown, Rooney & Steinberg, 2003; Smith & Baldwin, 1974). The handful studies that have documented relationships between past participation of parents have not been able to test theories on why parental volunteering affects later volunteering by their children. In the “organismic model” of socialization for instance (Rosenthal, Feiring and Lewis, 1998), it is assumed that children growing up in a social context that promotes volunteering will be more likely to volunteer as adults. According to the model, the positive correlation between level of education and volunteering suggests the hypothesis that children growing up with more highly educated parents are more likely to volunteer as adults. The “organismic model” itself does not explain why past social contexts promote current levels of volunteering. These questions I seek to address in the present paper. What is it in the social context that promotes volunteering? The answer to this question has practical implications for parents. If parents want to encourage their children’s giving and volunteering in adulthood, what should they do? In other studies (Bekkers, 2004; Mustillo, Wilson & Lynch, 2004) it is simply assumed that any remaining influence of parental volunteering once parental resources are taken into account represents a modeling effect, potentially a value socialization effect. Is that assumption correct?

Four pathways of influence

A first pathway of influence runs through the socialization of prosocial values. By observing parents volunteer, and by cooperating with others, organizing activities together and also simply by having a good time socializing with friends in voluntary associations, children may learn that it makes sense to sacrifice something for a greater good, that most people can be trusted, and that it is a good thing to take responsibility for others. Previous studies have assumed that parents affect their children’s participation in nonprofit organizations by socializing prosocial values (Janoski & Wilson, 1995; Janoski, Musick & Wilson, 1998; Bekkers, 2004), but this argument has never actually been tested.

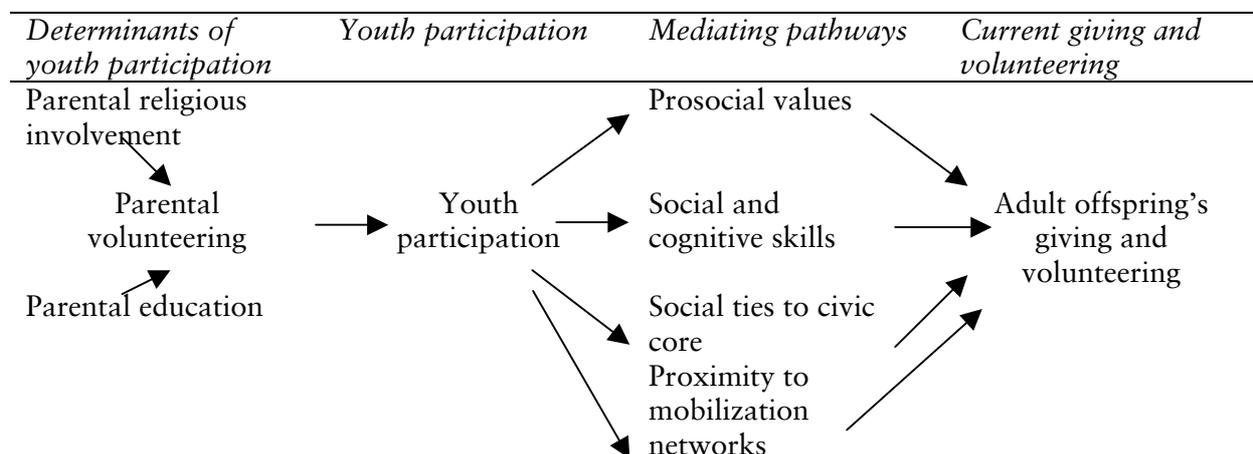
A second pathway of influence for youth participation is through the development of skills. Children learn how to organize activities, how to cooperate and negotiate with others, how to write letters and make notes of a meeting, and so on. Having such skills does not only improve the likelihood that people volunteer, volunteering also increases these skills (Brady, Verba & Schlozman, 1995). Just like adults profit from volunteering in the labor market (Wilson & Musick, 2003), so will youth. Youth participation will increase human capital.

A third pathway of influence for youth participation is by forming attachments to communities of active citizens. Voluntary associations are not only the places where parents hope their children will learn prosocial values but also places where children meet others and develop friendships. Youth associations tie their members together in friendships and draw them in larger networks that are often locally oriented. These networks and the friendships that constitute them often persist into adulthood. In adulthood, these networks will continue to exert an influence on the level of engagement of former youth participants. Youth participation draws people in networks of active citizens, and brings them closer to the ‘civic core’ (Reed & Selbee, 2001). The development of social capital may not often be the outcome of youth participation that parents anticipated, but it could be an important pathway linking youth participation to current giving and volunteering.

A fourth pathway of influence for youth participation is through the proximity to mobilization networks. Youth participation does not only draw people closer to the civic core, but also makes them accessible to recruitment attempts by voluntary associations who are prospecting for participants and looking for financial support. To recruiters, youth participation will also be a signal that the prospective volunteer is willing to volunteer and that she will bring along relevant work experience.

Summing up: I expect that youth participation promotes the formation of prosocial values, enhances skills, creates social bonds with active citizens, and reduces the proximity to mobilization networks; and that these four pathways link youth participation to civic engagement in adulthood. These products of youth participation will also mediate the effect of parental volunteering on their adult offspring’s giving and volunteering. Figure 1 displays these relations.

Figure 1. Analytical model



In order to make an accurate estimate of the influence of parental volunteering and youth participation on current giving and volunteering, data are needed on parental characteristics that promote the likelihood that parents volunteer and that their children participate in nonprofit organizations in youth. Otherwise, apparent effects of parental volunteering and youth participation are due to unmeasured confounding variables (Bekkers, 2004; Glanville, 1999; Janoski & Wilson, 1995). I address this problem by taking as many relevant confounding variables into account as possible. The most important confounding variables are parental religious involvement and parental education (Bekkers, 2004). I will present arguments why a number of variables that I cannot control for in the present analyses do not endanger the validity of the conclusions in the discussion section.

I test the four pathways supposedly mediating effects of parental volunteering and youth participation by using retrospective data on parental characteristics and youth experiences in voluntary associations reported by adult children. I acknowledge the potential limits of such data. A prospective panel study, preferably including reports by multiple informants (teachers and parents reporting on children) would have been better suited to study the questions at hand. However, such data are not presently available and will probably not become available in the foreseeable future because they are difficult and very expensive to obtain. One of the problems with retrospective data is that respondents may give distorted reports of their parents and of their own activities in voluntary associations in youth. For instance, one might argue that current volunteers will remember more clearly what kind of organizations they participated in in youth and whether their parents volunteered.

I also study whether fathers and mothers have equal influence on their sons and daughters. Studies of parental influence in other areas of behavior, such as career aspirations and occupational choices, often find evidence for gender-specific socialization. This means that mothers tend to influence their daughters, and fathers their sons (Blair, 1992; Hayes & Miller, Leppel, Williams & Waldauer, 2001; Steele & Barling, 1996). In this body of literature, the concept of role ideology is used to explain why gender-specific socialization occurs. Parents have convictions on what is appropriate behavior for boys and girls. These convictions may be 'traditional' or 'modern'. Parents with 'traditional gender roles' raise their children in a way that creates differences in attitudes and behaviors between sons and daughters, sons being more career-oriented, and daughters being more care-oriented. Traditional gender roles limit the influence of fathers on daughters and of mothers on sons, because if boys are to become real men they should be career-oriented like their fathers, and daughters should imitate their mothers.

Previous research on the socialization of giving and volunteering has not studied the separate influence of mothers and fathers on sons and daughters. Because volunteer work is also work, just like paid work, I expect that children will be more likely to imitate their same sex parent.

Theory and hypotheses

To understand why youth participation affects giving and volunteering in adulthood, I draw upon four different theories that have been formulated in the literature on giving and volunteering: resource theory, selective mobilization theory, integration theory, and socialization theory.

Resource theory and selective mobilization theory

One of the oldest findings in research on participation in voluntary associations is that people at higher status positions are more likely to participate. In the Netherlands, participation in voluntary associations is mainly stratified by the level of education (Kraaykamp, 1996; Bekkers & De Graaf, 2002; Bekkers, 2004). In contrast to other countries like the US, income is not promoting volunteer participation (Bekkers, 2004). Two theories on the influence of social status are resource theory (Wilson & Musick, 1997) and selective mobilization theory (Brady, Schlozman & Verba, 1999). Resource theory assumes that people

at higher social status positions have more resources at their disposal in the form of human, financial, and social capital, which makes participation less costly for them. Selective mobilization theory assumes that nonprofit organizations anticipate this and direct their solicitations for donations and volunteers at those with more resources. I refer to another paper for a test of resource and selective mobilization theory (Bekkers, 2005) in the explanation of current giving and volunteering.

Integration theory and socialization theory

Participation in voluntary associations is not only distributed unequally over different status positions, but also shows large differences between more or less cohesive social groups. In the Netherlands participation is high among frequent church attendees (Dekker & De Hart, 2002; Bekkers, 2003), as in the US and Canada. The influence of social cohesion on participation in voluntary associations is usually explained with hypotheses from social integration theory, which is a generalization of Durkheim's (1897) theory on suicide. The central tenets of this theory are that (1) individuals in groups with a higher level of cohesion will conform more often to social norms on desirable behavior; (2) that participation in voluntary associations is viewed as socially desirable behavior in all social groups (Wilson & Musick, 1998). The influence of social cohesion on participation can also be explained with resource theory by assuming that a higher level of cohesion increases the availability of resources of others. What is called 'cohesion' in integration theory is called 'social capital' in resource theory (Lin, 2001).

Socialization theory focuses on the role of prosocial values and beliefs about socially desirable conduct. This theory disputes the second assumption of integration theory and assumes instead that social groups do have different norms about participation in voluntary associations. According to this theory differences between social groups in prosocial behavior are related to differences in social values and beliefs about the desirability of contributions of time and money to voluntary associations. Groups that view contributions of time and money to voluntary associations as more desirable will invest more in teaching their members prosocial values that motivate them to make contributions.

The theories outlined above do not only apply to participation in adulthood, but also to youth participation. Based on resource theory I expect that children of higher educated parents participate more. Based on integration theory, I expect that children of religiously active parents, at least for forms of participation that are viewed as desirable in religious groups. Children of Protestants used to be less active in sports and hobby clubs because these organizations were considered as too mundane or even as sources of evil hedonism. Participation in such voluntary associations was discouraged in Dutch Protestant religious denominations in the first half of the twentieth century.

Pathways from youth participation to giving and volunteering in adulthood

The four theories outlined above *do not* explain why youth participation promotes giving and volunteering in adulthood. They are formulated as sets of statements on the causes of youth participation and not on the effects of youth participation. However, the classical works of Durkheim and Tocqueville that laid the foundations for modern theories on social integration also included statements on the effects of participation in voluntary associations. Durkheim (1897) argued that participation in collectivities is not only the result of group cohesion, but also strengthens the sense of belonging to the group. Such a feedback loop is evident in the case of volunteering. People develop friendships and other social relations to the people they meet when volunteering. The development of social relations is also an intended outcome for volunteering. Volunteers often mention 'social contacts' as a reason for volunteering (Clary et al., 1999).

There is also a potential feedback loop between volunteering and prosocial values. Tocqueville (1836) argued that participation in community life is an important factor in the development and maintenance of democratic values. Putnam (2000) revived this tradition by arguing that participation in voluntary associations strengthens values of trust and reciprocity.

Inspired by Putnam, many scholars in the rapidly emerging field of research on social capital have tried to find socialization effects of participation in voluntary associations in adulthood (Hooghe, 2003; Wollebaek & Selle, 2002). This endeavor has been rather unsuccessful. It seems that social values are rather stable in adulthood (Uslaner, 2002) and form the *input* for choosing a specific type or voluntary associations to join instead of the *output* of such choices. Youth participation, in contrast, occurs at a stage of life when basic social value orientations have not yet taken their (rather stable) adult form (Hooghe, 2003). Thus, it makes sense to expect that parental volunteering and youth participation experiences of children are more strongly a cause of adult prosocial values than their adult participation experiences. In line with this argument, Hooghe (2003) indeed found that youth participation is more strongly related to prosocial values than participation in adulthood. The influence of parental volunteering on children's prosocial values has not been tested before. Beutel and Kirkpatrick Johnson (2004) show that current parental volunteering promotes children's prosocial values, but they did not control for other parental characteristics. In addition, it is questionable whether the influence of parental volunteering on their children's prosocial values persists into adulthood. If participation is a matter of prosocial values, and parents send their children to clubs to have them learn these values, the effects of parental volunteering and youth participation on adult giving and volunteering should diminish when prosocial values are taken into account. People who participate in voluntary associations in youth should hold more prosocial values in adulthood, and these values should be the reason for their heightened levels of giving and volunteering.

Resource theory assumes that volunteering is less costly for those who have more human, financial, and social capital available to them (Wilson & Musick, 1997). Once again, it would be strange if there would not be a feedback loop between resources and volunteering. By organizing activities and holding meetings, adolescents learn to cooperate with others, how to write letters, to preside meetings, make minutes and so on (Brady, Verba & Schlozman, 1995). If youth participation enhances one's civic and social skills, it also increases one's value on the labor market. If this explanation is correct, the effect of youth participation on adult giving and volunteering should diminish when the level of education is taken into account.

Selective mobilization theory predicts that youth participation increases the risk to be asked for contributions to nonprofit organizations. There are two reasons for this. First, adolescents who have participated in voluntary associations in youth are more easily located by mobilization networks. When voluntary associations look for volunteers or donors, they will use their members' networks (Bekkers, 2005; Brady, Schlozman & Verba, 1999). It is likely that those who have participated in voluntary associations in youth will remain embedded in networks that contain more volunteers, especially because they have built their networks in or through the associations that they participated in. Secondly, adults who have participated in voluntary associations in youth stand out as individuals who are more willing to contribute resources to nonprofit organizations. They will be identified more easily as potential donors and volunteers than those who have never participated in voluntary associations before. This explanation can be tested by looking at the effect of youth participation on giving and volunteering in adulthood before and after controlling for the risk of being asked to contribute. If selective mobilization theory is correct, those who have participated in youth run a greater risk to be asked, and this should be the reason for their heightened levels of giving and volunteering.

Data and methods

This paper uses data from the first wave of the *Giving in the Netherlands Panel Survey* (GINPS), which were collected in May 2002. For details on the sampling procedure and data collection I refer to other articles (Schuyt, 2003; Bekkers, 2005).

Contributions of money and time. The GINPS contains extensive Method – Area modules to measure contributions of time and money to nonprofit organizations. From these modules, three dependent variables are constructed. The first dependent variable is whether or not a respondent did volunteer work for a nonprofit organization at least once in the past 12

months (May 2001-May 2002). Volunteer work was defined as ‘unpaid work you do on behalf of an organization or group. With unpaid work we mean work for which you do not receive wages, although you may receive a small compensation (e.g., for travel costs).’ Using this definition, 55% of the sample volunteered.

The second dependent variable is whether or not a respondent donated money to at least one out of ten different types of nonprofit organizations in the past calendar year (2001). Respondents who said they donated money but did not report a positive amount were considered as non-donors. Using this definition, 82.1% of the households gave money to nonprofit organizations. The third dependent variable is the total amount donated in 2001, which is the sum of contributions to organizations in all areas. The mean amount donated in 2001 is €215, excluding non-donors this amount is €265. Contributions are strongly skewed: the median contribution among all households is only €50 (but €75 when non-donors are excluded). To obtain a normally distributed variable I applied a natural log transformation.

Youth participation. In the GINPS, youth participation was measured with the following question: ‘In your youth (until 18 years of age), have you ever been a member of...(1) a sports club; (2) a youth organization (e.g., Boy Scouts/Girl Guides); (3) a school commission; (4) a hobby club?’ The respondents could report membership to multiple organizations. A majority (62.4%) reported membership of sports clubs; 30.4% reported membership of youth organizations, 8.2% of school committees, and 15.7% of hobby clubs.

This measure of youth participation is admittedly crude. Unfortunately, it could not be expanded to cover the full range of voluntary associations that young people may have participated in. For instance, environmental organizations, youth organizations of labor unions and political parties, and religious organizations were not mentioned. This is not a large problem because participation in such organizations is relatively uncommon among youth in the Netherlands. A more pressing problem is that the questionnaire did not ask about the intensity of engagement. We only know whether people were members, not how long they have been a member, and what kind of activities they engaged in (participating in activities organized by these voluntary associations or volunteering). We can assume that membership of sports clubs usually did not include volunteering, while membership of a school commission is hardly possible without volunteering. To get some sense of the intensity of youth participation, we counted the number of memberships. 21.4% reported no youth memberships, 49.2% one membership, 21.6% two, 6.9% three, and 0.9% memberships in all four types of voluntary associations.

Parental volunteering. The GINPS asked separate questions were asked about volunteer activities by the mother and father using the question: ‘Were your parents active in a voluntary association (e.g., religious organization, political party, labor union, cultural organization, in human services or health care organizations) when you were about 15 years of age?’. 19.1% reported volunteering activities by the father only, 8.3% by the mother only, 13.8% reported volunteering activities by mother and father, and 58.8% did not report any volunteering by either mother or father at 15 years of age. In the main analyses these responses are combined into the number of parents active as volunteers. In additional analyses the effects of mothers and fathers on sons and daughters is estimated separately.

Parental religion. Because participation in voluntary associations has a strong relationship with religious involvement, a series of questions were asked about parental religiosity. First the questionnaire asked ‘Did your parents belong to a church or religious community when you were young (15 years of age)?’ If yes, the question was asked ‘To which one?’ To all respondents the question was posed ‘How often did your parents attend religious services when you were 15 years of age?’ All questions were asked separately about mothers and fathers. The respondents reported no religious affiliation for the father in 25.3% of the cases, 33.1% reported Catholic affiliation, 20.0% Reformed Protestant (‘Reformed Protestant’), 12.8% Rereformed Protestant (‘Rereformed Protestant’), 4.7% other religious affiliation, and 4.1% did not remember. For mothers, these proportions were 20.6%, 34.7%, 23.0%, 13.5%, 5.4% and 2.8%. In response to the question about attending religious services of the father 37.6% said the father never attended; 9.3% once or twice a year, 4.2% once a

month, 28.2% once a week, and 11.5% more than once a week. 9.3% did not remember. For mother's church attendance these proportions were 31.8%, 12.9%, 5.9%, 31.1%, 11.8% and 6.4%, respectively. The reports on church attendance by the mother and the father were strongly correlated ($r=.760$). In a confirmatory factor analysis the two scores were combined into a single factorscore (Eigen value 1.76, explaining 87.9% of the variance, both items loading .938 on the latent construct). Also the reports on parental religious affiliations were combined. 20.9% reported no religious affiliation for both parents, 30.4% reported Catholic affiliation, 17.2% Reformed Protestant, 11.6% Rereformed, and 3.8% reported an 'other' religious affiliation for both parents. 16.1% reported different religious affiliations for mother and father, one religious and one non-religious parent, or did not remember the affiliation of one or both parents.

Parental education. The GINPS also contains data on the highest level of education of the parents. 47.2% reported a higher level of education by the father; 11.8% by the mother, 29.9% reported equal levels of education, and 11.0% did not remember. Among respondents who reported parental levels of education, 19.1% reported primary education only, 31.8% reported lower secondary education, 19.5% reported middle secondary education, 8.2% higher secondary; 13.4% reported lower tertiary education, and 7.9% higher tertiary education.

Prosocial values. The GINPS contains a wide range of measures of social values. Here I include measures of generalized social trust, altruistic values, social responsibility and interest in politics. Previous research has shown the importance of these values for philanthropy and volunteering (Uslaner, 2002; Bekkers, 2000, 2003; Schuyt, Smit & Bekkers, 2004). All items were measured on a 1 ('completely disagree') to 5 ('agree completely') scale. Generalized social trust was measured with two items that are commonly used as two alternatives: 'In general, most people can be trusted' and 'You can't be too careful in dealing with other people'. Responses to these questions correlated high enough ($-.42$) to consider them as measures of the same underlying dimension. Altruistic values were measured with a Dutch translation of items on 'benevolence' from Gordon's (1976) Interpersonal Values scale (Lindeman 1995). The eight items formed a reliable scale ($\alpha=.81$). To measure personal responsibility, the respondents indicated agreement on a scale from 1 to 5 with three statements: 'We should leave the world in a good state for the following generation', 'Society is endangered because people increasingly care less about each other' and 'The world needs responsible citizens'. Interest in politics was measured with a single item: 'How interested would you say you are in politics?' (range: 1 – 'not at all' – to 5 'very much').

Resources. From the GINPS I use the following variables as key measures of human, financial and social capital: the level of education completed (range: 1 – lower education – to 7 – university degree), home ownership (dummy variable), church attendance (number of church visits per year), whether people have ever been asked to volunteer (dummy variable), a measure of social pressure to volunteer (agreement on a 1-5 scale with the statement 'In my social environment it is obvious to volunteer'), the number of personal solicitations for contributions to nonprofit organizations in the past two weeks and the number of impersonal solicitations (Bekkers, 2005). To compare the effects of variables with different measurement scales, all variables were z-standardized (resulting in a mean score of 0 and a standard deviation of 1).

Results

Who participated in youth?

Table 1 shows the backgrounds of youth participation in the four different types of voluntary associations. First, I find clear evidence that participation in all types of voluntary associations is more common among children of parents who volunteered for nonprofit organizations. Second, I find that most types of participation are more common among children of parents with a religious affiliation, and especially among children of Catholic parents. Intensive religious involvement discourages participation in sports and hobby clubs. Finally, we find that parental education promotes membership of school committees and (to a lesser extent) in sports clubs and youth organizations.

Table 1. Determinants of youth participation

	Sports club	Youth association	School committee	Hobby club
Female	0.92	0.97	0.88	1.31 *
Age	0.96 ***	1.01 ***	1.00	1.00
Level of education parents	1.12 **	1.11 (*)	1.61 ***	1.02
Catholic parents	1.51 *	1.70 **	1.37	1.61 *
Reformed Protestant parents	1.48 *	1.52 *	0.99	1.31
Rereformed parents	1.05	2.09 **	0.91	1.11
Other religion parents	0.65	0.73	0.56	2.06 *
Mixed marriage	1.10	0.96	1.13	1.33
Parental church attendance	0.73 ***	1.16 *	0.95	0.74 ***
Volunteering by parents	1.12 (*)	1.18 **	1.63 ***	1.27 ***
Chi Square	247.1 ***	106.0 ***	80.9 ***	32.2 ***
Explained variance	.161	.074	.093	.028

Entries are odds ratios for z-standardized variables.

*** p<.001; **p<.01; * p<.05; (*) p<.10

Effects of youth participation on prosocial values

Does youth participation promote prosocial values? Table 2 summarizes the results of a series of regression analyses relating generalized social trust, altruistic values, social responsibility, and interest in politics to youth participation, parental volunteering and parental background characteristics. The table displays the relationship of parental volunteering and the intensity of youth participation (the number of voluntary associations that the respondent participated in) when controlling for parental characteristics and without such controls (in brackets). Tables A to D in the appendix show the relationships of prosocial values with all parental characteristics.

The results show that parental volunteering and a higher intensity of youth participation are related to stronger prosocial values in adulthood. Children of parents who volunteered and those who were more active in voluntary associations in youth have higher levels of generalized social trust, stronger altruistic values, feel more responsible for society as a whole, and are more interested in politics. The influence of parental volunteering on trust and altruistic values is stronger than the influence of youth participation, while the reverse is true for social responsibility and interest in politics. Especially relationship of youth participation with interest in politics is fairly strong ($\beta = .150$); stronger than the influence of parental education ($\beta = .095$, see table D in the appendix).

When the intensity of participation is disaggregated into its separate components, I find much weaker relationships of part with prosocial values. This difference suggests that participation in youth is particularly effective when activities in multiple organizations are combined. The exception to this rule is political interest. Participation in sports clubs, youth associations and school committees promote political interest. Social responsibility is also related to specific types of youth participation. Especially those who were active in school committees feel more responsible to society as a whole as adults. To a lesser extent, this also holds for participation in hobby clubs. Trust has a marginally significant relationship with participation in sports clubs. Altruistic values are not significantly related to specific types of youth participation.

Table 2. Relations of parental volunteering and youth participation with prosocial values

	Generalized social trust	Altruistic values	Social responsibility	Interest in politics
Parental volunteering	.127 ***	.099 ***	.046 (*)	.108 ***
Intensity of youth participation	.057 * (.073) ***	.058 ** (.064) **	.069 ** (.075) ***	.150 *** (.161) ***
Sports club	.044 (*) (.021)	.013 (-.031)	.011 (-.020)	.110 *** (.076) ***
Youth association	.032 (.057) *	.035 (.073) **	.003 (.030)	.062 ** (.094) ***
School committee	.030 (.048) *	.025 (.040) (*)	.067 ** (.076) ***	.076 ** (.101) ***
Hobby club	-.001 (.008)	.034 (.041) (*)	.059 * (.064) **	.030 (.027)

Entries are standardized beta-coefficients.

*** p<.001; **p<.01; * p<.05; (*) p<.10

Table 2 clearly shows the importance of taking confounding variables into account. The bivariate relationships of youth participation with prosocial values are much stronger than the partial correlations, taking parental characteristics into account. This results confirms the assumption that there are substantial selection effects of children into specific types of voluntary associations on the basis of parental characteristics. Especially for participation in youth associations we see strong differences between bivariate and partial correlations. Former Boy Scouts and Girl Guides have more prosocial values as adults than persons who have not been in the scouts movement, but this difference is mostly due to the influence of parents who sent them to this organization in the first place. The analyses in the appendix show it is the higher level of religious participation of parents and their engagement in nonprofit organizations that promotes the prosocial values of their children. Taking these characteristics into account, participation in youth associations does not promote trust, altruistic values or social responsibility. But participation in youth associations does increase interest in politics.

Effects of youth participation on giving and volunteering in adulthood

Does youth participation promote giving and volunteering in adulthood? Does this influence remain when the influence of parents is taken into account? And, most importantly, how can this influence be explained? Does youth participation promote giving and volunteering by promoting prosocial values? Or can the influence of youth participation be explained by enhanced skills or accessibility for mobilization networks? Tables 3 to 6 answer these questions for volunteering (tables 3 and 4) and the amount donated to nonprofit organizations in the past year (tables 5 and 6). The analyses in table 3 and 5 reveal the influence of youth participation on current giving and volunteering in four steps. In a first model, the relationship of current levels of giving and volunteering with parental volunteering, religion and education are estimated. In a second model, the intensity of youth participation is added. In a third model, separate measures for engagement in the four types of voluntary associations are included instead of the intensity measure. In a fourth model, all parental characteristics are removed from the regression to study selection-effects.

The analyses in tables 4 and 6 answer the question how the effects of youth participation can be explained. In a first model, four measures of prosocial values are included. Comparing the effects of youth participation in this model with their effects in model 3 of table 3 and 5 shows to what extent the influence of youth participation is due to socialization of prosocial values. In a second model, four measures of current resources are included. If the influence of youth participation declines in this model, this supports the resource explanation. In a third model measures of solicitation attempts and social pressure to contribute are included to test selective mobilization theory. If the influence of youth participation diminishes

in this model this supports the explanation that youth participation makes people accessible for mobilization networks.

Youth participation and current volunteering

Table 3 shows that parental volunteering has a strong influence on children’s current volunteering, even when parental religious affiliation is controlled. Parental religious affiliation with Catholicism and Protestantism also promotes volunteering. Parental church attendance does not promote volunteering once religious affiliation and parental volunteering are controlled. This seems to be in contrast with previous research, where a strong effect of parental church attendance on children’s volunteering was found (Bekkers, 2004). However, this previous study did not include parental religious affiliation. Apparently, it is not so much the degree of parental religious involvement but the affiliation with specific religious groups that promotes children’s volunteering. Model 2 shows that the intensity of youth participation promotes volunteering even when parental volunteering and parental religious affiliation is controlled. Three out of four types of youth participation promote current volunteering: involvement in youth associations, school committees and hobby clubs, but not involvement in sports clubs. Youth participation partly mediates the effects of parental volunteering and parental religious affiliation, and also diminishes the effects of age and gender. These results imply that older persons and females are more likely to volunteer today because they used to be more involved in voluntary associations when they were young.

Table 3. Effects of parental background and youth participation in logistic regression analysis of volunteering in past 12 months

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Female	1.23 *	1.24 *	1.10	
Age	1.35 ***	1.40 ***	1.30 ***	
Level of education parents	0.92	0.89 *	0.85 **	
Catholic parents	1.41 *	1.31 (*)	1.29	
Reformed parents	1.49 *	1.42 *	1.33	
Rereformed parents	2.02 ***	1.94 ***	1.66 *	
Other religion parents	1.93 *	2.04 *	1.68 (*)	
Mixed marriage	0.95	0.93	0.88	
Church attendance parents	0.97	0.99	0.94	
Volunteering parents	1.56 ***	1.47 ***	1.36 ***	
Youth participation		1.37 ***		
Sports club			1.03	0.82 *
Youth association			1.39 **	1.70 ***
School committee			1.79 **	1.88 ***
Hobby club			1.44 **	1.53 ***
Chi Square	133.7 ***	163.0 ***	269.0 ***	62.7 ***
Explained variance	.091	.110	.176	.043

Entries are odds ratios of z-standardized variables.

*** p<.001; **p<.01; * p<.05; (*) p<.10

Model 4 of table 3 shows that bivariate relationships of youth participation with current volunteering are misleading. The odds ratio of 1.70 for participation in youth associations suggests that those who participated in youth associations are two times more likely to volunteer today than those who did not, while the odds ratio of 1.39 in model 3 leads to a more modest difference of 48%. Also the effects of school committees and hobby clubs are overestimated when parental characteristics are not taken into account. The 0.87 for sports clubs in model 4 suggests that those who participated in sports clubs in youth are 13% less likely to volunteer today, but the odds ratio of 1.03 in model 3 shows that youth participation

in sports clubs is not related to current volunteering when selection effects are taken into account.

Model 1 of table 4 shows that prosocial values are not important mediating variables for the effect of youth participation on volunteering in adulthood. Altruistic values are strongly related to current volunteering, but the effects of youth participation in model 1 are virtually identical to the effects in model 3 of table 3, where altruistic values were not taken into account.

Table 4. Effects of youth participation, prosocial values, resources, and mobilization attempts in logistic regression of volunteering in past 12 months

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Female	1.10	1.11	1.19
Age	1.32 ***	1.35 ***	1.27 ***
Level of education parents	0.85 **	0.83 **	0.85 *
Catholic parents	1.32	1.23	1.23
Reformed parents	1.35 (*)	1.18	1.08
Rereformed parents	1.65 *	1.35	1.13
Other religion parents	1.70 (*)	1.35	1.13
Mixed marriage	0.91	0.87	0.85
Church attendance parents	0.95	0.89	0.88 (*)
Volunteering parents	1.35 ***	1.28 ***	1.22 **
Sports club	1.02	1.04	0.97
Youth association	1.37 **	1.32 *	1.26 *
School committee	1.81 ***	1.67 **	1.55 *
Hobby club	1.42 *	1.40 *	1.49 **
Generalized social trust	1.06	1.03	1.03
Altruistic values	1.67 ***	1.60 ***	1.38 ***
Social responsibility	1.08	1.07	1.08
Interest in politics	1.06	1.05	1.05
Level of education		1.14 *	1.16 *
Home owner		1.07	1.01
Town size		0.85 *	0.91
Church attendance		1.30 ***	1.18 ***
Asked to volunteer			1.94 ***
Social pressure to volunteer			1.56 ***
Personal solicitation to donate			1.18 **
Impersonal solicitation to donate			1.01
Chi Square	278.9 ***	313.4 ***	435.7 ***
Explained variance	.183	.204	.275

Entries are odds ratios of z-standardized variables.

*** p<.001; **p<.01; * p<.05; (*) p<.10

Model 2 shows that current resources and involvement in religion are a partial explanation for the effects of youth participation on current volunteering. The effects of participation in youth associations and school committees decline in model 2, but remain significantly positive. Those who participated in youth are more likely to have higher levels of education and are also attend church more often, and that is why youth participation promotes current volunteering. They are also participation of the reason why parental volunteering and parental religious affiliation promote current volunteering. This becomes clear from the decline in the effects of these variables in model 2.

Proximity to mobilization networks is also a reason why youth participation promotes current volunteering. This conclusion is based on the decreasing effects of youth participation in model 3, where being asked to volunteer, social pressure to volunteer and personally being

asked to donate money to nonprofit organizations are included and have positive effects on volunteering. Model 3 also reveals other interesting results: the effects of age, church attendance and altruistic values become weaker when proximity to mobilization networks is taken into account. Older persons, frequent church attendees and persons with more altruistic values are more likely to volunteer because they are more likely to be asked to volunteer and because volunteering is a more common leisure time activity in their social environment. These results are in line with previous research (Bekkers, 2000, 2003). The finding that altruistic values increase the likelihood to be asked suggests that recruiters direct solicitation attempts towards those whom they expect to be more willing to volunteer, as suggested by Brady, Schlozman & Verba (1999).

It should be noted that current levels of human and social capital and proximity to mobilization networks do not give a complete explanation for the effects of parental volunteering and youth participation on current volunteering. Taking current resources and proximity to mobilization networks into account, youth participation in hobby clubs still increases the likelihood to volunteer with 63% ($e^{1.49}=1.63$) activity in school committees with 73%, and in youth associations with 29%. This suggests there are still other pathways that link parental volunteering and youth participation to current volunteering.

Youth participation and charitable giving

Table 5 shows the relationship of youth participation with the amount donated to nonprofit organizations. Model 1 shows the influence of parental characteristics.

Table 5. Effects of parental background and youth participation in OLS regression of total amount donated in 2001

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Female	.006	.007	.009	
Age	.283 ***	.290 ***	.281 ***	
Level of education parents	.083 ***	.075 ***	.073 ***	
Catholic parents	-.041	-.054	-.054	
Reformed parents	.143 ***	.136 ***	.136 ***	
Rereformed parents	.213 ***	.207 ***	.203 ***	
Other religion parents	.120 ***	.122 ***	.123 ***	
Mixed marriage	.069 *	.066 *	.067 *	
Church attendance parents	.152 ***	.164 ***	.157 ***	
Volunteering parents	.141 ***	.126 ***	.124 ***	
Youth participation		.087 ***		
Sports club			.023	-.106 ***
Youth association			.072 ***	.149 ***
School committee			.052 *	.071 **
Hobby club			.012	.004
Chi Square	55.5 ***	52.3 ***	41.5 ***	16.9 ***
Explained variance	.253	.260	.261	.038

Entries are beta-coefficients.

*** p<.001; **p<.01; * p<.05; (*) p<.10

Parents who volunteer when their children are young increase their children's giving when they have become adults. A higher level of education and religious involvement of the parents also increases donations. Children of Protestants give more than children of non-religious parents and Catholics. Children from a (religiously) mixed marriage also give somewhat more than children of non-religious parents and Catholics. Model 2 shows that more intense youth participation increases donations. Youth participation mediates a participation of the relationship of parental volunteering and parental education with donations. When youth participation in specific types of voluntary associations is considered in

model 3, it becomes clear that not all youth participation promotes current giving. The effect of youth participation is limited to participation in youth associations and school committees. Participation in sports clubs and hobby clubs does not increase current giving. Model 4 shows that selection effects are disturbing the bivariate relationships of youth participation with donations: without controls for parental characteristics youth participation in sports seems to decrease current giving, and the relationship of participation in youth associations and school committees is larger than in model 3 where parental characteristics are taken into account.

Table 6. Effects of youth participation, prosocial values, resources, and mobilization attempts in OLS regressions of total amount donated in 2001

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Female	-.022	-.026	-.027
Age	.247 ***	.254 ***	.244 ***
Level of education parents	.058 **	.022	.022
Catholic parents	-.059 (*)	-.095 ***	-.097 ***
Reformed parents	.125 ***	.079 **	.070 **
Rereformed parents	.175 ***	.100 ***	.092 ***
Other religion parents	.109 ***	.060 **	.056 *
Mixed marriage	.062 *	.052 *	.049 *
Church attendance parents	.145 ***	.080 ***	.082 ***
Volunteering parents	.088 ***	.046 *	.040 (*)
Sports club	.010	.015	.015
Youth association	.058 **	.038 (*)	.028
School committee	.037 (*)	.005	.006
Hobby club	-.002	-.001	-.004
Generalized social trust	.064 **	.039 (*)	.036 (*)
Altruistic values	.198 ***	.163 ***	.139 ***
Social responsibility	.092 ***	.078 ***	.074 ***
Interest in politics	.035	.016	.012
Level of education		.126 ***	.121 ***
Home owner		.294 ***	.278 ***
Town size		-.093 ***	-.086 ***
Church attendance		.005	.001
Asked to volunteer			-.006
Social pressure to volunteer			.039 (*)
Personal solicitation to donate			.043 (*)
Impersonal solicitation to donate			.073 ***
F-value	44.1 ***	52.4 ***	45.9 ***
Explained variance	.327	.414	.422

Table 6 shows how parental volunteering and youth participation affect donations in adulthood. In contrast to the analyses of volunteering, prosocial values are an important pathway of influence from youth participation to current giving. Model 1 shows that trust, altruistic values and social responsibility increase giving, and that taking these values into account decreases the effects of parental volunteering and participation in youth associations and school committees on current giving. The effects of the other parental characteristics also decrease when prosocial values are taken into account. Children of religiously active, Protestant and higher educated parents give more partly because they have more prosocial values.

Model 2 shows that a higher level of education, owning a home and living in a smaller town increase the amount donated, and that these current resources are partly responsible for the influence of parental volunteering and youth participation on current giving. The effects of

parental volunteering and participation in youth associations and school committees decline strongly when current resources are taken into account. Additional analyses reveal that the level of education is the most important factor: people who participated in voluntary association in youth reach a higher level of education as adults, and that is why they give more. Current church attendance does not increase the amount donated in the present analysis. This is mainly due to the inclusion of prosocial values, which mediate effects of church attendance (Bekkers, 2003). Controlling for current resources also diminishes the effects of parental religious affiliation, education and volunteering. Interestingly, the effects of prosocial values also decrease. This could have two reasons: either prosocial values increase current resources, or the effects of prosocial values in model 1 were confounded with the effects of current resources. Although the former seems unlikely, there is some evidence that prosocial personality characteristics in childhood promote school success later in life (Caprara, Barbaranelli, Pastorelli, Bandura & Zimbardo, 2000). With the data at hand it is impossible to say which is true.

Model 3 takes solicitation attempts into account. Impersonal requests for charitable donations increase the amount donated. Social pressure to volunteer and personal solicitations only marginally increase the amount donated. Taking solicitation attempts into account further diminishes the effect of participation in youth associations – and also the effects of parental volunteering, having Protestant parents and altruistic values. Solicitation attempts do not mediate the influence of current resources – a finding analyzed in more detail elsewhere (Bekkers, 2005).

Life father, like son; like parent, like daughter

Table 7 shows the results of separate analyses for sons and daughters. I expected gender specific socialization effects: daughters would be affected more strongly by their mothers' volunteering, and sons by their fathers' activity in nonprofit organizations. The results indicate a different pattern. Although sons are more like their fathers than their mothers, daughters seem to imitate their fathers and mothers to the same extent. It seems daughters are simply more susceptible to parental influence than sons.

Table 7. Regressions of volunteering and amount donated separately for males and females

	Volunteering		Amount donated	
	Daughters	Sons	Daughters	Sons
Age	1.26 **	1.47 **	.291 ***	.257 ***
Level of education parents	0.90	0.87	.043	.097 **
Catholic parents	1.66 *	1.08	-.072	-.028
Reformed Protestant parents	1.89 **	1.16	.103 *	.170 ***
Rereformed Protestant parents	2.66 **	1.47	.163 ***	.204 ***
Other religion parents	2.97 **	1.22	.123 ***	.105 **
Parents with different religion	1.17	0.83	.062	.083 *
Church attendance parents	0.88	1.11	.183 ***	.122 ***
Volunteering mother	1.63 **	0.99	.088 **	-.002
Volunteering father	1.54 **	1.58 **	.075 *	.095 **
Sports club	1.07	1.44 *	.035	.004
Youth association	1.35 *	2.29 **	.090 **	.043
School commission	1.67 *	1.90 **	.072 *	.047
Hobby club	1.24	1.47 ***	-.040	.070 *
Chi Square/F-value	82.8 ***	102.1 ***	23.0 ***	19.9 ***
Explained variance	.107	.158	.273	.254

Table 7 also reveals other interesting results. The effects of youth participation on volunteering are much stronger among males than among females, while the reverse is true for

giving. Among females, the effects of youth participation on current giving are stronger than among males. The effect of parental religious affiliation on volunteering is limited to daughters: religious parents seem to have little influence on their sons' volunteering in adulthood. The effect of parental church attendance on giving by their daughters is stronger than on their son's, while the effect of parental education on giving is stronger among sons than among daughters.

Discussion

The relations between youth participation and current giving and volunteering that I have described above are not necessarily causal. I have used retrospective data on youth participation. Such data are never fully accurate. All kinds of biases can occur. Recollections could be selective: perhaps the respondents remembered the family in which they grew up in line with their current life situation. Perhaps current volunteers are more likely to remember that they volunteered in youth than current non-volunteers, and perhaps they are also more likely to remember their parents as volunteers. Although I cannot exclude these possibilities, I limited the potential for such a bias by offering 'don't know' as response categories in the questions on youth experiences.

Another potential problem is reverse causality. One could argue that for instance the relationship of prosocial values with youth participation runs from prosocial values to youth participation rather than the reverse. It is not unlikely that we are looking at reverse causality here because parents may not only choose a voluntary association for their children on the basis of their own preferences, but also on the basis of the preferences of the child ('what kind of club would she like to be in?'). In such a scenario, the influence of prosocial values on current giving and volunteering should be stronger when youth participation is not taken into account. Additional analyses (available from the author) show that this is not the case.

A final problem is posed by unmeasured confounding variables that promote youth participation as well as variables mediating the influence of youth participation. Consider for instance the relationship between youth participation and current level of education. My findings do not prove that youth participation promotes the level of education. It is always possible to argue that there are unmeasured confounding variables that promote both the level of education as well as youth participation. For instance, one could argue that (genetically inherited) cognitive ability, emotional intelligence, or other stable personality characteristics promote educational careers as well as youth participation in voluntary associations. As in many other studies using survey data, the GINPS does not have such measures available. From the handful of studies that do contain such measures, however, we know that 'Big Five'-personality characteristics are only weakly related to giving and volunteering (Bekkers, 2004). The level of education and religious involvement are the main factors that promote giving and volunteering. More importantly, previous research on the influence of parental volunteering (Bekkers, 2004) and youth participation (Glanville, 1999) finds that these influences are not confounded by the influence of personality characteristics of children. This implies that the transmission of personality from parents to children is not the reason why volunteering transfers from parents to children. Volunteering is a social choice that parents and adolescents make, not a form of behavior that they are destined to display because of genetically determined predispositions.

Conclusion

In this paper, I investigated the relationship of parental volunteering and participation in voluntary associations in youth with current giving and volunteering. In order not to overestimate the influence of parental volunteering and youth participation I controlled for three parental characteristics that affect parental volunteering and their children's participation in voluntary associations: the level of education, religious affiliation, and church attendance. Controlling for these parental characteristics changed the estimated relationships of youth participation with current giving and volunteering: relationships of activities in youth associations (like Boy Scouts/Girl Guides) and school committees were considerably less

positive (but still significant), while relationships of sports clubs were less negative (and not significant). Parental volunteering and most types of youth participation increase current levels of giving and volunteering.

Then I answered the question how the influence of youth participation on current giving and volunteering can be explained. I tested four theories: value socialization theory, integration theory, resource theory, and selective mobilization theory. These theories predict that parental volunteering and youth participation affect current giving and volunteering through four different pathways. Value socialization theory claims that youth participation promotes the formation of prosocial values, such as generalized social trust, altruistic values, and social responsibility, and that these values are the reason why parental volunteering and youth participation promote current giving and volunteering. I find no support for value socialization theory in the analysis of volunteering. Although parental volunteering and youth participation promote prosocial values, they are not the reason why parental volunteering and youth participation are linked to volunteering in adulthood. I do find support for a value socialization pathway in the analysis of charitable giving. The difference between giving and volunteering is not surprising. Donations are a more anonymous form of prosocial behavior than volunteering. Giving is less sensitive to direct social influence because it is more difficult to observe for outsiders. The finding that value socialization links youth participation to giving but not to volunteering is in line with the finding that the influence of religious involvement on giving is more strongly mediated by social values than on volunteering (Bekkers, 2003).

Integration theory assumes that youth participation ties people to locally oriented networks of active citizens, and that these networks continue to exert an influence on giving and volunteering throughout adulthood. I find some evidence for such a community formation pathway in the analysis of volunteering. People who participate in voluntary associations in youth are more frequently attending church as adults and are more likely to live in smaller towns, and living in these contexts promotes volunteering because they contain many active citizens. This result is in line with the findings of Janoski & Wilson (1995). However, ties to active citizens do not explain why youth participation affects current charitable giving.

According to resource theory, adolescents learn skills that increase their human capital, which increases the efficacy and lowers the costs of their contributions to nonprofit organizations. I found evidence for this theory in the analysis of both giving and volunteering. People who have participated in voluntary association in youth reach into higher levels of education, and this is one of the reasons why they are more likely to volunteer and give more money to nonprofit organizations as adults.

Finally, I tested a prediction from selective mobilization theory, which states that youth participation reduces the distance to mobilization networks and therefore promotes current giving and volunteering. I find strong evidence for such a mobilization pathway in the analysis of volunteering, and weaker evidence in the analysis of giving. Youth participation makes people accessible for mobilization networks. People who have participated in voluntary associations in youth are more likely to be asked to volunteer when they have become adults, and they also receive more solicitations for charitable donations to nonprofit organizations.

Together, the four pathways give a complete account of the influence of youth participation on current giving. In the analysis of volunteering, a positive influence of youth participation remains, even when prosocial values, human and social capital, and mobilization attempts are taken into account.

The findings have clear implications for parents. Setting the example to children by volunteering strengthens the development of prosocial values, which promote giving and volunteering in adulthood. Above and beyond the effects of parental volunteering, youth participation also promotes giving and volunteering through different pathways. The resource pathway is particularly interesting. Parents who don't want to invest time in setting the example may send their children to youth associations, encourage them to participate in school committees and even in hobby clubs in order to make them better citizens. The benefits for children are higher levels of human and social capital. The benefits for us all are more volunteers and more generous donors.

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Appendix: Determinants of youth participation

This appendix shows the full results of the regression analyses of generalized social trust (Table A), altruistic values (B), social responsibility (C) and interest in politics (D). In a first regression model I included age, gender, and parental characteristics. In a second model I included the intensity of youth participation. In a third model the intensity of participation is replaced by participation in four different types of voluntary associations. Model 4 shows the relationship of youth participation without controlling for parental characteristics in order to assess the magnitude of selection effects.

Table A shows that social trust is hardly related to parental characteristics, except parental volunteering. The proportion of explained variance is low. Generalized social trust is higher among older respondents, and among children of volunteers. A higher intensity of youth participation is positively related to generalized social trust. Model 3 shows that participation in sports clubs promotes generalized social trust. Model 4 shows that there are strong selection effects. When age and parental volunteering are not controlled, one would find a positive relationship between trust and participation in youth associations and school committees, and no significant relationship of youth participation in sports clubs with trust.

Table B shows that altruistic values are related to almost all parental characteristics. Church attendance, parental volunteering and having Protestant parents increase endorsement of altruistic values. Also parental level of education van de parents promotes endorsement of altruistic values. More intensive youth participation is also positively related to altruistic values, but none of the separate types of voluntary associations increase endorsement of prosocial values. Model 4 shows that parental background confounds the bivariate relationship of youth participation with altruistic values. Participation in youth associations seems to promote endorsement of altruistic values, but this is no longer the case when parental background is taken into account.

Table C shows the results for social responsibility. Parental church attendance does not promote feelings of responsibility for society as a whole, although parental Catholic or Protestant affiliation does promote social responsibility. The influence of parental volunteering is not very strong. Intensity of youth participation promotes social responsibility, and also activities in school committees and in hobby clubs. Because parental background is not strongly related to social responsibility selection effects are not very strong, and the bivariate relations of youth participation with social responsibility in model 4 are not very different from the multivariate estimates in model 3.

Table D shows the analysis of interest in politics. Parents mainly influence the degree of interest in politics of their children through the level of education and through volunteering. Youth participation is fairly strongly related to the intensity of youth participation as well as to activity in specific voluntary associations. Youth participation partly mediates the relationship of parental volunteering and education on interest in politics. Interest in politics is mainly promoted by participation in sports clubs, school committees and youth associations. Participation in hobby clubs does not promote interest in politics. Model 4 shows that the relationship of interest in politics is even stronger when parental background is not taken into account.

Table A. Determinants of generalized social trust (standardized beta-coefficients)

Female	.009	.009	.011	
Age	.096 ***	.102 ***	.105 ***	
Level of education parents	.028	.023	.020	
Catholic parents	.049	.041	.041	
Reformed Protestant parents	.018	.013	.013	
Rereformed Protestant parents	.004	.001	.000	
Other religion parents	.002	.003	.005	
Parents with different religion	.014	.012	.013	
Church attendance parents	-.028	-.021	-.021	
Volunteering parents	.136 ***	.127 ***	.126 ***	
Youth participation		.057 *		
Sports club			.044 (*)	.021
Youth association			.032	.057 *
School commission			.030	.048 *
Hobby club			-.001	.008
F-value	5.7 ***	5.7 ***	4.6 ***	3.4 **
Explained variance	.024	.026	.024	.005

Table B. Determinants of altruistic values (standardized beta-coefficients)

Female	.139 ***	.139 ***	.138 ***	
Age	.077 ***	.083 ***	.078 ***	
Level of education parents	.052 *	.047 *	.047 *	
Catholic parents	.032	.023	.023	
Reformed Protestant parents	.082 **	.077 **	.078 **	
Rereformed Protestant parents	.120 ***	.116 ***	.116 **	
Other religion parents	.082 ***	.084 ***	.083 **	
Parents with different religion	.048 *	.046 (*)	.046 (*)	
Church attendance parents	.109 ***	.086 ***	.084 ***	
Volunteering parents	.109 ***	.099 ***	.098 ***	
Youth participation		.058 **		
Sports club			.013	-.031
Youth association			.035	.073 **
School commission			.025	.040 (*)
Hobby club			.034	.041 (*)
F-value	17.1 ***	16.2 ***	12.9 ***	5.2 ***
Explained variance	.076	.079	.078	.008

Table C. Determinants of social responsibility (standardized beta-coefficients)

Female	.067 **	.067 **	.065 **	
Age	.092 ***	.099 ***	.096 ***	
Level of education parents	.058 *	.051 *	.048 *	
Catholic parents	.078 *	.068 *	.070 *	
Reformed Protestant parents	.080 *	.074 *	.078 **	
Rereformed Protestant parents	.073 *	.069 *	.074 *	
Other religion parents	.045 (*)	.047 (*)	.045 (*)	
Parents with different religion	.034	.032	.031	
Church attendance parents	-.002	.006	.007	
Volunteering parents	.058 *	.046 (*)	.042 (*)	
Youth participation		.069 **		
Sports club			.011	-.020
Youth association			.003	.030
School commission			.067 **	.076 ***
Hobby club			.059 *	.064 **
F-value	5.5 ***	5.8 ***	5.1 ***	6.0 ***
Explained variance	.022	.026	.029	.010

Table D. Determinants of interest in politics (standardized beta-coefficients)

Female	-.165 ***	-.165 ***	-.162 ***	
Age	.142 ***	.158 ***	.167 ***	
Level of education parents	.109 ***	.095 ***	.090 ***	
Catholic parents	.040	.018	.019	
Reformed Protestant parents	-.022	-.034	-.034	
Rereformed Protestant parents	.019	.010	.012	
Other religion parents	-.017	-.013	-.011	
Parents with different religion	.011	.006	.006	
Church attendance parents	-.035	-.017	-.015	
Volunteering parents	.133 ***	.108 ***	.108 ***	
Youth participation		.150 ***		
Sports club			.110 ***	.076 ***
Youth association			.062 **	.094 ***
School commission			.076 **	.101 ***
Hobby club			.030	.027
F-value	15.3 ***	18.2 ***	14.7 ***	15.0 ***
Explained variance	.068	.089	.090	.028

Final note

In the analyses of volunteering and giving I checked whether the influence of youth participation varies with a number of factors. The factors and the underlying intuitions are:

- Level of education of parents: does youth participation compensate a lack of education?
- Age: does the effect of youth participation diminish when people get older?
- Parental volunteering: is youth participation more strongly related to current giving and volunteering when parents also volunteered?
- Altruistic values: does youth participation affect giving and volunteering more strongly among those who consider themselves as being altruistic persons?
- Social pressure to volunteer: does youth participation promote giving and volunteering more strongly when one's social network values volunteering more strongly?
- Mobilisation attempts: is it harder to refuse to volunteer when one has been active in voluntary associations in youth?

None of these interactions was significant.