

Socialising adolescent volunteering: How important are parents and friends? Age dependent effects of parents and friends on adolescents' volunteering behaviours



Anne A.J. van Goethem^{a,*}, Anne van Hoof^a, Marcel A.G. van Aken^a,
Bram Orobio de Castro^a, Quinten A.W. Raaijmakers^b

^a Department of Developmental Psychology, Utrecht University, Heidelberglaan 1, P.O. Box 80140, 3508 TC Utrecht, The Netherlands

^b Institute of Child and Adolescent Studies, Utrecht University, Heidelberglaan 1, P.O. Box, 3508 TC Utrecht, The Netherlands

ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Received 10 November 2012

Received in revised form 28 October 2013

Accepted 20 December 2013

Available online 13 January 2014

Keywords:

Volunteering

Parents' volunteering

Friends' volunteering

Civic family orientation

Open family communication

Adolescents

ABSTRACT

This study examined the relative importance of best friend's and parents' volunteering and civic family orientation (combined with open family communication) in adolescent volunteering, and the moderating effect of age. Results, involving 698 adolescents (M age = 15.19; SD = 1.43), revealed that adolescents were more likely to volunteer when their best friend and parents volunteered, and volunteered more frequently when their family had a stronger civic orientation combined with more open family communication. Clear age differences were found: when adolescents get older, friends become more important for whether they volunteer, and the family's civic orientation becomes important for their volunteering frequency. An implication of these findings may be that, depending on adolescents' age and the aspect of volunteering, interventions may focus on targeting parents' or friend's civic behaviour to stimulate adolescent volunteering.

© 2013 Elsevier Inc. All rights reserved.

Adolescence is a central period for prosocial development which is characterized by increased emotional responsiveness, a growing awareness and concern for the needs and interests of others, and increased levels of prosocial and civic behaviour (e.g., Dovidio, Piliavin, Schroeder, & Penner, 2006; for an overview, see Eisenberg, Cumberland, Guthrie, Murphy, & Shepard, 2005). One important example of these prosocial and civic behaviours is adolescent volunteering. Volunteering is not only part of adolescent prosocial development but, in turn, also stimulates this development and has positive effects on other aspects of adolescents' lives such as their life-satisfaction, self-rated health, and academic and occupational achievement (e.g., Wilson, 2000; Youniss & Yates, 1999).

As volunteering behaviour increases during adolescence and has positive effects on adolescent development, the promotion and socialisation of adolescent volunteering is a topic of major interest and concern. Two of the most important socialising agents who influence adolescents' volunteering development are parents and friends. Parents are important as they provide the first context for socialisation and

adult role models (cf. Caputo, 2009; Eisenberg, Fabes, & Spinrad, 2006), and friends are important as they share the same interests, traits and social power (e.g., Cohen & Prinstein, 2006; Smetana, Campione-Barr, & Metzger, 2006).

In the current study we focus on parents' and friends' influence on two aspects of volunteering: whether adolescents volunteer or not and, if adolescents volunteer, how often they volunteer, also referred to as adolescents' "volunteering frequency" (e.g., Andolina, Jenkins, Zukin, & Keeter, 2003; McGinley, Lipperman-Kreda, Byrnes, & Carlo, 2010). These two aspects of volunteering may be qualitatively different as research suggests that they are related to both different internal psychological processes (e.g., van Goethem et al., 2012), and external processes and influences (e.g., McGinley et al., 2010). In accordance with this idea, indication has been found that parents and friends could influence volunteering behaviours in different ways (e.g., Janoski, Musick, & Wilson, 1998; Law & Shek, 2009; McGinley et al., 2010). Janoski et al. (1998) theorised that two of the most important ways by which adolescents' volunteering is stimulated, is by social practise or "behavioural modelling", and by "value transmission".

In our study we therefore examine the extent to which parents and friends affect adolescents' volunteering through behavioural modelling. In addition, we study how parents might influence adolescents' volunteering through value transmission. Further, in contrast to most research in this field which has been conducted in the USA, we

* Corresponding author at: Institute of Developmental Psychology, Utrecht University, Heidelberglaan 1, P.O. Box 80140, 3508 TC Utrecht, The Netherlands. Tel.: +31 30 2534838; fax: +31 030 2534718.

E-mail address: A.A.J.vanGoethem@uu.nl (A.A.J. van Goethem).

examined these socialisation practises in the Netherlands and, with that, the generalizability of these practises.

Behavioural modelling: The relation between parents' and friends' volunteering and adolescents' volunteering

In case of behavioural modelling, the desired social skills and behaviours are learned by habituation, social comparison, and regular practise within stable situations and social relationships (cf. Janoski, 1995; Janoski et al., 1998). Translated to the socialisation of volunteering, this would mean that adolescents are stimulated to volunteer because they routinely encounter the volunteering of their parents and friends.

In accordance with this behavioural modelling perspective, there is a relatively large volume of published studies showing that whether one or both parents volunteer is one of the best predictors of whether adolescents will volunteer (e.g., Andolina et al., 2003; Metz, McLellan, & Youniss, 2003; Metz & Youniss, 2003), and how often adolescents volunteer (e.g., McGinley et al., 2010; Smetana & Metzger, 2005). Two recent studies, conducted in an American sample (Andolina et al., 2003) and a Dutch sample (Bekkers, 2007), found that volunteering is even transmitted from parents to their children while controlling for family background variables such as the level of education and religion. This seems to suggest that actual modelling of the volunteering behaviour takes place.

Although there is a relatively large amount of evidence showing that volunteering by parents influences the volunteering by their adolescent children, relatively little is known on whether the volunteering by friends also influences adolescents' volunteering. The few available studies however do suggest that adolescents are more likely to volunteer when their friends also volunteer (Clary et al., 1998; Okun & Schulz, 2003), especially when the volunteering is performed by close friends (Barry & Wentzel, 2006; McLellan & Youniss, 2003). Close friends are likely to be similar and share interests and therefore also influence and share each other's social behaviours such as volunteering (e.g., McLellan & Youniss, 2003). The current study extends this research by investigating the influence of parents' and best friend's volunteering on both whether adolescents volunteer and how often adolescents volunteer.

Value transmission: The role of open family communication in the relation between civic family orientation and adolescents' volunteering

In addition to behavioural modelling, past research has indicated that value transmission, passing on core beliefs about how one ought to think or behave (Flanagan, Bowes, Jonsson, Csapo, & Sheblanova, 1998), can have an important impact on adolescents' civic values and engagement such as volunteering. This is true for American samples (cf. Hart & Fegley, 1995; Janoski et al., 1998; Pratt, Hunsberger, Pancer, & Alisat, 2003) as well as non-American samples (e.g., Chinese sample; Law & Shek, 2009).

Especially civic values or attitudes and civic engagement, together referred to as "civic orientation" (cf. Crystal & DeBell, 2012), are primarily learned within the family (for an overview, see Smetana et al., 2006; White & Matawie, 2004). Through parental practises such as teaching or discussing civic values and behaviours (e.g., Andolina et al., 2003; Boyd, Zaff, Phelps, Weiner, & Lerner, 2011; Diemer & Li, 2011; Erentaite, Zukauskiene, Beyers, & Pilkauskaitė-Valickiene, 2012), adolescents can adopt their parents' moral or civic orientation (e.g., Hart & Fegley, 1995) and/or translate this orientation into civic behaviour (e.g., Law & Shek, 2009; Pratt et al., 2003).

However, the extent to which the transmission of this civic family orientation actually takes place depends on the content, style, and context in which this orientation is presented and communicated (e.g., Hardy, Padilla-Walker, & Carlo, 2008; Knafo & Assor, 2007; Pratt et al., 2003; Smetana & Metzger, 2005; White & Matawie, 2004). Generally, the internalisation of values and orientations are stimulated when

these are presented in a positive context. Research suggests that adolescents are more open to their parents' orientations and understand and analyse these orientations more, when family members stimulate each other's participation in family discussions and are open to each other's perspectives, in other words, when they use a more open family communication. This in turn increases the chance that adolescents internalise their parents' civic orientation (cf. Hardy et al., 2008; Smetana & Metzger, 2005; Thompson, Meyer, & McGinley, 2006; for an overview, see White & Matawie, 2004). Without this positive context of open communication, the internalisation of the family's civic orientation and the translation of this orientation into civic behaviour may not take place (cf. Rosenthal, Feiring, & Lewis, 2010).

However, although open family communication can stimulate adolescents' internalisation of the family's civic orientation, it is still unclear whether it also stimulates the translation of this civic family orientation into actual civic behaviour such as adolescents' volunteering. In the current study, we therefore examined whether and how a more open family communication affects the relation between the civic orientation of the family and adolescents' volunteering behaviour.

The role of age in the relative importance of parents and friends in adolescent volunteering

Until now, most research on volunteering has focused on the independent influence of parents' civic orientations and volunteering, and friends' volunteering. However, only a few studies have recognized the importance of studying the relative contribution of these influences in adolescent volunteering (Law & Shek, 2009; McGinley et al., 2010; McLellan & Youniss, 2003). Moreover, even less attention has been paid to the possible shifts in the relative contribution of these factors during adolescence. So the question arises whether the effects of parents' compared to friends' civic behaviour on adolescent volunteering may be age-dependent.

To address this question, we take the perspective of Lambert (1992), Meeus, Oosterwegel, & Vollebergh, (2002) and Smetana et al. (2006) into account who assume that the relative amount of influence of parents compared to that of peers on adolescent behaviour depends on the topic or domain of this behaviour. In line with this theoretical perspective, some studies found indication that parents have more influence on long-term issues, such as morality, school, and occupation (Smetana et al., 2006), whereas peers have more influence on present life-situations such as leisure time and friendships (cf. Meeus, Oosterwegel, & Vollebergh, 2002).

Based on this perspective and these findings, there are two alternative hypotheses on the importance of parents versus peers in adolescent volunteering. The first hypothesis is that parents stay important, or become even more important for their children's volunteering behaviour when adolescents grow older (e.g., Law & Shek, 2009; McGinley et al., 2010; White & Matawie, 2004). This is because volunteering is often considered to be moral behaviour (e.g., McLellan & Youniss, 2003), and parents are important role models for moral behaviours (e.g., Smetana et al., 2006; White & Matawie, 2004). Furthermore, as adolescents grow older they further develop their moral conscience and identity (Eisenberg et al., 2005), and as a result the importance of parents in adolescents volunteering could also increase. This may also imply that parents have a stronger influence on adolescents' volunteering than friends, which would even more strongly apply for older compared to younger adolescents. In contrast, the second hypothesis states that, as volunteering can also be part of a social activity or of sustaining relationships in daily life (e.g., McLellan & Youniss, 2003), the volunteering by friends may be as important as the volunteering by parents. Furthermore, when adolescents grow older and spend an increasing amount of time with their friends and peers (e.g., Smetana et al., 2006), friends may become a more important influence on adolescent volunteering than parents (e.g., McLellan & Youniss, 2003). Again, this could apply more strongly to older than to younger adolescents.

In the current study we will test these two alternative hypotheses by examining the relative contribution of friends' volunteering, parents' volunteering, and of civic family orientation (combined with open family communication) in adolescent volunteering, and the possible shifts with age in these relations, as presented in Fig. 1.

Method

Participants and procedure

Data for our study came from 698 adolescents. Adolescents (47.7% male, 52.3% female) were between 12 and 20 ($M = 15.19$; $SD = 1.43$) years old, and came from eight higher general education and pre-university education high schools. 83.9% of the adolescents were of Dutch origin, and 16.1% were first or second generation immigrants: 8% were Western immigrants and 8% were non Western immigrants. In addition, 58.7% were non religious whereas 41.3% indicated to be a member of church or religious community. Religious adolescents indicated to be Catholic (24%), Protestant-Christian (10.2%), Islamic (4.3%), Hindu (0.9%), or indicated to have another religious background (1.9%). Most adolescents came from two-parent, middle households (82.1%) and most adolescents had one or more siblings (90.4%). Lastly, 33% of the adolescents indicated to have performed volunteering in the past year, which is in the range of volunteering ratings in Dutch society (MOVISIE, 2011).

Schools were approached and asked to participate in our study. After permission was obtained, schools were given information letters for the parents of the adolescents. In accordance with local ethical guidelines, passive consent was provided by all adolescents. In each school class, data were collected with a digital questionnaire (NetQuestionnaires, www.netq.nl) in two separate 45 to 50-minute sessions. Each hour started with one or two trained examiner(s) personally assigning adolescents to the computers in the classroom to prevent friends from sitting next to each other. Adolescents were given a brief, standardized introduction and instruction, during which the individuality of the assessment and confidentiality of data-treatment were stressed.

Measures

Volunteering

In the current study we used the two aspects of the Civic Prosocial Behavior Inventory (CPBI; van Goethem et al., 2012) that assess whether adolescents volunteer and adolescents' volunteering frequency. Adolescents indicated whether they had ever volunteered in an organisation during the past year. Organized volunteering work was defined as: activities within an organisation, society, or club, which is intended to positively contribute to the environment, individuals, groups of people, or the society as a whole, without receiving money (small compensations are allowed). When adolescents indicated to volunteer, they were also presented with a set of twenty-two traditional as well as new forms of volunteering activities such as organising an event, collecting money, demonstrating, or administering the website of an organisation. They reported whether, and if so, how often they had performed each of these activities for the organisation they had been most active in on a scale that ranged from one to seven: 1 = *not*, 2 = *not, but maybe in the future*, 3 = *among one to four times*, 4 = *among five to ten times*, 5 = *among once a month*, 6 = *among once a week*, 7 = *among several times a week*. If adolescents indicated that they were active in a second organisation, they answered the same questions again for that organisation. All separate activity scores for maximally two organisations were, recoded (1 = 0, 2 = 0, 3 = 1, 4 = 2, 5 = 3, 6 = 4, 7 = 5) and summed, with a higher score indicating a larger amount of time spent to volunteering work.

Civic family orientation

The social orientation scale, a subscale of the Dutch version (Deater-Deckard, Fulker, & Plomin, 1999; Jansma & de Coole, 1996) of the Family Environment Scale (FES; Moos & Moos, 1986), was used to assess adolescents' civic family orientation. Adolescents rated to what extent each of 11 statements applied to their own family on a 5-point Likert scale: 1 = *totally true*, 5 = *totally not true*. These statements were for example: "We often talk about political and societal problems" and "We are involved in things that happen in our neighborhood". Eight of these 11 items (3 items were removed due to low factor loadings [below .25]; the content of these items was not related to the overall factor of civic family orientation¹) were used to calculate the average scale score, with higher scores indicating a more civically involved family orientation. Factor analysis, conducted in SPSS, showed a satisfactory 1-factor solution, explaining 26.88% of the variance (all factor loadings > .37).² The social orientation scale has shown to have a satisfactory reliability (Cronbach's alpha .63, Jansma & de Coole, 1996). In the present study reliability (Cronbach's alpha) was .59. Reliability decreased when one or more of the eight items were removed.

Parental volunteering

We used two items of the Perceived Parental Civic Behaviour Inventory (PPCBI; van Goethem, 2012) to assess whether adolescents' mother and adolescents' father had volunteered in an organisation during the past year. Scores on these items were combined into a (total) score for whether (one or both of) adolescents' parents volunteered: yes = 1, no = 0.

Best friend's volunteering

Adolescents indicated whether their best friend in their school class and their best friend outside of their school class volunteered (adolescents could decide who their best friend was). These answers were combined and coded as: 0 = *he/she did not volunteer* or 1 = *he/she volunteered*.

Open family communication

The Open Communication scale, a subscale from the translated version (Jackson, Bijstra, Oostra, & Bosma, 1998) of the Parent Adolescent Communication Scale (PACS; Barnes & Olson, 1985), was used to assess open communication within adolescents' families. Adolescents rated to what extent each of 10 statements were true for their own family on a 5-point Likert scale: 1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*. These included statements such as: "My parents are good listeners" and "When I ask questions, I get honest answers from my parents". Scores were used to calculate an average open communication score, with higher scores indicating a more open family communication. This scale has shown to have a good reliability (Cronbach's alpha = .87, Barnes & Olson, 1985; Cronbach's alpha = .89, Jackson et al., 1998), which was also found in the present study: Cronbach's alpha = .90.

Analyses

The hypothesized relations of adolescents' volunteering with friends' volunteering, parental volunteering, civic family orientation, and the interaction between civic family orientation and family communication, were studied with Structural equation modelling (SEM) using Mplus (Version 6; Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2010). We used zero inflated poisson regression to account for the large number of zero-scores (non-volunteers) in our volunteering measure by combining a point

¹ The 3 items removed were: "If there are troubles at work, we think you should keep out of them", "We prefer to buy each other things over making something ourselves", "On television, we only watch fun, relaxing programmes".

² Exploratory factor analysis showed a one or two factor solution. In accordance with former studies (e.g., Ganzendam-Donofrio et al., 2007), a one factor solution was chosen. Further, a two-factor solution did not improve scale reliability.

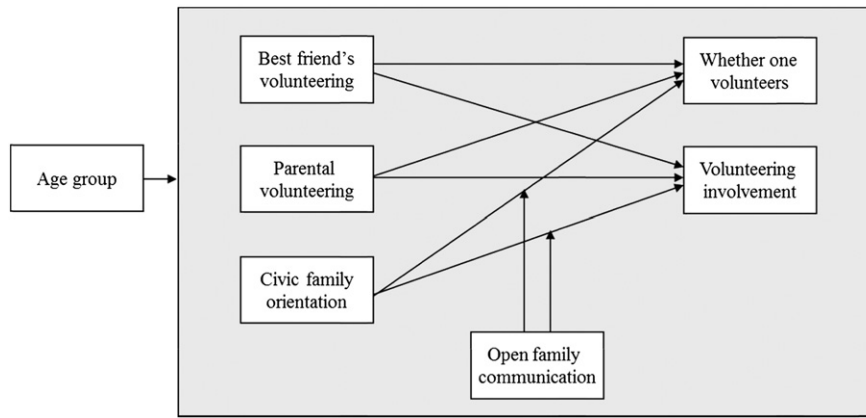


Fig. 1. Hypothesized model: adolescent volunteering (whether one volunteers and volunteering involvement) in relation to best friend's volunteering, parental volunteering, and the interaction between civic family orientation and open family communication, and the moderation of these hypothesized relations by adolescents' age group (younger and older adolescents).

mass at zero with a proper count distribution (for a detailed description of zero inflated poisson regression see Lambert, 1992). It combines predicting the inflated binary volunteering variable (not volunteering = 0 and volunteering = 1) with a regression predicting the value of the count dependent variable (the volunteering frequency for adolescents who volunteered).

The percentages of missing data for the variables in our model varied between 6.6% (civic family orientation) and 20.6% (open family communication). Missing data were model estimated and Monte Carlo integration with robust maximum likelihood estimation (MLR) was used to calculate the bias-corrected standard errors and confidence intervals (Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2010).

Multi-group analyses within Mplus were used to analyse the moderation effect of age on the hypothesized relations. Improvement in model fit was tested with the Satorra–Bentler $\Delta\chi^2$ -difference test (Satorra & Bentler, 2001). This test can only be used as an index for relative model fit improvement, not as an absolute fit statistic. Lastly, confidence intervals were used to compare the separate parameter estimates between the age-groups (statistically significant differences between age groups were indicated by “*pdiff*”).

Results

The number of adolescents, parents, and best friends who volunteered are presented in Table 1. In Table 1 also the means and cross-tab reports for the hypothesized variables are presented. Parental volunteering and best friend's volunteering were positively related to both aspects of adolescents' volunteering: whether adolescents volunteered and their volunteering frequency. Further, adolescents' civic family orientation was positively related to whether adolescents volunteered (for adolescents who volunteered: $M = 3.44$; $SD = 0.41$;

for adolescents who did not volunteer: $M = 3.55$; $SD = 0.39$; $pdiff < .01$) and was marginally, positively related to adolescents' volunteering frequency ($r = .07$; $p = .06$).

The results of our main model are presented in Table 2. The relative model fit was: $\ln L: -4145.37$ (number of freely estimated parameters = 32; $c = 3.44$). We found that adolescents were more likely to volunteer when their parents or best friend also volunteered. Friends had a relatively larger effect on this aspect of volunteering than parents (respectively: $\beta = .32$ and $\beta = .19$; $pdiff < .01$). The civic orientation of adolescents' family did not add to this prediction, neither did the interaction of civic family orientation and open family communication. In contrast to this finding, we found that parents' and friends' volunteering was not related to adolescents' volunteering frequency, but that civic family orientation and the positive interaction between civic family orientation and family communication were positively related to adolescents' volunteering frequency. Further inspection of this interaction effect showed that the relation between civic family orientation and volunteering frequency strengthened when the level of open communication increased.

Age differences

Multi-group analysis revealed a better model fit when the parameters of the paths in our model were freely estimated for the two age groups (respectively, younger and older adolescents) than when these parameters were constrained to be equal for these groups Satorra–Bentler corrected $\Delta\chi^2(10) = 36.99$, $p = .00$.

The results for the path-parameters of each age group are presented in Table 3. We found age group differences for whether adolescents volunteered and how often adolescents volunteered. Within the group of older adolescents, whether adolescents volunteered was relatively

Table 1
Descriptives of the variables in our model.

Variable	Whether one volunteers (0–1)			Volunteering involvement		
	0	1	<i>pdiff</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>pdiff</i>
Parental volunteering						
0	192	54	<.01	3.14	8.76	<.01
1	186	143		6.65	12.11	
Best friend's volunteering						
0	294	82	<.01	2.68	7.22	<.01
1	128	148		8.54	13.62	

Note. For the outcome of whether on volunteers (0–1), the number of adolescents in each cell of the first 2×2 variable (parental volunteering 0–1 \times whether one volunteers 0–1) and the second 2×2 variable (best friend's volunteering 0–1 \times whether one volunteers 0–1) are presented. For those adolescents who volunteered (1), the average scores for parental volunteering (0–1) and best friend's volunteering (0–1) are also presented. *pdiff* = statistical significance of the differences between groups that are compared (adolescent volunteering 0–1, parental volunteering 0–1, and best friend's volunteering 0–1).

Table 2
The socialisation of adolescent volunteering by their parents and best friend.

Predictor	Whether one volunteers (0–1)			Volunteering involvement		
	B(OR)	SE	β	B	SE	β
Best friend's volunteering (0–1)	1.30** (3.67)	.18	.32	.17	.14	.24
Parental volunteering (0–1)	.75** (2.12)	.21	.19	.04	.25	.05
Civic family orientation	.22 (1.25)	.22	.05	.36*	.17	.50
Open family communication	.08 (1.08)	.14	.03	-.33**	.08	-.77
Civ. fam. orient. X Open fam. communic.	-.14 (0.87)	.27	-.03	.33*	.14	.42

Note. For the logistic regression part of the model (paths to whether one volunteers [0–1]), B's are logits. These logits are inverted to odds ratios (OR), which are presented between brackets. Odds ratios between 0 and 1 represent a decrease in the chance of having performed volunteering in the past year, and estimates above 1 represent an increase in the chance of having performed volunteering in the past year.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

more strongly related to the volunteering of their best friend than of their parents (respectively: $\beta = .42$ and $\beta = .24$, $pdiff < .01$). Within the group of younger adolescents, friends and parents had an equally strong effect on whether adolescents volunteered (respectively: $\beta = .24$ and $\beta = .15$, $pdiff > .10$). Furthermore, older adolescents were relatively more influenced by their friends' volunteering than younger adolescents (respectively $B = 1.78$, $SE = .26$ and $B = .95$, $SE = .26$, $pdiff < .01$).

Concerning adolescents' volunteering frequency, we found that open family communication was negatively related to younger but not to older adolescents' volunteering. Further, for older but not for younger adolescents, civic family orientation and the interaction between civic family orientation and open family communication were positively related to adolescents' volunteering frequency.³

Discussion

The goal of the present study was to examine the relative importance of parents' volunteering, friends' volunteering, and civic family orientation combined with open family communication on both whether and how often adolescents volunteer. In addition, we examined how these relations were influenced by adolescents' age.

As expected, we found that adolescents were more likely to volunteer when their best friend volunteered and when their parents volunteered (e.g., Andolina et al., 2003; McLellan & Youniss, 2003; Metz & Youniss, 2003). Overall, best friend's volunteering had a relatively larger influence than parents' volunteering on how likely adolescents were to volunteer. Adolescents' civic family orientation combined with an open family communication was, however, not related to this aspect of volunteering.

The opposite was true for adolescents' volunteering frequency: adolescents volunteered more often when their families had a stronger civic orientation, but their volunteering frequency was not related to their parents' and best friend's volunteering. Moreover, the connection between adolescents' volunteering frequency and civic family orientation was stronger when there was more open communication within their families. This suggests that when families discuss topics such as their civic orientation more openly and positively, adolescents are more likely to translate this civic orientation into civic behaviour such as volunteering. Together with former research showing that open family communication may stimulate the internalisation of civic family orientations (cf. Hardy et al., 2008; Smetana & Metzger, 2005; Thompson et al., 2006; White & Matawie, 2004), this finding may point to a process: stimulated by open family communication, the civic orientation of the family may be first internalised and then translated into civic behaviour such as the frequency by which adolescents

volunteer. To further test this hypothesis, future research should examine the interrelations between the family's civic orientation, the quality of family communication on this orientation, adolescents' civic orientation, and changes in adolescents' civic behaviour over time.

The role of age in the relative importance of parents and friends for adolescent volunteering

In addition to the findings for our general adolescent sample, we found that it was important to distinguish between younger and older adolescents when studying the influence of the family, parents, and friends on adolescent volunteering. First, the results of the general sample suggest that adolescents were more likely to volunteer when their best friend volunteered than when their parents volunteered. However, we found that this only applied for older but not for younger adolescents; parents and the best friend were equally important for younger adolescents' volunteering. Overall, best friend's volunteering was also less strongly related to younger compared to older adolescents' volunteering.

These findings are in accordance with the general idea that peers become increasingly important in the socialisation of adolescent civic behaviour over time (e.g., McLellan & Youniss, 2003). But why would this be the case? Is it because adolescents generally spend an increasing amount of time with their friends and peers and are therefore more exposed to their friends' behaviour and behavioural modelling (e.g., Smetana et al., 2006)? Or is it maybe that, with increasing age, adolescents more often fulfil volunteering activities together with their friends? This suggests that the nature of adolescent volunteering would become more akin to activities with peers, and volunteering therefore becomes more integrated and part of the domain of peer relations and leisure time (cf. McLellan & Youniss, 2003). This latter explanation may be plausible as we know that when adolescents become older, they more often become youth leaders or assist with (volunteering) activities within the organisations where they also perform their leisure time activities, such as coaching a team of younger soccer players (e.g., Marsh & Kleitman, 2002). Additionally, adolescents often perform these leisure activities and volunteering activities with others they are socially tied to such as their friends (e.g., Wilson, 2000).

In addition to the effect of age on the prediction of whether adolescents volunteer, an important age effect was found for adolescents' volunteering frequency. We found that the civic orientation of the family combined with an open family communication only influenced the volunteering frequency for older but not for younger adolescents. This finding could be an indication of a developmental phenomenon: previous studies have shown that youngsters strongly develop their moral and civic consciousness and identity during adolescence (Chapman & Morley, 1999; Eisenberg et al., 2005; Meeus, Iedema, Maassen, & Engels, 2002; Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2003). This is also because they get more opportunities to become civically involved, for instance by performing school-organized community service (e.g., Dovidio et al., 2006; Eisenberg et al., 2005) and by acquiring more political and legal rights such as the right to work and to vote. Therefore, moral and civic

³ In addition to our study of possible age differences on the examined relations, we also explored whether the effects of friends and parents vary for boys and girls. However, no sex-differences were found; the model fit did not improve when the parameters for the paths in our model were freely estimated for boys and for girls, Satorra–Bentler corrected $\Delta\chi^2(10) = 16.14$, $p = .10$.

Table 3
Age group differences for the socialisation of adolescent volunteering by their parents and best friend.

Predictor	Young			Old			pdiff
	B(OR)	SE	β	B(OR)	SE	β	
Whether one volunteers (0–1)							
Best friend's volunteering (0–1)	.95** (2.59)	.26	.24	1.78** (5.93)	.26	.42	<.01
Parental volunteering (0–1)	.61* (1.84)	.30	.15	1.00** (2.72)	.26	.24	–
Civic family orientation	.49 (1.63)	.30	.12	–.10 (0.90)	.34	–.02	–
Open family communication	.24 (1.27)	.20	.09	–.06 (0.94)	.22	–.02	–
Civ. fam. orient. X Open fam. communic.	–.73 (0.48)	.51	–.16	.27 (1.31)	.32	.05	–
Volunteering involvement							
Best friend's volunteering (0–1)	–.19	.30	–.19	.23	.15	.31	–
Parental volunteering (0–1)	.54	.37	.55	–.25	.20	–.34	–
Civic family orientation	–.12	.36	–.12	.63**	.16	.84	<.01
Open family communication	–.49**	.14	–.78	–.12	.11	–.26	<.01
Civ. fam. orient. X Open fam. communic.	.11	.30	.10	.52**	.13	.61	<.01

Note. Young = adolescents of 12 to 15 years old; Old = adolescents of 16 to 19 years old. For the logistic regression part of the model, in which paths to whether one volunteers [0–1] are predicted, *B*'s are logits. These logits are inverted to odds ratios (OR), which are presented between brackets. Odds ratios between 0 and 1 represent a decrease in the chance of having performed volunteering in the past year, and estimates above 1 represent an increase in the chance of having performed volunteering in the past year.

pdiff = statistical significance of the age differences.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

orientations and motivations become also more important for their civic behaviours (e.g., Chapman & Morley, 1999).

Our findings suggest that, in addition to one's own civic orientation, the civic orientation of others become more important for adolescents' civic behaviour. This would explain why only for older adolescents, for whom civic orientations have come to play a more important role in their civic behaviour, civic family orientation influences the amount of time and effort they invest in volunteering.

Our results also show an interesting pattern: whereas others' civic behaviour was related to whether adolescents also show this civic behaviour or not, the civic orientation of the family combined with open family communication was related to how often older adolescents performed this civic behaviour. This could mean that, depending on the aspect of volunteering, two different kinds and mechanisms of social influence may be important: modelling volunteering behaviour (e.g., Janoski et al., 1998) may be most important in being active as a volunteer at all. So, watching or experiencing parents' or best friend's volunteering may be sufficient to make adolescents also start volunteering. In contrast, another process, the transmission of a civic orientation, (cf. Janoski et al., 1998) may be more important in the time and effort adolescents spend in these volunteering activities (cf. McGinley et al., 2010). In other words, although parents may model becoming a volunteer, only when adolescents talk openly with their family on civic issues and the importance of being civically involved, adolescents may identify with these civic issues and start to volunteer more often. These findings support and refine the model proposed by Janoski et al. (1998) presented earlier. Their model suggests that, at least for older adolescents, the importance of behavioural modelling compared to value transmission may depend on the aspect of volunteering concerned. This idea also adds to a model by Penner (2002) on the development and maintenance of volunteering. He theorised that social pressure may be most important for the start of volunteering whereas other factors, including personal values, may be important for whether one also volunteers often and whether one continues volunteering. Our findings suggest that in addition to personal values, family orientations and values can also be important for older adolescents' volunteering frequency.

Lastly, our finding that whether and how often older adolescents volunteer may be affected by different kinds and mechanisms of civic behaviour supports the idea that these volunteering behaviours may be two qualitatively different aspects of volunteering. It could be that whether one volunteers could be an indication of being an active citizen or person, whereas how often one volunteers could be an aspect of civic engagement or a civic identity (e.g., Rose-Krasnor, 2009). However, more longitudinal research with detailed assessment of the proposed

mechanisms is needed to test this idea that whether adolescents volunteer and the frequency by which adolescents volunteer, are actually qualitatively different and driven by different processes (cf. McGinley et al., 2010).

Strengths, limitations, and conclusions

The most important strength of our study is that we examined the relative importance of parents and friends in adolescents' volunteering, two of the most important social influences in adolescent (prosocial) development. Further, we considered whether and how the relative importance of these socialising agents could be influenced by adolescents' age as this can influence how adolescents respond to the civic behaviour of their parents and friends. Another strength of our study is that we differentiated between two aspects of volunteering: whether adolescents volunteer and the frequency of adolescents' volunteering.

The present study also has some limitations. First, the cross-sectional design of our study does not allow conclusions about development or causal links between the studied variables. Theoretically, we focused on the influence of friends and parents on adolescent volunteering. However, as adolescents may often volunteer along with their friends or parents, the socialisation of volunteering may also be a reciprocal process (cf. McLellan & Youniss, 2003; Pancer & Pratt, 1999; Pratt et al., 2003). Therefore, more studies with longitudinal designs are needed to examine these mutual relationships over time.

Second, our findings solely rely on self-reports. Although self-reports are valid ways to assess thoughts and experiences among adolescents (e.g., Hart & Carlo, 2005), they can also be influenced by social-desirability (e.g., Moely, Mercer, Illustre, Miron, & McFarland, 2002). Future research could further validate our findings by using more objective measures, such as parents' and friends' reports on adolescents' volunteering behaviour.

Third, the scale used to measure civic family orientation had a relatively low internal consistency, which should be taken into account when interpreting the results.

Fourth, we did not consider the civic orientation of adolescents' best friend and the level of open communication between adolescents and their best friend in our study. Adding these concepts in future research could be an important way to further examine the nature of the differential effect family versus friends may have on adolescent volunteering.

Fifth, our findings should also be considered in the Dutch context in which the study was conducted. On the one hand, our findings confirm and extend previous findings on the importance of behavioural modelling and value transmission for adolescent volunteering to contexts outside of the USA. On the other hand, it could be that (some of) our

findings may be specific to the Dutch population, or more generally, to West-European or Western countries. For example, in their review on adolescent development, Smetana et al. (2006) refer to earlier findings that European American (young) adolescents may experience more conflicts with parents and are less compliant with parents' wishes than are adolescents from other ethnicities such as from Asian cultures. This could for example imply that open family communication may be more important for the transmission of civic family orientation for adolescents from European, European-American or Western cultures than for adolescents of non-Western cultures. Further, a cross-national study by Larson and Verma (1999) showed that the time spent with parents and peers during adolescence is country and culture specific. For example, European-American and Dutch parents spend less time with their adolescent children over time (Dubas & Gerris, 2002). However, the amount of time African American parents and parents from post-industrial Asian countries such as India spend with their children does not change during adolescence and is on average higher than among European-American and Dutch families (Larson & Verma, 1999). Further, the Dutch school context could have influenced our results. Dutch schools are for example required to facilitate and optimize the civic development of their students (Geboers, Geijssel, Admiraal, & ten Dam, 2012). For example, schools can organize volunteering opportunities for their students. As it is known that the school-context also is important in socialising civic behaviour (e.g., Geboers et al., 2012), it may also play a role in the relative contribution of parents and peers in adolescents' volunteering. These differences between countries and cultures could affect parents' and peers' influence on adolescents' volunteering behaviour. To examine the generalizability of our findings, more replication studies in Western and non-Western countries and cultural contexts are needed. In addition, as our sample only included higher-educated adolescents, replication studies that also include lower-educated adolescents could be valuable.

In conclusion our study suggests that when examining the socialisation of adolescent volunteering, it is important to distinguish between two aspects of volunteering: whether adolescents volunteer and the frequency of adolescents' volunteering, and to distinguish between younger and older adolescents. Adolescents are more likely to volunteer when their best friend and parents also volunteer. Moreover, when adolescents become older, their best friend has a relatively stronger influence on whether they volunteer than their parents. Further, only when adolescents become older, they are volunteering more frequently when their family has a stronger civic orientation and talks openly about this orientation.

For current and future initiatives in socialising volunteering among adolescents, it may be important not only to directly target adolescents' volunteering behaviour, but also to target their behaviour indirectly, through their (close) friends and family. Depending on whether the initiative is aimed at initiating volunteering or increasing volunteering frequency and the age of the adolescents, different socialisation methods and socialising agents may stimulate adolescent volunteering behaviour.

References

- Andolina, M. W., Jenkins, K., Zukin, C., & Keeter, S. (2003). Habits from home, lessons from school: Influences on youth civic engagement. *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 36(2), 275–280.
- Barnes, H. L., & Olson, D. H. (1985). Parent-adolescent communication and the circumplex model. *Child Development*, 56, 438–447.
- Barry, C. M., & Wentzel, K. R. (2006). Friend influence on prosocial behavior: The role of motivational factors and friendship characteristics. *Developmental Psychology*, 42(1), 153–163.
- Bekkers, R. (2007). Intergenerational transmission of volunteering. *Acta Sociologica*, 50(2), 99–114.
- Boyd, M. J., Zaff, J. F., Phelps, E., Weiner, M. B., & Lerner, R. M. (2011). The relationship between adolescents' news media use and civic engagement: The indirect effect of interpersonal communication with parents. *Journal of Adolescence*, 34, 1167–1179.
- Caputo, R. K. (2009). Religious capital and intergenerational transmission of volunteering as correlates of civic engagement. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 38, 983–1002.
- Chapman, J. G., & Morley, R. (1999). Collegiate service-learning: Motives underlying volunteerism and satisfaction with volunteer service. *Journal of Prevention & Intervention in the Community*, 18(1), 19–33.
- Clary, E. G., Snyder, M., Ridge, R. D., Copeland, J., Stukas, A. A., Haugen, J., et al. (1998). Understanding and assessing the motivations of volunteers: A functional approach. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74, 1516–1530.
- Cohen, G. L., & Prinstein, M. J. (2006). Peer contagion of aggression and health-risk behavior among adolescent males: An experimental investigation of effects on public conduct and private attitudes. *Child Development*, 77, 967–983.
- Crystal, D. S., & DeBell, M. (2012). Sources of civic orientation among American youth: Trust, religious valuation, and attributions of responsibility. *Political Psychology*, 23(1), 113–132.
- Deater-Deckard, K., Fulker, D. W., & Plomin, R. (1999). A genetic study of the family environment in the transition to early adolescence. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 40(5), 766–775.
- Diemer, M. A., & Li, C. H. (2011). Critical consciousness development and political participation among marginalized youth. *Child Development*, 82(6), 1815–1833.
- Dovidio, J. F., Piliavin, J. A., Schroeder, D. A., & Penner, L. (2006). *The social psychology of prosocial behavior*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Dubas, J. S., & Gerris, J. R. M. (2002). Longitudinal changes in the time parents spend in activities with their adolescent children as a function of child age, pubertal status, and gender. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 16(4), 415–427.
- Eisenberg, N., Cumberland, A., Guthrie, I. K., Murphy, B. C., & Shepard, S. A. (2005). Age changes in prosocial responding and moral reasoning in adolescence and early adulthood. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 15(3), 235–260.
- Eisenberg, N., Fabes, R. A., & Spinrad, T. L. (2006). Prosocial development. In W. Damon (Ed.), *Handbook of child psychology (5th ed.) Social, emotional, and personality development, Vol. 3*. New York NY: Wiley.
- Erentaite, R., Zukauskienė, R., Beyers, W., & Pilkaukaite-Valickienė, R. (2012). Is news media related to civic engagement? The effects of interest in and discussions about the news media on current and future civic engagement of adolescents. *Journal of Adolescence*, 35(3), 587–597.
- Flanagan, C. A., Bowes, J. M., Jonsson, B., Csapo, B., & Sheblanova, E. (1998). Ties that bind: Correlates of Adolescents' civic commitments in seven countries. *Journal of Social Issues*, 54, 457–475.
- Ganzendam-Donofrio, S. M., Hoekstra, H. J., van der Graaf, W. T. A., van de Wiel, H. B. M., Visser, A., Huizinga, G. A., et al. (2007). Family functioning and adolescents' emotional and behavioral problems: When a parent has cancer. *Annals of Oncology*, 18, 1951–1956.
- Geboers, E., Geijssel, F., Admiraal, W., & ten Dam, G. (2012). Review of the effects of citizenship education. *Educational Research Review*, 9, 159–173.
- Hardy, S. A., Padilla-Walker, L. M., & Carlo, G. (2008). Parenting dimensions and adolescents' internalization of moral values. *Journal of Moral Education*, 37(2), 205–223.
- Hart, D., & Fegley, S. (1995). Prosocial behavior and caring in adolescence: Relations to self-understanding and social judgment. *Child Development*, 66, 1346–1359.
- Hart, D., & Carlo, G. (2005). Moral development in adolescence. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 15(3), 223–233.
- Jackson, S., Bijsttra, J., Oostra, L., & Bosma, H. (1998). Adolescents' perceptions of communication with parents relative to specific aspects of relationship with parents and personal development. *Journal of Adolescence*, 21, 305–322.
- Janoski, T. (1995). Pathways to volunteerism: Family socialisation and status transmission models. *Social Forces*, 74(1), 271–292.
- Janoski, T., Musick, M., & Wilson, J. (1998). Being volunteered? The impact of social participation and pro-social attitudes on volunteering. *Sociological Forum*, 13(3), 495–519.
- Jansma, J. B. M., & de Coole, R. L. (1996). *GKS-II, GezinsklimaatSchaal. 1 Handleiding*. Lisse, Netherlands: Schwets & Zeitlinger.
- Knafo, A., & Assor, A. (2007). Motivation for agreement with parental values: Desirable when autonomous, problematic when controlled. *Motivation and Emotion*, 31, 232–245.
- Lambert, D. (1992). Zero-inflated poisson regression, with an application to defects in manufacturing. *Technometrics*, 34, 1–14.
- Larson, R. W., & Verma, S. (1999). How children and adolescents spend time across the world: Work, play, and developmental opportunities. *Psychological Bulletin*, 125(6), 701–736.
- Law, B. M. F., & Shek, D. T. L. (2009). Family influence on volunteering intention and behavior among Chinese adolescents in Hong Kong. *Adolescence*, 44(175), 665–693.
- Marsh, H. W., & Kleitman, S. (2002). Extracurricular school activities: The good, the bad, and the nonlinear. *Harvard Educational Review*, 72(4), 464–514.
- McGinley, M., Lipperman-Kreda, S., Byrnes, H. F., & Carlo, G. (2010). *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 31, 386–394.
- McLellan, J. A., & Youniss, J. (2003). Two systems of youth service: Determinants of voluntary and required youth community service. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 32, 47–58.
- Meeus, W., Iedema, J., Maassen, G., & Engels, R. (2002). Relaties met ouders en leeftijdgenoten en identiteitsontwikkeling in de adolescentie. *Nederlands Tijdschrift voor de Psychologie*, 52, 42–57.
- Meeus, W., Oosterwegel, A., & Vollebergh, W. (2002). Parental and peer attachment and identity development in adolescence. *Journal of Adolescence*, 25, 93–106.
- Metz, E., McLellan, J., & Youniss, J. (2003). Types of voluntary service and adolescents' civic development. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 18, 188–203.
- Metz, E., & Youniss, J. (2003). A demonstration that school-based required service does not deter but heightens volunteerism. *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 36(2), 281–286.
- Moely, B. E., Mercer, S., Illustre, V., Miron, D., & McFarland, M. (2002). Psychometric properties and correlates of the civic attitudes and skills questionnaire (CASQ): A measure

- of students' attitudes related to service learning. *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning*, 8(2), 15–26.
- Moos, R. H., & Moos, B.S. (1986). *The family environment scale: The manual*. Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.
- MOVISIE (2011). Jongeren participatie. *Trends en cijfers*. Available at http://www.movisie.nl/116871/def/home/jongerenparticipatie/trends_en_feiten/ (accessed 5 July 20).
- Muthén, L. K., & Muthén, B. O. (1998–2010). *Mplus. User's guide* (Sixth ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Muthén & Muthén.
- Okun, M.A., & Schulz, A. (2003). Age and motives for volunteering: Testing hypotheses derived from socioemotional selectivity theory. *Psychology and Aging*, 18(2), 231–239.
- Pancer, S. M., & Pratt, M. W. (1999). Social and family determinants of community service involvement in Canadian youth. In M. Yates, & J. Youniss (Eds.), *Community service and civic engagement in youth: International perspectives* (pp. 32–55). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Penner, L. A. (2002). Dispositional and organisational influences on sustained volunteerism: An interactionist perspective. *Journal of Social Issues*, 58(3), 447–467.
- Pratt, M. W., Hunsberger, S., Pancer, M., & Alisat, S. (2003). A longitudinal analysis of personal values socialisation: Correlates of a moral self-ideal in late adolescence. *Social Development*, 12(4), 563–585.
- Rose-Krasnor, L. (2009). Future directions in youth involvement research. *Social Development*, 18(2), 497–509.
- Rosenthal, S., Feiring, C., & Lewis, M. (2010). Political volunteering from late adolescence to young adulthood: Patterns and predictors. *Journal of Social Issues*, 54(3), 477–493.
- Satorra, A., & Bentler, P.M. (2001). A scaled difference chi-square test statistic for moment structure analysis. *Psychometrika*, 66, 507–514.
- Smetana, J. G., Campione-Barr, N., & Metzger, A. (2006). Adolescent development in interpersonal and societal contexts. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 57, 255–284.
- Smetana, J. G., & Metzger, A. (2005). Family and religious antecedents of civic involvement in middle class African American late adolescents. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 15(3), 325–352.
- Thompson, R. A., Meyer, S., & McGinley, M. (2006). Understanding values in relationships: The development of conscience. In M. Killen, & S. G. Smetana (Eds.), *Handbook of Moral Development* (pp. 267–298). Mahway, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Torney-Purta, J., & Amadeo, J. A. (2003). A cross-national analysis of political and civic involvement among adolescents. *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 36(2), 269–274.
- van Goethem, A. A. J. (2012). *The Perceived Parental Civic Behaviour Inventory (PPCBI)*. Utrecht University: Unpublished report. The Netherlands.
- van Goethem, A. A. J., van Hoof, A., van Aken, M.A. G., Raaijmakers, Q. A. W., Boom, J., & Orobio de Castro, B. (2012). The role of adolescents' morality and identity in volunteering: Age and gender differences in a process model. *Journal of Adolescence*, 35(3), 509–520.
- White, F. A., & Matawie, K. M. (2004). Parental morality and family processes as predictors of adolescent morality. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 13(2), 219–233.
- Wilson, J. (2000). Volunteering. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 215–240.
- Youniss, J., & Yates, M. (1999). Youth service and moral–civic identity: A case for everyday morality. *Educational Psychology Review*, 11, 361–376.