

Civic participation among natives and immigrants living in Europe

Comparative perspectives

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Chapter 1 Introduction

Although many studies have focused on differences between volunteers and non-volunteers, “the decision to give one’s time away remains a puzzle to social scientists” (Wilson, 2012, p. 201). Well established theoretical insights developed by Wilson and Musick (1997) state that, in general, people with higher levels of cultural, human, and social resources are more likely to engage in civic activities. More recent studies indicate that besides individual resources, the characteristics of the country in which people live in play a role in their decision to engage in civic activities as well. Contextual or institutional determinants such as the level of economic development, religiosity, or political situation have been some of the most often used predictors in cross-national studies of civic engagement (Wilson, 2012). The association between these individual and country-level determinants and civic participation has been supported by a consistent number of studies on natives (Wilson & Musick, 1997; Oesterle, Johnson & Mortimer, 2004; Lam, 2006; Ruiters & De Graaf, 2006; Musick & Wilson, 2008) and a few recent studies that took into consideration immigrants as well (Carabain & Bekkers, 2011; Voicu & Serban, 2012; Wang & Handy, 2013). This growing interest in studying civic participation among immigrants comes as no surprise since nowadays more and more people choose to leave their country of origin for better opportunities in another society or just for the thrill of experiencing a new culture. Thus, it is important to find robust evidence to answer questions regarding what individual and country-level factors determine natives and immigrants to become part of a voluntary organization, to what extent the factors of civic participation among immigrant groups differ from the ones found among the general population, or whether they have similar preferences for different types of organizations. This knowledge can be used by voluntary organizations to create efficient recruitment strategies to attract both immigrants and natives.

Therefore, even though past studies have contributed greatly to our understanding of what encourages civic behavior among the two groups, there are still many research questions left unanswered.

Scientific aims

The general aim of the present dissertation is to advance the understanding of what individual and country-level factors explain differences in civic participation among natives and immigrants living in Europe. More specifically, each of the three studies aims to fill in a research gap in the civic participation literature. In the first study (chapter 2), we examine the differences in civic participation between natives, Western, and non-Western immigrants living in the Netherlands, and test for differential effects of well-known individual determinants of civic involvement in various types of organizations. The second study presented in chapter 3 aims to explain variation in formal volunteering between and within 33 European countries, by looking at the effect of a set of cultural and economic contextual determinants. Study 3 examines the role of religious culture of the host country in explaining variation in civic membership among immigrants living in Europe.

We consider important to make clear from the beginning that this dissertation focuses only on civic participation defined as involvement in formal organizations. By involvement we refer to carrying out one or more of the following civic activities: volunteering, participating in an activity, membership, or donating money (chapter 2), doing voluntary work on a regular basis (chapter 3), or being a member of a civic organization (chapter 4). Furthermore, depending of the aim of the study, population examined, and/or data availability, we also examine civic participation for different types of organizations (i.e., chapter 2 and chapter 4).

In the following lines, I briefly review the main individual and country-level determinants of civic participation, followed by a description of the main research questions and their scientific contribution. The chapter ends with an outline of the three studies that compose this dissertation.

Individual and country-level determinants of civic participation

Effects of individual cultural, human, and social resources on civic participation

The theory about the role of resources developed by Wilson and Musick (1997) state that people with higher levels of cultural, human, and social capital are more likely to volunteer. Individual religiosity is the main cultural resource that facilitates civic participation (Wilson & Musick, 1997; Ruiter & De Graaf, 2006; Lam, 2006). One explanation is that religious institutions promote prosocial values such as altruism, compassion, trust, and teach valuable civic skills. Bekkers and Schuyt (2008) affirm that religious people are more prone to volunteer because religion encourages their members to care, trust, and be responsible for their fellow citizens. By internalizing such values, people are more prone to offer help not only within but also outside of their own religious community. Furthermore, those who attend religious services have the chance to expand their social network, find out about volunteering opportunities, and be asked or encouraged to donate their time to civic activities (Lam, 2006; Bekkers & Schuyt, 2008). However, it should be noted that these religious networks are more likely to encourage participation within religious communities (Becker & Dhingra, 2001).

According to Smith (1994), a high level of human resources, namely education, income, and occupation makes individuals attractive to voluntary organizations. Firstly, educated individuals are more attractive to voluntary organizations because their

specialized knowledge and skills can be employed for the benefit of these organizations (Oesterle *et al.*, 2004). Secondly, educational institutions teach civic values and skills, such as empathy towards the less fortunate (Parboteeah *et al.*, 2004; Gesthuizen *et al.*, 2008). Additionally, the amount of time spent in school has been associated with larger and more diverse social networks, which increases the chances to seek for or be asked to participate (Wilson & Musick, 1997). Regarding one's material situation, Parboteeah, Cullen, and Lim (2004) state that wealthier people have more time to devote to voluntary organizations because they do not have to be concerned with satisfying their basic needs. Similar to the higher educated, those who have more material resources, are more likely to be part of more organizations and hence be asked to participate or get access to information about civic projects (Wilson, 2012). And concerning the occupational status, individuals with a professional occupation have been found to engage in civic activities at higher rates than the unemployed (Wilson, 2012; Einolf, 2010). According to Wilson (2000), work offers social relations and civic skills necessary for this type of activity. Previous research indicates that employed individuals are more open to accept and also seek for civic activities because they represent a great way to extend their social network, find out about better jobs, or put certain skills into practice (Wilson, 2012; Voicu, 2014).

Regarding the social resources, informal social networks like family and friends, just as religious networks (Bekkers & Schuyt, 2009) have been reported to encourage civic participation. Both the size and strength of personal networks matter, but they work in different ways. On one hand, having a large and diverse personal network is important when people are looking for or are open to engage in civic activities; as they will be more likely to know volunteers or people that have information about civic projects. On the other hand, having strong relationships can enhance participation for

those who are not actively looking to volunteer their time, but are asked by a close friend or family member. Accepting to volunteer is a way to maintain and further strengthen relations (Wilson, 2012; Voicu, 2014). Past research revealed also that the amount of time spent with friends has a stronger effect on involvement than the time spent with family. Stern and Fullerton (2009) found that having friends involved in civic activities within their community affects involvement in similar activities, while having family members in the same civic activities does not induce these types of activities. Regarding the influence of family, it has been shown that marriage and parenthood are positively associated with civic involvement (Sundeen, 1988). If one of the spouses volunteers, then the other will also be likely to follow. Having young children in the household is associated with civic involvement because parents interact with more people (e.g., other parents, teachers). Therefore, they are more likely to offer or be proposed to volunteer in different school or community activities (Wilson & Musick, 1997; Lee & Moon, 2011; Voicu, 2014; Wang & Handy, 2013).

The effects of these resources have been tested mainly in Western countries on native populations (e.g., Wilson & Musick, 1997; Lam, 2002; Ruiters & De Graaf, 2006). There are only a few recent studies that took into consideration immigrants to focus on differential effects (e.g., Wang & Handy, 2013). For example, it was found that cultural resources have a stronger effect on civic participation among immigrants (e.g., religion), while human resources (e.g., education, income) have a stronger effect for natives' participation (Carabain & Bekkers, 2011). One explanation for these kind of differential effects is that most immigrants have lower levels of resources (e.g., education, informal social networks) to start with, and moreover, have less variance in these resources and therefore, they have weaker effects on civic participation among different types of immigrants.

Effects of country-level characteristics on individual civic participation

There is also a growing body of research on how the country in which people live exert a significant effect on engaging in civic activities. The cultural, economic, or political contextual factors (e.g., religiosity, income inequality) have been found to affect civic participation (e.g., Ruiter & De Graaf, 2006; Prouteau & Sardinthda, 2013). In what concerns the cultural context, not only one's religiosity affects individual civic participation, but also the country's overall level of religiosity. Specifically, living in a devout country increases the chances to engage in volunteering activities because religious institutions promote norms of prosocial behavior such as trust and altruism (Ruiter & De Graaf, 2006; Lam, 2006). The type of religious denomination that prevails in a society matters as well. For instance, it was found that Protestant countries usually have the highest rates of voluntary involvement, followed by the Roman catholic countries, while in Orthodox or Muslim countries this type of activity is not encouraged by church (Ruiter & De Graaf, 2006; Musick & Wilson, 2008). Curtis, Baer, and Grabb (2001) explain the stronger effect of Protestantism by the fact that promotes an ethic which does not rely on the state or church to offer help to the community, but encourages its members to come together and offer their help: "people are encouraged to join together voluntarily as free individuals to fulfill various societal functions, including philanthropy and the preservation of public morality" (p.785). Furthermore, in equal and economically developed countries there are higher levels of participation because there is a more equal distribution of the necessary resources (e.g., income, time) needed to carry out voluntary activities and there is a wider variety of organizations to choose from (Halman, 2003; Lancee & Van de Werfhorst, 2012). According to Halman (2003), in developed counties "working hours are reduced, while economic wealth increases people's opportunities to actually spend more time in all

kinds of organizations” (p.180). Parboteeah, Cullen, and Lim (2004) add that living in a comfortable environment and having the basic needs satisfied allow people to donate their time for volunteering purposes.

In what concerns immigrants, the evidence regarding the effect of host country’s characteristics on civic engagement is scarce. One study of Voicu (2014) examined the influence of the level of participation of host and origin countries across Europe and revealed that both had an effect on the likelihood to become a member of a voluntary association, although the effect of the origin country proved to be two to three times weaker than that of the host country. His findings are supported by other two previous studies of Aleksynska (2011) and Voicu and Rusu (2012) which showed also that immigrants living in countries with high participation rates are more likely to volunteer because they acquire the necessary civic skills to do so. Furthermore, Voicu and Rusu (2012) found a positive association between the level of economic development in the host country and membership in civic organizations as well. Still, more research is need to find out what other characteristics of the host countries influence immigrant civic participation.

To sum up, past studies show that both individual and country-level factors play a role in one’s decision to engage in civic activities. Furthermore, similar determinants have been used to explain this type of activity among natives, immigrants, or the differences between them. However, even though these studies have their own merits, still a number of research question remain unanswered regarding this topic. Bellow, I describe the main research questions of this dissertation and their contribution to the civic participation literature.

Research questions

The first research question addresses the differences in civic participation between natives, Western, and non-Western immigrants living in the Netherlands. The vast majority of studies on civic participation so far have focused on non-immigrant (Western) population (Wilson & Musick, 1997; Curtis *et al.*, 2001; Ruiter & De Graaf, 2006), and only few studies include immigrant samples (Carabain & Bekkers, 2011; Wang & Handy, 2013). Hence, there is still little knowledge regarding differential determinants of civic participation among immigrants. By using a large representative sample of natives and immigrants living in the Netherlands, we make four contributions regarding immigrant civic participation. Firstly, we examine civic participation separately for Western, non-Western immigrants, and native Dutch; unlike previous studies that did not distinguish between different types of ethnic immigrant groups (Handy & Greenspan, 2009; Carabain & Bekkers, 2011; Lee & Moon, 2011). Previous studies compared immigrants to non-immigrants and included all immigrants in one group (e.g., Wang & Handy, 2013) or have focused only on specific groups of immigrants (e.g., Lee & Moon, 2011). Secondly, we examine the patterns of involvement in four civic associations: religious, activist, leisure and interest organizations (Van der Meer *et al.*, 2009); contrary to other studies that lumped together civic participation in all sorts of organizations or differentiated only between religious and secular organizations (Voicu, 2014). Thirdly, we distinguish different activities to measure civic participation, namely donating money, membership in an organization, participation in a voluntary activity, and volunteering for an organization; unlike previous studies that used only membership in civic organizations (e.g., Voicu & Rusu, 2012). Fourthly, we test for differential effects of well-established determinants of civic participation found in the general population (Wilson & Musick, 1997); and moreover, propose arguments of why

these resources will have differential effects for different immigrant groups. Based on the above aims, the first research question of this study reads:

1. What are the differences in civic participation between natives, Western and non-Western immigrants; and what explains these differences?

The second research question addresses the effects of cultural and economic country characteristics on individual likelihood to engage in voluntary activities. More specifically, past studies showed that economic and cultural country-level determinants such as religiosity or income inequality affect individual volunteering (Curtis *et al.*, 2001; Ruiter & De Graaf, 2006). However, the empirical findings on these relations are mixed and there is still not enough knowledge of which and how contextual factors translate to individual decision to volunteer. While previous studies certainly have their own merits, they have been based only on cross-sectional data and, therefore, did not take into consideration how dynamic predictors, such as economic development affect changes in volunteering across time. Hence, the second study of this dissertation improves on previous work by considering not just differences in volunteering between countries in a certain year, but also variation within countries across time, while simultaneously controlling for compositional effects at individual level. These differences are explained by looking at the effect of the following cultural and economic contextual characteristics: religiosity, religious denomination, economic development, and income inequality. More specifically, using a repeated cross-sectional multilevel model approach and a broad data source - European Values Study (1981-2008), enables me to provide more insight regarding the contextual factors that play a role in

individuals' decision to carry out voluntary activities across Europe. Therefore, the second research question of this study is:

2. To what extent do the cultural and economic contexts explain differences in formal volunteering between and within countries?

The third research question of this study focuses on the link between the religious context of host country and civic participation of immigrants living in Europe. A few recent studies indicate that not only the individual factors affect immigrant civic involvement, but also the characteristics of the country of destination (Aleksynska, 2011; Voicu & Rusu, 2012; Voicu & Serban, 2012; Voicu, 2014). For instance, high levels of civic participation or economic development of the host country have been found to play an important role in immigrants' likelihood to become members of a civic organization (Aleksynska, 2011; Voicu & Serban, 2012). However, there is still very little knowledge on how these and other contextual characteristics of the host country influence civic participation among immigrants; and, to our knowledge, no other study has paid attention to the impact of the religious culture in the host country on immigrant civic mobilization. This study furthers past research and examines whether the cultural context of the host country plays a role in immigrants' individual decision to become a member of a civic organization. Specifically, we investigate the role of the dominant religious denominations and level of religious diversity in increasing immigrants' likelihood to be part of a religious or non-religious organization. We start from the assumption that religion boosts civic participation. First, collective aspects of religiosity like affiliation and attendance can increase social capital and produce larger social networks that work in favor of civic participation (van Tienen *et al.*, 2011; Paxton,

Reith & Glanville, 2014). Second, values and moral norms like altruism and willingness to help others are promoted by religious institutions, which usually encourage membership in voluntary organizations (Forbes & Zampelli, 2014; Ruiters & De Graaf, 2006). Therefore, the type of religious culture that prevails in the host country can offer support to a participative culture that can boost both natives and immigrants' civic participation. The level of ethnic diversity in the host country can play a role in increasing the immigrant participation rates as well. One argument is that a high level of ethnic diversity offers a larger variety of ethnic and religious organizations from which immigrants can choose the one that fits their needs best. Based on these arguments, the last research question reads:

3. To what extent does the religious context of a host country explain differences in civic participation between immigrants?

Outline of the study

Each of the main three chapters or studies deals with one of the research questions described above. Specifically, chapter 2, *Differences in civic participation between natives and immigrants living in the Netherlands*, investigates the differences in civic participation between Dutch, Western, and non-Western immigrants living in the Netherlands, and to what extent a set of cultural, human, and social individual resources explain these differences. A unique representative sample of 6054 respondents is used from LISS Panel Data (Core Panel and Immigrant Panel). The results from Poisson regression indicate that the three groups have very similar patterns of involvement in different civic organizations (i.e., activist, leisure, interest, religious organizations). The differences in civic participation between the three ethnic groups vary with the type of

civic organization taken into consideration. Contrary to our expectations, we find that non-Western immigrants perform less civic activities in religious organizations compared to natives, while Western immigrants are more likely to participate in secular organizations compared to natives.

Chapter 3, *Effects of cultural and economic contexts on formal volunteering: evidence from European countries, 1981-2008*, for the first time, this study examines both cross-sectional and longitudinal effects of contextual cultural and economic characteristics of individual formal volunteering. A study sample of 116380 respondents from 33 countries and 4 waves from European Values Study (1981-2008) was used. The hierarchical logistic models indicate that a long standing theoretical idea regarding the positive effect of contextual religiosity on formal volunteering is not supported by European data. Specifically, I found that living in secular and economically equal countries increases one's chance to engage in voluntary activities. Longitudinally, an increase in income inequality across time is related with lower levels of volunteering. Furthermore, the results show differential within and between effects of the determinants examined. This highlights the importance of using repeated cross-sectional survey data in order to control for possible biased effects of dynamic factors and gain valuable insight into differences in volunteering across societies and time.

Chapter 4, *Religion in the host country and immigrants' membership in civic associations*, investigates the relation between host country's religious culture and the civic involvement of first-generation immigrants. Using data from the European Value Study 2008, multilevel logistic regression analyses are applied to examine whether there is a relation between the religious denomination that prevails in the host country or the level of ethnic diversity and immigrant civic involvement in religious and secular organizations. The findings indicate that the percentages of Roman Catholic, Orthodox,

or Muslim believers in the destination country are negatively associated with membership in religious organizations, while for membership in the secular ones we find no effect. Furthermore, the results reveal no support for a relation between the level of ethnic diversity and civic involvement in either of the two organizations.

Table 1 provides information regarding the key characteristics of the three studies (i.e. title, research question, dependent variables, core independent variables, data, and statistical methods employed).

Table 1: Overview of the three studies on civic participation among natives and immigrants

	Chapter 2	Chapter 3	Chapter 4
Title	Differences in civic participation between natives and immigrants living in the Netherlands	Effects of cultural and economic contexts on formal volunteering: Evidence from European countries, 1981-2008	Religion in the host country and immigrants' membership in civic associations
Research Question	What are the differences in civic participation between natives, Western, and non-Western immigrants; and what explains these differences?	To what extent do the cultural and economic contexts explain differences in formal volunteering between and within countries?	To what extent does the religious context of a host country explain differences in civic participation between immigrants?
Dependent variable	Civic participation (measured by volunteering, participation in an activity, membership, and donating money)	Civic participation (measured by formal volunteering)	Civic participation (measured by membership in civic organizations)
Core independent variables	Human, cultural, and social resources (e.g., education, religiosity, informal social network)	Religiosity, religious denomination, economic development, income inequality	Religious denomination, ethnic diversity
Data	LISS Core Study and LISS Immigrant Panel	European Values Study	European Values Study
Observational units	Individuals (natives and second generation immigrants)	Individuals, country by wave, and countries	Individuals (first generation immigrants), countries
Year	2011 & 2014	1981-2008 (4 waves)	2008
Method	Poisson Regression Analysis	Multilevel Logistic Regression Analysis	Multilevel Logistic Regression Analysis

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Specifications of contribution of the co-authors

Chapter 2, *Differences in civic participation between natives and immigrants living in the Netherlands* has been co-authored by Prof. Dr. Peer Scheepers, Radboud University. I am the first author of this article. The article has been submitted for publication to the *Voluntary and Nonprofit Sector Quarterly* journal.

Elena Damian

1. Development and structuration of the article
2. Development of the theoretical framework
3. Compilation of the research literature
4. Data preparation
5. Empirical analyses
6. Discussion of the results
7. Discussion and conclusions

Peer Scheepers

1. Support for theoretical and empirical strategy of the study
2. Revision of all parts of the article

Chapter 3, *Effects of cultural and economic contexts on formal volunteering: Evidence from European countries, 1981-2008* has been developed and written by myself. The article has been submitted for publication to the *European Sociological Review* journal.

Chapter 4, *Religion in the host country and immigrants' membership in civic associations* has been co-authored by Dr. Malina Voicu. I am the second author of this article. A slightly different version of the article has been submitted to the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* journal.

Elena Damian

1. Support in the conceptualization and structuration of the article
2. Data preparation
3. Empirical analyses
4. Discussion of the results
5. Discussion and conclusions
6. Revision of all parts of the article

Malina Voicu

1. Conceptualization and structuration of the article
2. Compilation of the research literature
3. Development of the theoretical framework
4. Revision of all parts of the article

Chapter 2 Differences in civic participation between natives and immigrants living in the Netherlands

(co-authored with Prof. Dr. Peer Scheepers)

Abstract

The present study investigates the differences in civic participation between Dutch, Western, and non-Western immigrants living in the Netherlands, and to what extent a set of cultural, human and social individual resources explain these differences. A unique representative sample of 6054 respondents was used from LISS Panel Data (Core Panel and Immigrant Panel). We found that the three groups have very similar patterns of involvement in different civic organizations (i.e., activist, leisure, interest, religious organizations). The differences in civic participation between the three ethnic groups vary with the type of civic organization taken into consideration. Contrary to our expectations, we find that non-Western immigrants perform less civic activities in religious organizations compared to natives, while Western immigrants are more likely to participate in secular organizations compared to natives. The implications of these findings are discussed.

Keywords: civic participation, immigrants, education, social network, religion

Introduction

In this study we examine differences in civic participation between natives, Western, and non-Western immigrants living in the Netherlands, with the aim of improving our understanding of civic engagement among the latter groups. The vast majority of studies on civic participation so far have focused on non-immigrant (Western) population (e.g., Wilson & Musick, 1997; Curtis *et al.*, 2001; Ruiter & De Graaf, 2006), and only few studies include immigrant samples (e.g., Carabain & Bekkers, 2011; Wang & Handy, 2013). Hence, there is still little knowledge regarding differential determinants of civic participation among immigrants. This knowledge may be important in differential processes of immigrant integration.

Using a large representative sample of natives and immigrants living in the Netherlands, we set out to make four contributions regarding immigrant civic participation. Firstly, we examine civic participation separately for Western, non-Western immigrants, and native Dutch; unlike previous studies that did not distinguish between different types of ethnic immigrant groups (Handy & Greenspan, 2009; Carabain & Bekkers, 2011; Lee & Moon, 2011). Previous studies compared immigrants to non-immigrants and included all immigrants in one group (e.g., Wang & Handy, 2013) or have focused only on specific groups of immigrants (e.g., Lee & Moon, 2011). Even though these studies have their own merits, we propose that taking advantage of representative samples of different types of immigrants will offer a better understanding of which groups participate to a lesser extent than natives. Secondly, we examine the patterns of involvement in four civic associations: religious, activist, leisure and interest organizations (Van der Meer *et al.*, 2009); contrary to other studies that lumped together civic participation in all sorts of organizations or differentiated only between religious and secular organizations (Voicu, 2014). Thirdly, we distinguish

different activities to measure civic participation, namely donating money, membership in an organization, participation in a voluntary activity, and volunteering for an organization; unlike previous studies that used only membership in civic organizations (e.g., Voicu & Rusu, 2012). Fourthly, we test for differential effects of well-established determinants of civic participation found in the general population (Wilson & Musick, 1997); and moreover, propose arguments of why these resources will have differential effects for different immigrant groups. Based on the above aims of the study, we formulate the following research question:

What are the differences in civic participation between natives, Western, and non-Western immigrants; and what explains these differences?

Theories and hypotheses

Well established theoretical insights developed by Wilson and Musick (1997) state that, in general, people with higher levels of cultural, human, and social resources are more likely to engage in civic activities. The effects of these resources have been tested mainly in Western countries on native populations (e.g., Wilson & Musick, 1997; Lam, 2002; Ruiter & De Graaf, 2006). There are only a few recent studies that took into consideration immigrants to focus on differential effects (e.g., Wang & Handy, 2013). For example, cultural resources have a stronger effect on civic participation among immigrants, while human resources have a stronger effect for natives' participation (e.g., Carabain & Bekkers, 2011). One explanation for these kind of differential effects is that most immigrants have lower levels of resources (e.g., education, informal social networks) to start with, and moreover, have less variance in these resources and therefore, they have weaker effects on civic participation among different types of immigrants. We discuss how these resources affect civic participation and whether they

have differential effects for the three groups. We expect to find, particularly, differences between natives and non-Western immigrants, as we consider Western immigrants to be very similar to the Dutch: most Western immigrants living in the Netherlands come mainly from Germany and Belgium. Hence, our hypotheses concern differences between non-Western immigrants and natives.

Cultural resources

Religiosity is an important resource that facilitates civic participation (Wilson & Musick, 1997; Ruiter & De Graaf, 2006; Lam, 2006). Previous research suggests two main explanations for this relation: *the prosocial values explanation* and *the social network explanation*. Firstly, religious institutions promote prosocial values such as altruism, compassion, trust and teach valuable civic skills. Bekkers and Schuyt (2008) affirm that religious people are more prone to volunteer because religion encourages their members to care, trust and be responsible for their fellow citizens. By internalizing such values, people are more likely to offer help, not only within but also outside of their own religious community. Scholars refer to this as the *spillover effect hypothesis*; meaning that the values learned within religious institutions encourage civic engagement in either religious or non-religious organizations (Smidt, 1999; Ruiter & De Graaf, 2006). Secondly, according to the social network explanation, those who attend religious services have the chance to expand their social network, find out about volunteering opportunities and be asked or encouraged to donate their time to civic activities (Lam, 2006; Bekkers & Schuyt, 2008). However, these religious networks are more likely to encourage participation within religious communities (Becker & Dhingra, 2001). Lam (2002) even found a small negative effect of church attendance on membership and volunteering in secular organizations, and, moreover found that volunteering for a

religious organization reduces the rate of membership in secular voluntary organizations. He explains this by stating that social networks formed within a religious community can discourage involvement in secular types of organizations. Additionally, conservative churches require a high level of commitment from their members and discourage involvement in secular organizations (McPherson & Rotolo, 1996; Lam, 2002).

It has been shown that immigrants, especially those of non-Western origin, have a higher level of religiosity compared to natives (Carabain & Bekkers, 2011; Maliepaard, Gijssberts & Lubbers, 2012). Maliepaard *et al.* (2012) found that among Moroccans and Turkish immigrants living in the Netherlands, both first and second generation immigrants continue to have higher levels of religious attendance compared to the natives. Among the second generation immigrants, even a religious revival seems to take place, indicated by increased mosque attendance once they start a family and have children.

When immigrants decide to volunteer, they may be more prone to opt for a religious organization than a secular one (Handy & Greenspan, 2009; Carabain & Bekkers, 2011). Religious or ethnic organizations offer their members the chance to strengthen their relationships with other members who have similar backgrounds and these organizations provide great ways to exchange information about the new country (e.g., how to find jobs, language courses). A study of Carabain & Bekkers (2011) showed that religious attendance has, indeed, a positive effect on volunteering in both religious and secular organizations, but the effect on the former is stronger. Based on these arguments, we formulate the following hypotheses:

H1: Church attendance has a stronger positive effect on civic participation among non-Western immigrants than among native Dutch.

H2: The effect of church attendance is stronger for civic participation in religious organizations than for participation in secular organizations.

Human resources

Previous research provides several reasons of why higher educated people volunteer at higher rates than the lower educated (Gesthuizen & Scheepers, 2010; Wilson, 2012). Firstly, they are more attractive to voluntary organizations because their specialized knowledge and skills can be employed for the benefit of these organizations (Oesterle *et al.*, 2004). Secondly, educational institutions teach civic values and skills, such as empathy towards the less fortunate (Parboteeah *et al.*, 2004; Gesthuizen *et al.*, 2008). Furthermore, students have the opportunity to learn about current social problems around the world, which makes them more receptive and emphatic. Gesthuizen and Scheepers (2010) explain that those who attend school for a longer period of time, become not only more aware of the collective problems, but they learn and are encouraged to take action towards fixing or reducing these problems. Thirdly, the amount of time spent in school has been associated with larger and more diverse social networks, which increases the chances to seek for or be asked to participate (Wilson & Musick, 1997). Fourthly, higher educated people are usually in higher status jobs and members of more organizations which make them also more likely to be asked to donate or volunteer and they are more exposed to interesting civic initiatives (Wilson, 2012).

Regarding immigrants, past studies found mixed results about the relation between education and civic participation (e.g., Carabain & Bekkers, 2011; Voicu & Rusu, 2012; Wang & Handy, 2013). Wang and Handy (2013) found a positive effect of education level on both religious and secular volunteering among immigrants living in

Canada, the effect being stronger for volunteering for secular organizations. However, Carabain and Bekkers (2012) and Voicu and Rusu (2012) did not find any significant association among immigrants living in the Netherlands and Spain respectively. We propose that these mixed results can be explained by the fact that immigrants are on average less educated than the natives. In the Netherlands, non-Western immigrants actually have lower levels of education compared to natives and higher school dropout rates (Huijnk, Gijssberts & Dagevos, 2013). Hence, we expect that education will have a weaker effect on civic participation for this immigrant group and formulate the following hypothesis:

H3: The level of education has a weaker positive effect on civic participation for non-Western immigrants than for native Dutch.

According to Smith (1994), income together with education and occupation are indications of *the dominant status* which makes individuals attractive to voluntary organizations. Parboteeah, Cullen and Lim (2004) stated that wealthier people have more time to devote to voluntary organizations because they do not have to be concerned with satisfying their basic needs. Similar to the higher educated, those who have more material resources, are more likely to be part of more organizations and hence be asked to participate or get access to information about civic projects (Wilson, 2012). Both Smith (1994) and Wilson (2012), in their reviews on civic participation, revealed that income has been positively associated with participation in previous studies (e.g., Wilson & Musick, 1997; Wilson, 2000; Lam, 2002). However, we expect that among non-Western immigrants, the economic situation will also have a weaker effect on civic participation because they have on average lower incomes than natives. Between 2010 and 2012, non-Western immigrants living in the Netherlands were six times more likely to be dependent on social assistance benefits and hence the incomes

of this immigrant group were lower compared with native Dutch (Huijnk *et al.*, 2013). Therefore, our next hypothesis is:

H4: Income has a weaker positive effect on civic participation for non-Western immigrants than for natives.

Individuals with a professional occupation have been found to engage in civic activities at higher rates than the unemployed (Wilson, 2012; Einolf, 2010). According to Wilson (2000), work offers social relations and civic skills necessary for this type of activity. Previous research indicated that employed individuals are more open to accept and also seek for civic activities because they represent a great way to extend their social network, find out about better jobs, or put certain skills into practice (Wilson, 2012; Voicu, 2014). Statistics on differences in employment rates between natives and non-Western immigrants show that among the latter group the unemployment rates were almost three times higher compared than the native group in 2012. Also, only 53% of non-Western population between 15-65 years has a paid job compared to 70% for the Dutch population (Huijnk *et al.*, 2013). Hence, we expect that the effect of having a paid job on civic participation will be weaker for non-Western immigrants compared to native Dutch.

H5: Being employed has a weaker positive effect on civic participation for non-Western immigrants than for natives.

Social capital

Informal social networks like family and friends, just like religious networks (Bekkers & Schuyt, 2009) have been reported to encourage civic participation. Both the size and strength of personal networks matter, but they work in different ways. On the one hand, having a large and diverse personal network is important when people are looking for

or are open to engage in civic activities; as they will be more likely to know volunteers or people that have information about civic projects. On the other hand, having strong relationships can enhance participation for those who are not actively looking to volunteer their time, but are asked by a close friend or family member. Accepting to volunteer is a way to maintain and further strengthen relations (Wilson, 2012; Voicu 2013). Wilson (2012) affirms that the strength of the social ties is especially important when people are asked to engage in demanding voluntary activities: “Having social ties to people already volunteering is a stronger inducement to volunteer if the work demands heavy commitment, involves some risk, and requires collective effort (...) than in cases where the volunteer work is more sporadic and less demanding” (p.191).

The frequency of meeting within informal social networks has been proposed in relation with civic participation. McPherson, Popielarz, and Drobnic (1992) state: “The more often ego has contact with alter, the greater the amount of shared information, the greater the emotional bond, and so forth” (p.158) (*contact frequency hypothesis*). Past research revealed that the amount of time spent with friends has a stronger effect on involvement than the time spent with family. Stern and Fullerton (2009) found that having friends involved in civic activities within their community affects involvement in similar activities, while having family members in the same civic activities does not induce these types of activities. Regarding the influence of family, it has been shown that marriage and parenthood are positively associated with civic involvement (Sundeen, 1988). If one of the spouses does voluntary work, then the other will also be likely to follow. Having young children in the household is associated with civic involvement because parents interact with more people (e.g., other parents, teachers). Therefore, they are more likely to offer or be proposed to volunteer in different school

or community activities (Wilson & Musick, 1997; Lee & Moon, 2011; Voicu 2013; Wang & Handy, 2013).

Due to their relocation, immigrants may have smaller networks than natives. Therefore, we expect that the frequency of meeting friends, family members, neighbors and acquaintances will be weaker for non-Western immigrants than for natives. We formulate the following hypotheses:

H6. a: Frequency of meeting friends has a weaker positive effect on civic participation for non-Western immigrants than for natives.

H6. b: Frequency of meeting family members has a weaker positive effect on civic participation for non-Western immigrants than for natives.

H6.c: Frequency of meeting neighbors has a weaker positive effect on civic participation for non-Western immigrants than for natives.

H6. d: Frequency of meeting acquaintances has a weaker positive effect on civic participation for non-Western immigrants than for natives.

Data and methods

Data

Primary data for this paper come from the two studies of Longitudinal Internet Studies for the Social Sciences Panel (LISS Panel), namely: LISS Core Panel and Immigrant Panel. Currently, LISS Panel consists of seven waves (2008-2014) and Immigrant Panel has two waves (2011, 2014).

LISS Core Panel consists of 5000 Dutch households, comprising 8000 individuals of age 16 and above and is based on a true probability sample of households drawn from the population register in collaboration with *Statistics Netherlands*. The Immigrant Panel is composed of about 1600 households and 2400 individuals of age 16 or older. Of

the total sample, 1700 individuals do not have a Dutch origin. The sample was drawn from the population register and stratified by ethnic groups and weighted by household size, using *Statistics Netherlands'* definitions of second generation immigrant and Western and non-Western countries (for more information see www.cbs.nl/statline). Here, the sampling units are persons and when someone agreed to participate, he or she was asked if the whole household can be included in the study. The sample is composed of six non-Western immigrants' groups (Moroccan-Dutch, Turkish-Dutch, Surinamese-Dutch, Antillean-Dutch, South African, other non-Western), two Western immigrant groups (Indonesian-Dutch, other Western) and a Dutch control group. For both panels, respondents had to fill in monthly online questionnaires. Households that did not have a computer or internet connection received the necessary equipment for the study period.

For this study, we restricted the sample to respondents who participated in one of two panels in 2011, 2014 or both years. We took into consideration only these two waves because the Immigrant Panel was conducted only in 2011 and 2014. The study sample is composed of 6054 individuals of which 4859 are Dutch, 733 are Western immigrants, and 462 are non-Western immigrants.

Measures

Dependent variables. Civic participation in activist, leisure, interest, and religious organizations were measured by asking respondents the following question: "We now list a number of organizations that you are free to join. Can you indicate, for each of the organizations listed, what applies to you at this moment or has applied to you over the past 12 months?" The answer categories were: no connection, donated money, participated in an activity, member, and performed voluntary work. Using this scale, we

computed four count variables with answer categories ranging from 0 “no involvement” (no civic activity was specified) to 4 “involvement in four civic activities”, if a respondent mentioned that has performed all four civic activities in at least one organization. Just like previously Van der Meer *et al.* (2009) and Savelkoul *et al.* (2014) have done, we distinguished between different kinds of organizations. *Activist organizations* concern environmental protection, peace or animal rights. *Interest organizations* include a consumer organizations or automobile club, a trade union, a business organization, and a teachers' or parents' association. *Leisure organizations* include a sports club or club for outdoor activities, a cultural association or hobby club and association for youth, pensioners/senior citizens, women or friends' clubs. *Religious organizations* are religious or church organizations.

Independent variables. *Church attendance* was measured using the item “Aside from special occasions such as weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious gatherings nowadays?” Responses ranged from 0 “never” to 6 “every day”. *Education* represents the level of education attained by respondents and has four categories: (0) primary school or intermediate secondary education, (1) higher secondary education or intermediate vocational education, (2) higher vocational education, and (3) university. The variable was treated as semi-continuous. *Household income* represents the gross household income in Euros. *Occupational status* is respondents' primary occupation and has the following categories: employed (paid employment; works or assists in family business; autonomous professional, freelancer), student (attends school or is studying, is too young to have an occupation), housekeeper (takes care of the housekeeping), unemployed (retired, has work disability, performs unpaid work while retaining unemployment benefit, job seeker following job loss, first-time job seeker, exempted from job seeking following job loss, performs voluntary work, does something else). We

have four measures for informal social networks, namely: respondents were asked how often they spend an evening with family (other than members of their household) (*frequency of meeting family members*), with someone from their neighborhood (*frequency of meeting neighbors*), with friends outside their neighborhood (*frequency of meeting friends*), and how often they visit a bar or a café (*frequency of meeting acquaintances*). For all four items the answer categories varied from 0 “never” to 6 “almost every day”.

Control variables. We included in the analyses the following control variables known in the literature to affect civic participation (Smith, 1994; Wilson & Musick, 1997; Ruiter & De Graaf, 2006; Wilson, 2012), namely: *gender* (1 “male”), *age*, *age squared/100*, *civil status* (three categories: married, separated, divorced or widow/widower, and never been married), and *religious denomination* (Protestant, Roman-Catholic, Muslim, other religion, no religion). Descriptive statistics for all variables included in the current analysis are provided in Table 1.

Methods

Firstly, to examine whether there are differences in the pattern of involvement in civic organizations, we created graphs with the percentages of respondents for each type of activity, for each organization and for each ethnic group (Graph 1). Secondly, to test our hypotheses regarding the effect of resources on civic participation and considering the distributions of these variables as presented in Graph 1, we conducted a set of Poisson regression analyses in Stata 13. In the first model, we included only the origin variable (natives as a reference category, Western immigrants, and non-Western immigrants). In the second model, we added the main independent variables or resources, namely: church attendance, education, household income, occupational status, informal social

networks (meeting friends, meeting family members, meeting neighbors, meeting acquaintances). In the third model, we added four control variables: age, gender, civic status, religious denomination. Next, we ran eight different models, each with interaction terms between origin and each of the relevant resources, i.e., independent variables contained in the hypotheses.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics

Variables	N	Mean	S.D.	Range
Civic participation in an activist org.	6054	0.43	0.65	0-4
Civic participation in a leisure org.	6054	1.07	0.98	0-4
Civic participation in an interest org.	6054	0.67	0.77	0-4
Civic participation in a religious org.	6054	0.53	0.94	0-4
Church attendance	6054	0.97	1.46	0-6
Education	6054	1.18	0.98	0-3
Household income	6054	4144.17	2480.91	0-20200
Occupational status				
Employed	6054	0.54	0.50	0-1
Housekeeper	6054	0.08	0.27	0-1
Student	6054	0.06	0.24	0-1
Unemployed	6054	0.32	0.47	0-1
Informal social network				
Meeting friends	6054	2.68	1.45	0-6
Meeting family members	6054	3.48	1.41	0-6
Meeting neighbors	6054	2.26	1.71	0-6
Meeting acquaintances	6054	1.53	1.59	0-6
Age	6054	51.02	16.74	16-90
Age squared/100	6054	28.83	17.09	2.56-81
Gender (1“Male”)	6054	0.47	0.50	0-1
Civil status				
Married	6054	0.59	0.49	0-1
Separated, divorced, or widow(er)	6054	0.15	0.36	0-1
Never been married	6054	0.26	0.44	0-1
Religious denomination				
No religion	6054	0.60	0.49	0-1
Roman Catholic	6054	0.19	0.40	0-1
Protestant	6054	0.09	0.28	0-1
Muslim	6054	0.02	0.14	0-1
Other religion	6054	0.09	0.29	0-1

Tables 2 to 5 include the models with interaction between origin and the cultural and human resources. In order to save space, but also because of the non-significant effects, the models with interaction between origin and the four types of informal social networks are in the annexes. Furthermore, the effect sizes of control variables are not included in the main results tables, but can be provided upon request. The estimation method used for the Poisson regression was maximum likelihood with missing values. Standard errors were corrected for clustering in households by applying Stata's *vce (cluster)* option, which takes into account that observations within the clusters (households) are not independent of each other.

Results

Graph 1 shows the similarities in the patterns of civic involvement between natives, Western, and non-Western immigrants. Specifically, the three groups have the *same pattern of involvement*, with only a few minor exceptions. It is interesting to notice that the patterns differ by the type of organization, however, are similar for the different ethnic groups. For example, in activist organizations the most popular activity is donating money, followed by membership, respectively participation and volunteering for all three groups; while being a member is the most popular activity for the other three organizations. For leisure and interest organizations, the order of popular activities is: membership, participation, volunteering and last donating money for all three groups. For religious organizations, the order of popular activities is: membership, respectively donating money, participation and finally volunteering for all three groups. This result highlights the importance of taking into consideration the type of organization in which people participate when studying this phenomenon. Concerning the differences in participation rates, non-Western immigrants participate at lower

rates, while the percentages of participation between natives and Western immigrants are mostly close to each other. Regarding interest organizations, there is a slightly higher percentage of non-Western immigrants who donated money than those who volunteered, Western immigrants have the same percentage (7%) for the two activities, and there is a higher percentage of Dutch who volunteer than those who donate.

Graph 1. Percentage of Dutch, Western immigrants, and non-Western immigrants by the type of voluntary organization and the type of involvement

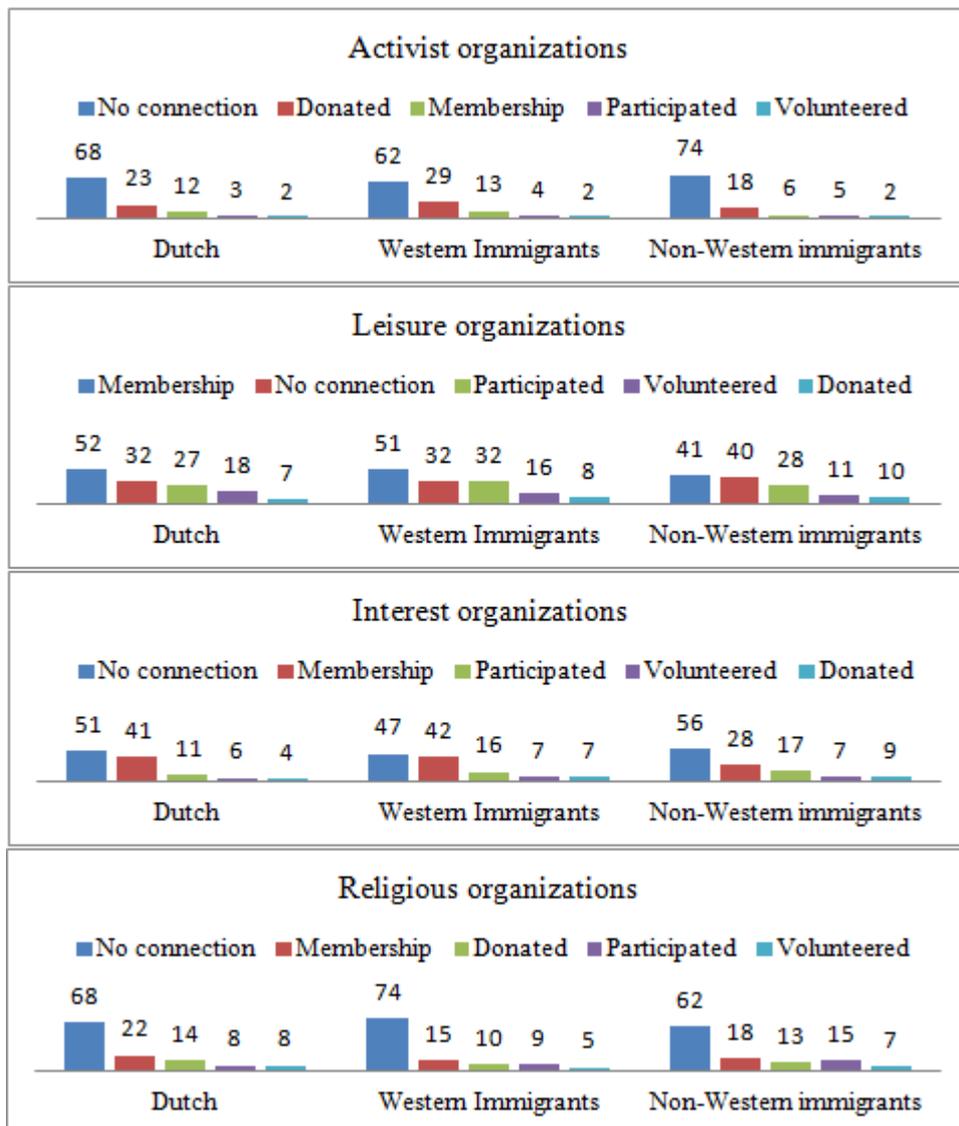


Table 2. Coefficients of Poisson regression for civic participation in activist organizations

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
Constant	-0.85***	-1.18***	-3.74***	-3.74***	-3.77***	-3.74***	-3.72***
Origin (ref: Dutch)							
Western immigrant	0.18***	0.10*	0.10*	0.14**	0.25**	0.12	0.08
Non-Western immigrant	-0.25***	-0.23***	-0.08	-0.09	0.09	-0.01	0.00
Church attendance		0.02	0.04**	0.05**	0.04**	0.04**	0.04**
Education		0.27***	0.28***	0.28***	0.30***	0.28***	0.28***
Household income		0.00***	0.00**	0.00*	0.00*	0.00*	0.00*
Occupation (ref: unemployed)							
Employed		-0.14***	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.04
Student		-0.78***	0.11	0.11	0.11	0.11	-0.08
Housekeeper		0.08	0.08	0.08	0.09	0.08	0.06
Meeting friends		0.04**	0.04**	0.04**	0.04**	0.04**	0.04**
Meeting family members		-0.03**	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02
Meeting neighbors		0.00	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00
Meeting acquaintances		-0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
<i>Interaction effects</i>							
Church att.*non-Western imm.				0.00			
Church att.*Western imm.				-0.04			
Education*Western imm.					-0.09*		
Education* non-Western imm.					-0.11		
H.income*Western imm.						0.00	
H.income*Non-Western imm						0.00	
Employed*Western imm.							0.00
Employed*non-Western imm.							-0.20
Student*Western imm.							0.61*
Student*non-Western imm.							0.69**
Housekp.*Western imm.							0.12
Housekp.*non-Western imm.							0.01
Log pseudolikelihood	-						
	5131.43	-4995.01	-4909.78	-4909.24	-4907.76	-4909.61	-4905.08

Notes: M3-M7 include also the following control variables: age, age squared, gender, civic status, religious denomination; ***p<0.01, ** p<0.05, *p<0.1.

Table 2 to 5 report findings of Poisson regression analyses of civic participation in the four types of voluntary organizations. Considering the finding of a similar order of involvement for all three groups in these different types of organizations, we propose that this finding justifies that we simply count activities within these different types of organizations to serve as our dependent variables (ranging from 0 “no activities” to 4

“all modes of involvement”) rather than running analyses on each and every different mode of involvement.

Civic participation in activist organizations. In Table 2, Model 1 and 2 indicate that there are significant differences in civic participation between Dutch, Western immigrants and non-Western immigrants, the latter group being less likely to engage in civic activities within activist organizations whereas the Western immigrants are more likely to do so. However, the difference between non-Western migrants and natives disappears, starting with Model 3, where we added several socio-demographic variables. From these findings we can see that Western immigrants perform a higher number of activities compared to natives. Furthermore, we find that church attendance, education, household income, and meeting friends on a regularly basis all have a positive effect on involvement in activist organizations. For example, each additional level of education is associated with an estimated 32% increase in civic activities (Rate Ratio=1.32). Next, Model 4 to 7 reveal that there is a negative interaction effect between the level of education and being of Western origin ($p < 0.1$) and a positive effect between being a student and being a Western or non-Western immigrant; the former effect is, however, marginally significant ($p < 0.1$). Hence, higher educated Western immigrants are less likely to engage in activist organizations compared to the natives. Furthermore, among immigrants, students are more likely to perform more types of activities. For example, non-Western immigrant students perform 1.84 more activities than the unemployed (RR=1.84). Overall, we find differences in participation only between natives and Western immigrants and no differences between natives and non-Western immigrants. Hence, none of our hypotheses regarding the differential effects of resources on civic participation between non-Western immigrants and natives are supported for activist organizations.

Table 3. Coefficients of Poisson regression for civic participation in leisure organizations

	M8	M9	M10	M11	M12	M13	M14
Constant	0.08***	-0.30***	-0.86***	-0.86***	-0.85	-0.86***	-0.85***
Origin (ref: Dutch)							
Western immigrant	0.01	-0.01	0.00	0.01***	0.00	-0.02	-0.06
Non-Western immigrant	-0.15***	-0.16***	-0.05	-0.07	-0.17	-0.16*	0.06
Church attendance		0.06***	0.04***	0.04***	0.04	0.04***	0.04***
Education		0.10***	0.11***	0.11***	0.10	0.11***	0.11***
Household income		0.00***	0.00**	0.00**	0.00	0.00*	0.00**
Occupation (ref: unemployed)							
Employed		-0.18***	-0.02	-0.02	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03
Student		-0.12**	0.20***	0.20***	0.20	0.20***	0.16**
Housekeeper		-0.18***	-0.07	-0.07	-0.08	-0.07	-0.03
Meeting friends		0.04***	0.04***	0.04***	0.04***	0.04***	0.04***
Meeting family members		-0.02**	-0.02*	-0.02*	-0.02	-0.02*	-0.02
Meeting neighbors		0.04***	0.04***	0.04***	0.04***	0.04***	0.04***
Meeting acquaintances		0.07***	0.08***	0.08***	0.08***	0.08***	0.08***
<i>Interaction effects</i>							
Church att.*non-Western imm.				0.02			
Church att.*Western imm.				-0.01			
Education*Western imm.					0.00		
Education* non- Western imm.					0.09		
H.income*Western imm.						0.00	
H.income*Non- Western imm						0.00	
Employed*Western imm.							0.12
Employed*non-Western imm.							-0.15
Student*Western imm.							0.33**
Student*non-Western imm.							-0.04
Housekp.*Western imm.							-0.25
Housekp.*non-Western imm.							-0.21
Log pseudolikelihood	-						
	7977.55	-7802.84	-7761.68	-7761.33	-7760.25	-7760.64	-7756.06

Notes: M10-M14 include also the following control variables: age, age squared, gender, civic status,

religious denomination; ***p<0.01, ** p<0.05, *p<0.1.

Civic participation in leisure organizations. Table 3 reveals that there are initial differences between natives and non-Western immigrants who participate less in leisure organizations which, however, disappear once we control for socio-demographic characteristics. We find again significant and mostly positive effects of resources, which goes for church attendance, education and household income. Moreover, all indicators of informal social capital have significant effects. Interestingly, meeting family members

has a negative effect, while meeting friends, neighbors and acquaintances have, as expected, positive effects.

Table 4. Coefficients of Poisson regression for civic participation in interest organizations

	M15	M16	M17	M18	M19	M20	M21
Constant	-0.43***	-0.88***	-2.69***	-2.68***	-2.71***	-2.69***	-2.68***
Origin (ref: Dutch)							
Western immigrant	0.18***	0.14***	0.14***	0.12**	0.27***	0.12	0.17**
Non-Western immigrant	0.05	0.03	0.08	0.05	0.14	0.07	0.09
Church attendance		0.07***	0.05***	0.05***	0.05***	0.05***	0.05***
Education		0.19***	0.20***	0.20***	0.22***	0.20***	0.20***
Household income		0.00***	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Occupation (ref: unemployed)							
Employed		0.09**	0.19***	0.19***	0.19***	0.19***	0.20***
Student		-0.47***	0.18	0.18	0.18	0.18	0.08
Housekeeper		-0.36***	-0.28***	-0.27***	-0.27***	-0.28***	-0.23**
Meeting friends		0.02	0.03**	0.03**	0.03**	0.03**	0.03**
Meeting family members		0.00	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Meeting neighbors		0.02	0.02*	0.02*	0.02*	0.02*	0.02*
Meeting acquaintances		-0.02*	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
<i>Interaction effects</i>							
Church att.*non-Western imm.				0.02			
Church att.*Western imm.				0.02			
Education*Western imm.					-0.08*		
Education* non- Western imm.					-0.04		
H.income*Western imm.						0.00	
H.income*Non- Western imm						0.00	
Employed*Western imm.							-0.05
Employed*non-Western imm.							-0.03
Student*Western imm.							0.35
Student*non-Western imm.							0.32
Housekp.*Western imm.							-0.14
Housekp.*non-Western							-0.50
Log pseudolikelihood	-						
6382.77		-6199.38	-6134.25	-6133.92	-6132.54	-6134.21	-6130.91

Notes: M17-M21 include also the following control variables: age, age squared, gender, civic status, religious denomination; ***p<0.01, ** p<0.05, *p<0.1.

These findings reveal only one significant interaction effect, namely, among Western immigrants, students perform 63% more civic activities compared to the

unemployed (RR=0.1.63). All other interactions do not reach significance, implying no significant differential effects of these resources among different types of migrants.

Civic participation in interest organizations. The findings from Table 5 reveal that there are differences in participation only between natives and Western immigrants, the latter group engaging in more activities within interest organizations compared to natives. Non-Western immigrants do not appear to differ significantly from natives in these organizations. We find that church attendance, education, being employed and meeting friends or neighbors increases the intensity of participation, while housekeepers are less likely to participate here. Concerning the interaction effects, we find only that, among Western immigrants, those with a higher level of education perform less civic activities. None of the other interactions reach significance, implying no significant differential effects among different types of migrants. Therefore, our hypotheses are not supported for civic participation in this types of organizations.

Civic participation in religious organizations. Contrary to our expectations, Model 24 shows that Western and non-Western immigrants are less involved in these organizations than natives, once controlled for demographic characteristics. Initially, we find differences between non-Western immigrants and natives, just like shown in Graph 1, but these differences do not reach significance. However, differences in religious participation between Western immigrants and natives do reach significance, the latter group participating significantly less. This result is interesting as previous studies suggest that immigrants are more likely to join a religious organization than natives. However, previous studies used membership as a measure of religious participation while we look at the intensity of involvement. Moreover, we find a significant interaction effect between education and being of non-Western origin. Those non-

Western immigrants who are educated, are less likely to participate in activities within religious organizations. Hence, hypothesis 3 is supported by the data.

Table 5. Coefficients of Poisson regression for civic participation in religious organizations

	M22	M23	M24	M25	M26	M27	M28
Constant	-0.61***	-1.67***	-3.40***	-3.40***	-3.42***	-3.40***	-3.41***
Origin (ref: Dutch)							
Western immigrant	-0.24***	-0.16**	-0.12**	-0.19*	-0.06	-0.07	-0.06
Non-Western immigrant	0.05	-0.20***	-0.17**	-0.09	-0.03	-0.16	-0.15
Church attendance		0.55***	0.30***	0.30***	0.30***	0.30***	0.30***
Education		0.11***	0.14***	0.13***	0.15***	0.14***	0.14***
Household income		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Occupation (ref: unemployed)							
Employed		-0.12***	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01
Student		-0.35***	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.13
Housekeeper		-0.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Meeting friends		0.00	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Meeting family members		0.00	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
Meeting neighbors		0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Meeting acquaintances		-0.03*	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
<i>Interaction effects</i>							
Church att.*non-Western imm.				-0.03			
Church att.*Western imm.				0.03			
Education*Western imm.					-0.04		
Education* non- Western imm.					-0.10*		
H.income*Western imm.						0.00	
H.income*Non- Western imm						0.00	
Employed*Western imm.							-0.11
Employed*non-Western imm.							0.00
Student*Western imm.							0.05
Student*non-Western imm.							-0.31
Housekp.*Western imm.							-0.08
Housekp.*non-Western							0.05
Log pseudolikelihood	-	-4589.50	-	-4007.35	-4006.81	-4007.87	-4006.80
	6373.09		4008.04				

Notes: M24-M27 include also the following control variables: age, age squared, gender, civic status,

religious denomination; ***p<0.01, ** p<0.05, *p<0.1.

Discussion and conclusions

The main aim of this study was to gain more insights in different types of civic participation among different immigrant populations. Specifically, the use of a unique representative dataset allowed us to look at the differences in civic participation between three ethnic groups: Western, non-Western immigrants, and natives, and examine what explains these differences. Our first conclusion is that the three groups have similar patterns of civic involvement in all four different organizations (i.e., activist, interest, leisure, and religious organizations). Hence, immigrants have similar preferences for civic activities like natives. Furthermore, our study goes beyond previous studies in this regard, because as far as we know, this has never been studied among different types of migrants before. Previous studies only focused on immigrants' membership of a voluntary organization (e.g., Voicu, 2014). Additionally, it shows that immigrants engage in civic activities at lower rates, which is in line with the previous findings (e.g., Carabain & Bekkers, 2011; Wang & Handy, 2013) and, more importantly, indicate that there are differences between Western and non-Western immigrants, the latter having lower participation rates.

Our second conclusion is that there are differences in civic participation between the three ethnic groups and these differences differ by the type of voluntary organization taken into consideration. Firstly, we found differences between the three groups only for participation in religious organizations. Contrary to our expectations, we found that non-Western immigrants do not differ from natives and, moreover, perform less activities in a religious organization, once controlled for demographic characteristics. This is remarkable as previous studies consistently showed that immigrants are more likely to engage in religious volunteering than natives (Handy & Greenspan, 2009; Carabain & Bekkers, 2011). One explanation for the lower rates of

non-Western immigrants is that most of them are Muslim, while the Netherlands has a predominant Christian religious tradition. Hence, there might not be too many opportunities for Muslims to join a religious organization in the first place. As Voicu and Damian (*manuscript under review*) showed, the type of religious tradition that prevails in the host country can represent an opportunity structure for immigrants' integration. Religious organizations being a great place for immigrants to meet others with similar background and find more information about the new country. However, in this specific case, these immigrants have a different religion than the one that prevails in the Netherlands, therefore, it is unlikely that they will join a Christian church or organization and is more difficult for them to find a Muslim organization. Regarding the differences between Western immigrants and natives, Western immigrants tend to be more educated and less religious than non-Western immigrants and have more similar backgrounds as natives. Therefore, on the one hand they might not be interested or do not need to join a religious or ethnic organization in the first place and, on the other hand, natives have higher rates of participation in religious organizations because they are more likely to live in a close community and participate in religious and church organizations due to social pressure. Regarding participation in secular organizations, we find no differences between non-Western immigrants and natives, once controlled for demographic characteristics. Interestingly, if we look at the differences between Western immigrants and natives, we can see that the former group is more likely to perform more activities in two out of the three secular organizations, namely activist and interest organizations compared to natives. One explanation is the fact that these organizations are known to be of interest for immigrants who are well integrated in society and join them to extend their network (Handy & Greenspan, 2009; Wang & Handy, 2013). Therefore, it is possible that Western immigrants integrate faster in the

Dutch society due to a higher similarity in socio-economic background, language or culture and, hence are able join these organizations sooner than non-Western immigrants that live in the country for an equal number of years.

Our findings show a few, but important differential effects of human resources on civic participation for the three groups. Specifically, we find that among Western immigrants, those with a higher level of education engage in more activities in activist or interest organizations. Furthermore, both among Western and non-Western immigrants, students are more likely to carry out unpaid work for organizations. Regarding religious organizations, non-Western higher educated immigrants perform less civic activities. Additionally, we find support for the effect of human, cultural and social resources on civic participation among the general population, just like it was shown by prior studies (e.g., Wilson & Musick, 1997). Therefore, contrary to our expectations we find little evidence for the differential effects of resources between natives and non-Western immigrants. One reason could be that the immigrants in our sample were already for a few years settled in the host country, as they all were able to fill in the questionnaires in Dutch language. Therefore, it could be that these differences will be more pronounced between natives and recent newcomers. However, as far as we know, there are no representative survey data available that were collected in the native language of immigrants.

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Annexes

Annex 1. Coefficients of Poisson regression for civic participation in activist organizations

	M1	M2	M3	M4
Constant	-3.73***	-3.73***	-3.72***	-3.75***
Origin (ref: Dutch)				
Western immigrant	0.07	0.08	0.04	0.19**
Non-Western immigrant	-0.16	-0.19	-0.33**	-0.07
Church attendance	0.04**	0.04**	0.04**	0.04**
Education	0.28***	0.28***	0.28***	0.28***
Household income	0.00*	0.00*	0.00*	0.00*
Occupation (ref: unemployed)				
Employed	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03
Student	0.11	0.11	0.11	0.11
Housekeeper	0.08	0.08	0.09	0.09
Meeting friends	0.03*	0.04**	0.04**	0.04**
Meeting family members	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02
Meeting neighbors	0.00	0.01	-0.01	0.01
Meeting acquaintances	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.03*
<i>Interaction effects</i>				
Meeting friends* Western imm.	0.01			
Meeting friends* non-Western imm.	0.03			
Meeting family* Western imm.		0.01		
Meeting family*non-Western imm.		0.03		
Meeting neighbors* Western imm.			0.03	
Meeting neighbors* non-Western imm.			0.10**	
Meeting acquaint.* Western imm.				-0.05
Meeting acquaint.* non-Western imm.				-0.01
Log pseudolikelihood	-4909.61	-4909.58	-4907.03	-4908.70

Notes: All models include also the following control variables: age, age squared, gender, civic status,

religious denomination; ***p<0.01, ** p<0.05, *p<0.1

Annex 2. Coefficients of Poisson regression for civic participation in leisure

organizations

	M1	M2	M3	M4
Constant	-0.85***	-0.85***	-0.86***	-0.87***
Origin (ref: Dutch)				
Western immigrant	-0.05	-0.08	0.00	0.01
Non-Western immigrant	-0.17	-0.04	-0.06	-0.01
Church attendance	0.04***	0.04***	0.04***	0.04***
Education	0.11***	0.11***	0.11***	0.11***
Household income	0.00**	0.00**	0.00**	0.00**
Occupation (ref: unemployed)				
Employed	-0.03	-0.03	-0.02	-0.02
Student	0.20***	0.20***	0.20***	0.20***
Housekeeper	-0.07	-0.07	-0.07	-0.07
Meeting friends	-0.02*	-0.02*	-0.02*	-0.02*
Meeting family members	0.08***	0.08***	0.08***	0.08***
Meeting neighbors	0.04***	0.04***	0.04***	0.04***
Meeting acquaintances	0.04***	0.04***	0.04***	0.04***
<i>Interaction effects</i>				
Meeting friends* Western imm.	0.02			
Meeting friends* non-Western imm.	0.04			
Meeting family* Western imm.		0.02		
Meeting family* non-Western imm.		0.00		
Meeting neighbors* Western imm.			0.00	
Meeting neighbors* non-Western imm.			0.00	
Meeting acquaint.* Western imm.				-0.01
Meeting acquaint.* non-Western imm.				-0.02
Log pseudolikelihood	-7760.60	-7761.29	-7761.67	-7761.39

Notes: All models include also the following control variables: age, age squared, gender, civic status,

religious denomination; ***p<0.01, ** p<0.05, *p<0.1.

Annex 3. Coefficients of Poisson regression for civic participation in interest organizations

	M1	M2	M3	M4
Constant	-2.68***	-2.68***	-2.69	-2.67***
Origin (ref: Dutch)				
Western immigrant	0.12	0.04	0.17**	0.07
Non-Western immigrant	-0.10	0.04	0.04	0.01
Church attendance	0.05***	0.05***	0.05***	0.05***
Education	0.20***	0.20***	0.20***	0.20***
Household income	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Occupation (ref: unemployed)				
Employed	0.19***	0.19***	0.19***	0.19***
Student	0.18	0.18	0.18	0.18
Housekeeper	-0.28***	-0.28***	-0.28***	-0.28***
Meeting friends	0.02	0.03**	0.03**	0.03**
Meeting family members	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.01
Meeting neighbors	0.02*	0.02*	0.02*	0.02*
Meeting acquaintances	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.01
<i>Interaction effects</i>				
Meeting friends* Western imm.	0.01			
Meeting friends* non-Western imm.	0.06*			
Meeting family* Western imm.		0.03		
Meeting family* non-Western imm.		0.01		
Meeting neighbors* Western imm.			-0.01	
Meeting neighbors* non-Western imm.			0.02	
Meeting acquaint.* Western imm.				0.04
Meeting acquaint.* non-Western imm.				0.05
Log pseudolikelihood	-6132.66	-6133.85	-6133.92	-6132.59

Notes: All models include also the following control variables: age, age squared, gender, civic status,

religious denomination; ***p<0.01, ** p<0.05, *p<0.1.

Annex 4. Coefficients of Poisson regression for civic participation in religious organizations

	M1	M2	M3	M4
Constant	-3.41***	-3.39***	-3.41***	-3.42***
Origin (ref: Dutch)				
Western immigrant	0.03	-0.07	-0.02	-0.04
Non-Western immigrant	-0.35**	-0.33**	-0.25**	-0.11
Church attendance	0.30**	0.30***	0.30***	0.30***
Education	0.14**	0.14***	0.14***	0.14***
Household income	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Occupation (ref: unemployed)				
Employed	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Student	0.07	0.08	0.07	0.08
Housekeeper	0.00	0.00	-0.01	0.00
Meeting friends	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Meeting family members	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
Meeting neighbors	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Meeting acquaintances	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02*
<i>Interaction effects</i>				
Meeting friends* Western imm.	-0.06			
Meeting friends* non-Western imm.	0.07*			
Meeting family* Western imm.		-0.01		
Meeting family*non-Western imm.		0.05		
Meeting neighbors* Western imm.			-0.04	
Meeting neighbors* non-Western imm.			0.04	
Meeting acquaint.* Western imm.				-0.06
Meeting acquaint.* non-Western imm.				-0.05
Log pseudolikelihood	-4005.35	-4007.15	-4006.51	-4006.60

Notes: All models include also the following control variables: age, age squared, gender, civic status,

religious denomination; ***p<0.01, ** p<0.05, *p<0.1.

Chapter 3 Effects of cultural and economic contexts on formal volunteering: Evidence from 33 European countries, 1981-2008

Abstract

For the first time, this study examined both cross-sectional and longitudinal effects of contextual cultural and economic characteristics of individual volunteering. A study sample of 116380 respondents from 33 countries and 4 waves from European Values Study (1981-2008) was used. The hierarchical logistic models indicate that a long standing theoretical idea regarding the positive effect of contextual religiosity on formal volunteering is not supported by European data. Specifically, I found that living in secular and economically equal countries increases one's chance to engage in voluntary activities. Longitudinally, an increase in income inequality across time is related with lower levels of volunteering. Furthermore, the results show differential within and between effects of the determinants examined. This highlights the importance of using repeated cross-sectional survey data in order to control for possible biased effects of dynamic factors and gain valuable insight into differences in volunteering across societies and time.

Keywords: formal volunteering, religiosity, income inequality, repeated cross-sectional research

Introduction

Although many studies have focused on differences between volunteers and non-volunteers, “the decision to give one's time away remains a puzzle to social scientists” (Wilson, 2012, p. 201). Past research on the sources underlying volunteering indicates that individual characteristics such as resources or motivations have an influence on volunteering (Verba, Schlozman & Brady, 1995; Musick & Wilson, 2008). A literature review conducted by Wilson (2012) shows that the socioeconomic status, prosocial values, religion, and social networks like family or friends are among the strongest predictors of voluntary work. More recent work indicates that the social contexts people live in exerts a significant effect on engaging in voluntary activities as well. For instance, the level of religiosity or economic situation are two main contextual characteristics found to explain volunteering or civic participation in general (e.g., Curtis *et al.*, 2001; Ruiters & De Graaf, 2006). However, the empirical findings on these relations are mixed and there is still not enough knowledge of which and how contextual factors translate to individual decision to volunteer. While previous studies certainly have their own merits, they have been based only on cross-sectional data and, therefore, did not take into consideration how dynamic predictors, such as economic development affect changes in volunteering across time.

This study improves on previous work by considering not just differences in volunteering between countries in a certain year, but also variation within countries across time, while simultaneously controlling for compositional effects at individual level. These differences are explained by looking at the effect of several cultural and economic contextual characteristics, namely: religiosity, religious denomination, economic development, and income inequality. Past research found that living in a devout country increases one's chance to engage in volunteering activities because

religious institutions promote norms of prosocial behavior such as trust and altruism. The type of religious denomination that prevails in a society matters as well. For instance, it was found that Protestant countries usually have the highest rates of voluntary involvement, while in Orthodox or Muslim countries this type of activity is not encouraged by church (Ruiter & De Graaf, 2006; Musick & Wilson, 2008). Furthermore, in equal and economically developed countries there are higher levels of volunteering because there is a more equal distribution of the necessary resources (e.g., income, time) needed to carry out voluntary activities and there is a wider variety of organizations to choose from (Halman, 2003; Lancee & Van de Werfhorst, 2012).

Using a repeated cross-sectional multilevel model approach allows me to make three contributions with this paper. Firstly, the simultaneous estimation of cross-sectional and longitudinal effects provides an opportunity to disentangle them. This is important because earlier studies did not account for random variation between years which can lead to bias effects of time variant predictors (Schmidt-Catran & Fairbrother, 2015; Te Grotenhuis *et al.*, 2015). Specifically, Schmidt-Catran and Fairbrother (2015) note that it is necessary to include random effects at all relevant levels, otherwise, the standard errors will be downwards-biased. Secondly, I used a broad data source - European Values Study (1981-2008) - that enables me to cover 33 countries over a longer time span and examine differences in volunteering not only at a certain point in time, but also changes in variation within countries over 27 years. To my knowledge, there is only one study on volunteering that includes more than one time point, namely the Ruiter and De Graaf (2006) study about the effects of religiosity on volunteering. However, they do not differentiate the between and within effects. Thirdly, by combining these two this study offers more insight regarding the contextual factors that play a role in individuals' decision to carry out voluntary activities across Europe.

Theories and hypotheses

We can identify four common characteristics of formal voluntary work in the literature: it is not mandatory (*free will*), is carried out for the benefit of others, is unpaid, and takes place in an organized context (Dekker & Halman, 2003; Dekker & Van den Broek, 1998). The last criterion distinguishes formal from informal volunteering or informal help. Concretely, formal volunteering takes place in a public place, in an organized setting, and the help is usually offered to unknown receivers, such as homeless, elderly citizens, or people from underdeveloped countries. In contrast, informal volunteering refers to help offered to a neighbor or community member and is not a constant activity. This paper focuses only on formal volunteering. Specifically, in order to gain insight regarding the differences in formal volunteering across countries and time, I draw on previous research to explain and develop hypotheses on how a set of cultural and economic contextual characteristics¹ play a role in individuals' decision to volunteer.

Cultural explanations

Religion is known to be one of the main institutions which promote norms of social involvement (e.g., altruism, trust). It shapes behaviors not only within the ecclesiastical institutions, but also within the larger society (Lam, 2006; Ruiter & De Graaf, 2006; Musick & Wilson, 2008). Guiso, Sapienza, and Zingales (2003) affirm that “those who are raised religiously exhibit some common beliefs and preferences, even if they reject religion as adults” (p.4). Furthermore, living in a religious environment may increase the chance of volunteering due to a higher probability of having active religious people in personal networks that will share information about volunteering opportunities (Kelley & De Graaf, 1997; Musick & Wilson, 2008; Ruiter & De Graaf, 2006). These explanations of a positive relation between contextual religion and volunteering are

supported by a series of cross-national studies. Parboteeth and associates (2004) conducted a cross-national analysis, using 21 countries all around the world, and found a positive effect of average church attendance on formal volunteering. Ruiters and De Graaf (2006), using a larger sample of 53 countries, revealed that in devout countries people are more likely to volunteer. More recently, Lim and MacGregor (2012) conducted a study on a sample of 156 countries and found a positive association as well. However, this positive relation between religion and volunteering does not seem to hold when focusing only on the European region. Halman (2003) carried out a study on European countries and showed a negative correlation between public religiosity (measured by church attendance and trust in church) and volunteering. However, when the economic and political context variables were added in the equation, the effect of religion disappeared. Moreover, using more recent data, Prouteau and Sardindha (2013) found a negative effect of religion on several types of volunteering. One explanation for these last findings is the focus on only European societies, while most earlier studies used samples with countries from all over the world. Prouteau and Sardindha (2013) argue that in Europe secularization had a negative effect on religion and the nonprofit sector evolved due to secular organizations rather than religious ones: "In Europe, modernization took place outside religion and sometimes against it. Civil society has developed through secular voluntary organizations rather than religious ones" (p.260). Hence, a negative relationship between religion and volunteering could be more plausible within Europe. Based on these explanations, I develop two contradicting hypotheses and test whether (1) higher levels of religiosity leads to lower or higher volunteering rates and (2) whether the effect of religion on volunteering decreases or increases over time. I use frequency of church attendance to measure religiosity as is considered to be a stronger predictor than religious beliefs or

just belonging to a religion. For instance, Bekkers (2003, cf. Ruiter & De Graaf, 2006) found that those who attend religious services are more likely to start volunteering as well, while those who go to church rarely or not at all are equally less likely to get involved.

Higher levels of religiosity (H1. a) and positive changes in the levels of religiosity (H1. b) are positively related to individual volunteering.

Higher levels of religiosity (H2. a) and positive changes in the levels of religiosity (H2. b) are negatively related to individual volunteering.

Volunteering rates are influenced by the type of religious denomination as well. A growing number of studies have looked at the differences in volunteering between Christian religions, specifically between Protestant and Catholic countries. Their findings revealed higher volunteering rates among the former (Curtis, Grabb, & Baer, 1992; Ruiter & De Graaf, 2006). According to Lam (2006), Protestantism “discourage the pursuit of self-interests and induce a sense of social responsibility among their adherent” (p.179). The same researcher adds that Protestantism offers a more supportive cultural and institutional environment for voluntary participation than Catholicism, which supports the national civic culture at a lesser extent. Curtis, Baer, and Grabb (2001) explain the stronger effect of Protestantism by the fact that promotes an ethic which does not rely on the state or church to offer help to the community, but encourages its members to come together and offer their help: “people are encouraged to join together voluntarily as free individuals to fulfill various societal functions, including philanthropy and the preservation of public morality” (p.785). Also, Protestant church is less hierarchical and has smaller subdivisions (parishes) which favor the civic or voluntary participation to a higher extent (Ruiter & De Graaf, 2006). While its organizational structure makes Protestant tradition a better ground for civic

activities, the value orientations promoted by Catholic church fit better with civic engagement. It emphasizes among its core values altruism, the pursuit of the common good, stresses the role of community in social life, and a close relationship between family and church. However, the close relation between family and church leaves little room for participation in voluntary organizations (Lam, 2006). Moreover, the hierarchical structure of Catholic church opposed to the horizontal and egalitarian one of the Protestant church limits civic engagement. One explanation is that Catholic religion provides many social services within its hierarchy, impeding in this way the involvement of its own members.

Compared to Protestant and Catholic religions, Orthodox church has been associated negatively with civic participation and volunteering. In this case, Voicu and Tufis (2013) affirm that the church is entirely subordinated to the political power, is focused entirely on spiritual matters, and is not in charge of promoting civic skills or supporting the development of a civil society. Based on these arguments, I expect that, of all three denominations, Protestantism will have the strongest positive effect on volunteering, followed by Roman Catholicism. I propose the following hypothesis:

Individuals living in Protestant countries are more likely to volunteer compared with those living in Roman Catholic or Orthodox countries (H3).

Economic explanations

A certain level of economic security is a necessary requirement for voluntary organizations to prevail (Anheir & Salamon, 1999; Curtis *et al.*, 2001; Halman, 2003; Muller, De Graaf & Schimdt, 2014). In economically developed countries, people are more likely to volunteer because there is not only a higher number of organizations, but also a larger variety from which they can choose the one that fit their needs best.

Additionally, volunteering rates are higher because citizens have more resources, such as time or money. According to Halman (2003), in developed countries “working hours are reduced, while economic wealth increases people's opportunities to actually spend more time in all kinds of organizations” (p.180). Parboteeah, Cullen, and Lim (2004) add that living in a comfortable environment and having the basic needs satisfied allow people to donate their time for volunteering purposes. In contrast, in poorer countries people are preoccupied with satisfying their survival and basic needs and, as a consequence, are less likely to have resources left for civic involvement.

Concerning the positive effect of national economic development on volunteering, Inglehart (2003) argue that economic development might not necessarily lead to higher levels of civic participation. He states that a high level of economic growth leads to two main cultural changes in values: a shift from traditional to secular-rational values, linked with industrialization, and which does not encourage volunteering; and a shift from survival values to self-expression values, related to post industrialist society or *knowledge society*, which encourages volunteering. Therefore, the economic growth of a society might not have notable effects on civic involvement. The empirical evidence on this relation is not consistent. Of the several studies that included economic development as a contextual factor, almost all studies found a non-significant effect (e.g., Ruiters & De Graaf, 2006; Musick & Wilson, 2008). An exception is Parboteeah and colleagues (2004) study, which reveals a small but positive significant effect. One explanation for these differences in results might be the fact that economic wealth was used as a time invariant predictor and hence the between and within effect of economic development on volunteering were not disentangled, which could have resulted in biased results (Schmidt-Catran & Fairbrother, 2015; Te Grotenhuis *et al.*, 2015). In this study, I do so and test for a positive effect of economic development on volunteering

both between and within countries. I expect that in higher developed countries individuals are more likely to volunteer and a growth in national economy will also have a positive effect on individual volunteering. Hence, I formulate the following hypotheses:

Higher levels of economic development (4a) and positive changes in the levels of economic development(4b) are positively related to individual volunteering.

Large economic differences between the rich and the poor have been related with lower volunteering and civic participation rates in general (Uslaner & Brown, 2005; Lancee & Van de Werfhorst, 2012). There are two main explanations for this negative relation: in unequal societies resources are not equally distributed, which means that low-income individuals do not have enough resources to volunteer; and the large gaps between socioeconomic classes can lead to less trust and cooperation. Firstly, it is well documented that individual resources such as education, income, or social network have strong effects on volunteering (e.g., Wilson, 2012). In unequal societies a significant part of the population does not have enough of these resources, which makes it more difficult to engage in voluntary activities. A study conducted by Lancee and Van de Werfhorst (2012) revealed that inequality increases indeed the relationship between income and participation. Specifically, they find that living in a low-income household decreases one's chance to participate in voluntary organizations and social life. Also, the difference in participation between those living in low and high-income households was larger in countries with high income inequality. Besides the lack of resources, Uslaner and Brown (2005) add that in unequal societies the government offers less support for civic activities. For instance, in equal societies civic participation is encouraged by offering subsidies to start nonprofit organizations, free subscriptions, tickets or entrance fees, while these initiatives are lacking in unequal societies. Additionally, those

from lower economic brackets might feel that they do not have the power to take important decisions or make a difference in society and are therefore less inclined to volunteer. On this issue, Uslaner and Brown (2005) note that poor people will “perceive that their views are not represented in the political system and will opt out of civic engagement” (p. 868).

Secondly, when inequality is high, individuals from different social classes do not have much in common and will be less likely to trust each other and cooperate. Lancee and Van de Werfhorst (2012) explain that there is a need for certain conditions for social interaction to lead to cooperation, namely: similar status among individuals, opportunities to meet new people and build new relationships, and opportunities to share common goals with others. When these conditions are not met, there is less social and civic participation in society. Higher levels of inequality lead also to lower levels of trust which can affect participation indirectly. Based on the above arguments, I expect that higher levels of income inequality will have a negative effect on individual volunteering. Furthermore, I expect that an increase in income inequality over time will lead to less cooperation between individuals or less government support for civic activities as well and, as a consequence, will lower the chances of volunteering. Below I formulate the final two hypotheses:

Higher levels of income inequality (5a) and positive changes in the levels of income inequality (5b) are negatively related to individual volunteering.

Data and methods

Data

The empirical analyses are conducted with data from the four waves of European Values Study (EVS): 1981-1984, 1990-1993, 1999-2001, and 2008-2010. The EVS are

repeated cross-section surveys carried out in over 40 European countries since 1981. Their focus is on Europeans' values orientations and how they change over time. The study sample is restricted to 116380 individuals nested in 96 country-years and 33 countries (Annex1). The average sample size for each country-year is 1212, with a minimum of 525 (Finland) and a maximum of 2504 (Belgium). For Germany, I made the distinction between East and West to account for the former's experience with communism and the differences in economic conditions between the two. Also, it is important to mention here that the initial sample of EVS contains 48 countries. However, 16 countries were excluded from the analysis due to a high number of answer inconsistencies, missing values, or participation in only one wave (see Annex 2). Missing values were handled using *listwise* deletion method.

Measures

Dependent variable. *Formal volunteering* measures whether respondents have done unpaid work in at least one of the following organizations: (1) social welfare services for elderly, handicapped, or deprived people; (2) conservation, the environment, ecology, or animal rights groups; (3) youth work; (4) professional associations; (5) education, arts, music or cultural activities; (6) third world development or human rights; (7) political parties or groups. Respondents were asked about their involvement in religious or church associations and trade unions as well. However, I did not include these organizations in the analyses as I believe that people do not always freely choose to join and respectively volunteer for them. For example, in Sweden or Denmark everyone has to be member of a trade union in order to be eligible for many social-security benefits (Van Oorschot & Arts, 2005). Concerning religious organizations, they are closely connected with the church and people may feel a social pressure from their

community to volunteer for them. For instance, Bekkers and Schuyt (2008) discuss about Protestants and affirm the following: “Volunteering is also a socially rewarded activity in religious environments. (...) The stronger one’s involvement in the religious community, the more likely that one will conform to the norms of the group on giving and volunteering” (p. 77). The same researchers add that volunteering in religious organizations are usually performed because of involvement in religious communities, while secular or non-religious volunteering is carried out because of individual prosocial values like altruism and equality. Thus, based on these considerations, I decided to leave them out of the analyses.

Independent variables. *Average church attendance* represents the country-year mean of frequency of attending religious services, except weddings, funerals, and christenings. For *religious denomination* variable, I used the percentage of people who declared that they belong to either Protestant, Roman Catholic, or Orthodox religion. *Economic development* is measured using real GDP per capita (current U.S.A dollars) indicator from the World Bank’s World Development Indicators database. *Income inequality* is measured using Solt’s Gini index of net income inequality, defined as equivalised household disposable, post-tax, post-transfer income (Solt, 2009). The inequality measure varies from 0 to 100, 0 represents perfect equality and 100 represents perfect inequality.

Control variables. I used eight individual level control variables related to the socio-demographic background and known in the literature to have an influence on volunteering (e.g., Curtis *et al.*, 1992; Wilson & Musick, 1997; Musick & Wilson, 2008): *age* (18-90 years old); *age squared/100*; *gender* (1 “female”); *education* (semi-continuous, age when respondent completed formal education, the answers categories vary from 0 “at age of 12 or earlier” to 10 “at 21 or older”); *employment status*

(employed or not); *marital status* (married or living in a couple, divorced, separated, or widowed, single); *church attendance* (frequency of attending religious service, the answer categories range from 1 “never, practically never” to 8 “more than once a week”); *religious faith* (measured by asking the following question: “How important is God in your life?”, the answers range from 1 “not at all” to 10 “very important”); *religious denomination* (no religion, Protestant, Roman Catholic, Orthodox, and other religion).

Table 1. Descriptive statistics

Variables	N	Mean	SD	Range
<i>Individual variables</i>				
Formal volunteering	116380	0.14	0.34	0-1
Age	116380	45.47	17.35	18-90
Age squared/100	116380	23.68	16.86	3.24-81
Female	116380	0.54	0.50	0-1
<i>Marital status</i>				
Married or living in a couple	116380	0.60	0.49	0-1
Divorced, separated or widowed	116380	0.17	0.37	0-1
Single	116380	0.23	0.42	0-1
Education	116380	5.58	2.88	0-9
Employed	116380	0.49	0.50	0-1
<i>Religious denomination</i>				
No religion	116380	0.26	0.44	0-1
Protestant	116380	0.18	0.38	0-1
Roman Catholic	116380	0.42	0.49	0-1
Orthodox	116380	0.11	0.31	0-1
Other religion	116380	0.04	0.19	0-1
Religious faith	116380	4.74	3.27	0-9
Church Attendance	116380	2.81	2.46	0-7
<i>Contextual variables</i>				
Average church attendance	33	3.88	1.13	2.45-6.66
Protestant (%)	33	21.14	31.91	0.00-98.80
Roman Catholic (%)	33	39.38	36.23	0.20-97.30
Orthodox (%)	33	13.28	26.40	0.00-94.60
GDP per capita	33	20717.65	16089.06	2263.00- 82104.50
Gini Index	33	28.31	4.44	21.28-40.68
Communist past	33	0.45	0.51	0-1

At the country level, I controlled for whether respondents *lived in a former communist country*. I included this control variable because it was previously proved to have a negative impact on volunteering (Voicu, 2005; Voicu & Tufis, 2013). One

explanation is that communist regime controlled any type of organization (e.g., business associations, chess clubs, women's associations). As a consequence, the civil society was non-existent and even though the number of voluntary organizations is increasing, there are still far less opportunities to volunteer compared to old democratic countries. Furthermore, during communism people were actually compelled to perform a series of activities called *voluntary* or *patriotic work* contrary to their own wishes. As a result, there are still negative perceptions regarding this type of activity (Voicu and Voicu, 2003).

Methods

To test the relation between economic and cultural contexts and volunteering, I conducted a set of hierarchical logistic regression models on repeated cross-sectional data. I used a hybrid statistical model, as proposed by Fairbrother (2014), and distinguished between cross-sectional and longitudinal effects of the time-varying predictors used in the analyses, namely: average church attendance, economic situation, and income inequality. This technique allows to simultaneously check the association of a covariate and the outcome variable at the cross-sectional and longitudinal level, while controlling for compositional effects at the individual level. The model has three levels in which individuals (level 1) are nested in country-years (level 2), and these are nested within countries (level 3). In order to differentiate between cross-sectional and longitudinal relations, I first calculated a cross-time mean and then subtracted the mean from the time-varying variable of interest. The three time-varying variables used in this paper were therefore group-mean centered; the group-mean represents the cross-sectional component and the de-measured value represents the longitudinal component (Fairbrother, 2014; Schmidt-Catran & Fairbrother, 2015).

Furthermore, I checked whether the findings are robust² and stable³ and found one influential case (outlier) at the country level and a cluster of three influential cases at the country-year level (Russia, and the third wave of Greece, Slovakia and Great Britain). Therefore, following the recommendation of Van der Meer *et al.* (2010) on how to deal with influential cases, I added a fixed-effect dummy variable for each influential case and excluded them from the intercept (not shown in the results table).

The data preparation was conducted using STATA 13 and the multilevel models were estimated in MLwiN 2.35 statistical software, using penalized second-order quasi-likelihood estimation method.

Results

Table 2 reports the results of a series of random effects models. The intraclass correlation of the null or baseline model is 0.079 for the country level and 0.039 at the country-year level (ICC according to Snijders & Bosker, 1999). Thus, there is variance to be explained both between and within countries.

As a first step, I added in Model 1 a set of socio-demographic individual level variables to control for compositional effects and in Model 2 a control for whether the country experienced communism. Next, I added the contextual variables, starting with the cultural characteristics⁴, namely: religiosity (average church attendance, Model 3), religious denomination (percentages of Protestant, Roman-Catholic, and Orthodox people in the country, Model 4), GDP per capita (Model 5), and income inequality (Model 6).

Table 2. Parameter estimates from logistic multilevel regression of formal volunteering (countries = 33, country-year = 96, N=116380)

	M1		M2		M3		M4		M5		M6	
	B	S.E.										
(Intercept)	-4.230	0.119	-3.926	0.116	-3.172	0.211	-2.733	0.268	-3.099	0.323	-2.196	0.500
<i>Contextual level</i>												
Church attendance [WE]					0.184	0.124	0.182	0.124	0.108	0.126	0.246	0.126
Church attendance [BE]					-0.194	0.048	-0.200	0.073	-0.173	0.071	-0.182	0.066
Protestant (%)							-0.007	0.002	-0.006	0.002	-0.007	0.002
Roman Catholic (%)							-0.007	0.003	-0.005	0.003	-0.004	0.003
Orthodox (%)							-0.004	0.003	-0.003	0.003	-0.002	0.003
GDP per capita /1000 [WE]									-0.005	0.003	-0.001	0.003
GDP per capita /1000 [BE]									0.008	0.004	0.005	0.004
Gini coefficient [WE]											-0.048	0.016
Gini coefficient [BE]											-0.030	0.013
Former communist country			-0.684	0.132	-0.669	0.108	-0.770	0.116	-0.633	0.135	-0.700	0.130
<i>Individual level</i>												
Age	0.047	0.004										
Age squared/100	-0.046	0.004										
Female	-0.177	0.019	-0.176	0.019	-0.176	0.019	-0.176	0.019	-0.176	0.019	-0.175	0.019
Single (ref.)												
Married or living in a couple	-0.084	0.027	-0.083	0.027	-0.084	0.027	-0.084	0.027	-0.085	0.027	-0.086	0.027

Continued

Table 2. Continued

	M1		M2		M3		M4		M5		M6	
	B	S.E.										
Divorced, separated or wid.	-0.203	0.037	-0.201	0.037	-0.203	0.037	-0.202	0.037	-0.203	0.037	-0.203	0.037
Education	0.171	0.004	0.171	0.004	0.170	0.004	0.170	0.004	0.170	0.004	0.170	0.004
Employed	0.015	0.021	0.015	0.021	0.015	0.021	0.015	0.021	0.015	0.021	0.015	0.021
No religion (ref.)												
Protestant	-0.055	0.036	-0.060	0.036	-0.070	0.036	-0.066	0.036	-0.069	0.036	-0.071	0.036
Roman Catholic	-0.254	0.031	-0.257	0.031	-0.253	0.031	-0.255	0.031	-0.256	0.031	-0.257	0.031
Orthodox	-0.489	0.062	-0.486	0.062	-0.487	0.061	-0.467	0.062	-0.467	0.062	-0.466	0.062
Other religion	-0.134	0.052	-0.136	0.052	-0.141	0.052	-0.139	0.052	-0.140	0.052	-0.143	0.052
Religious faith	-0.002	0.004	-0.002	0.004	-0.002	0.004	-0.002	0.004	-0.002	0.004	-0.001	0.004
Church attendance	0.157	0.005										
<i>Variance</i>												
Country level	0.205	0.061	0.090	0.033	0.048	0.023	0.027	0.017	0.024	0.016	0.021	0.014
Country-year level	0.103	0.020	0.104	0.020	0.099	0.019	0.099	0.019	0.092	0.018	0.080	0.016

Notes:

1) Bold parameters express significance at $p < 0.05$.

2) Null model: country level variance: 0.267, country-year variance: 0.136.

3) For Russia and the third wave of Greece, Great Britain, and Slovakia a fixed effect dummy variable was included in the models, but are not included in this table.

4) WE - within effect, BE - between effect.

The results indicate a negative cross-sectional effect of average church attendance, income inequality and percentage of Protestants in the country, and a negative longitudinal effect of income inequality. Regarding religiosity, I found that average church attendance has a negative effect on formal volunteering and stays relatively stable once the other predictors were included (hypothesis 2a supported). Hence, in devout European countries, individuals are less likely to engage in formal volunteering compared to those living in less religious societies. Regarding the within effect, it is interesting to notice that in the final model the effect becomes (almost) significant and is positive effect (p-value <0.10, hypothesis 1b not supported). Furthermore, the results show that living in a Protestant country has actually a negative effect on volunteering, while living in a predominant Roman Catholic or Orthodox does not play a significant role (hypothesis 3 not supported). This result is surprising as previous studies consistently showed that in Protestant countries people are more likely to become volunteers because of the civic values and behavior that it promotes (e.g., Lam, 2006).

Going further to the economic predictors, the findings show a positive effect of between GDP per capita on volunteering in Model 5, but the effect disappears when income inequality is added in the last step. Hence, formal volunteering is not related to the overall level of economic development in country of residence - either averaged over all years for which it is measured or as a longitudinal effect over time (hypotheses 4a and 4b are not supported by this data). Concerning income inequality, cross-nationally, residents of countries with a lower Gini coefficient are significantly more likely to engage in voluntary activities compared to those living in more unequal countries. The between country Gini coefficient is -0.30 in the final model. Longitudinally, the level of income inequality has a significant effect on changes in volunteering across time as well. Specifically, I found that residents of countries where

income inequality decreases over time are more likely to engage in voluntary activities. These results confirm hypothesis 5a and 5b.

Regarding the control variables, being an adult, male, higher educated, and attending church services increases one's chance of volunteering; while being divorced, separated, or widowed, belonging to Roman Catholic, Orthodox, or other religion decreases the chances of volunteering. Moreover, living in a former communist country continues to have a strong negative effect on this type of activity. The contextual level results are further discussed in the next section.

Discussion and conclusions

The main purpose of this study was to find out what explains differences in formal volunteering across European countries. Of all four economic and cultural explanations tested, the results suggest that income inequality, religion, and percentage of Protestant believers affect individual volunteering; while the economic situation, percentage of Roman Catholic or Orthodox people do not play a significant role. Firstly, the negative cross-sectional effect of religiosity contradicts past theoretical assumptions that living in a devout society increases one's chances to volunteer (Lam, 2006; Ruiter & De Graaf, 2006). An explanation for this result is the fact that in Europe modernization had a negative effect on religiosity and the voluntary sector has been mainly built on secular rather than religious organizations (Prouteau & Sardindha, 2013). Norris and Inglehart (2004) state that modernization has been depressing religious beliefs and participation as people have become more economically secure. Therefore, religion might play an important role in countries like the U.S., where religious and church organizations are an important part of the voluntary sector, but this is not the case in Europe. Additionally, the theories on the positive effect of religious context on volunteering

might hold for involvement in religious organizations, but not for volunteering in non-religious organizations, the focus of this study. However, this is an assumption that needs further investigation. The findings contradict previous research on the positive effect of Protestant tradition as well (e.g., Lam, 2006); and prove again that when it comes to the European region, living in a religious country, regardless of whether the predominant religion is known to shape civic values and behavior and encourage volunteering, lowers one's chances to become a volunteer in a secular organization.

Secondly, I did not find support for a significant effect of economic situation on volunteering, contrary to much of the theoretical literature on economic development and volunteering, but in support to most empirical findings that showed a non-significant effect as well (e.g., Ruiter & De Graaf, 2006; Musick & Wilson, 2008). It is interesting to mention here that I initially found a positive effect of GDP per capita, but this disappeared once the Gini variables were added to the analysis. Regarding income inequality, there is both a cross-sectional and longitudinal negative effect of income inequality on volunteering, the latter being stronger. This result is in line with the theoretical expectation that in unequal societies there are lower rates of volunteering because citizens from low-income classes are less likely to volunteer as they lack the necessary resources to participate or feel that they do not have the power to make a difference in the society. In the same time, here, there is less governmental support for civic involvement as in equal economic societies (Uslaner & Brown, 2005; Lancee & Van de Werfhorst, 2012). Also, a raise in inequality over time can have a negative effect on both starting and continuing to volunteer. As the economic inequality increases, the social gap between the lower and upper social classes becomes larger which can lead to less cooperation between citizens. Collectively, the results regarding economic development and income inequality indicate that what matters for people to volunteer

is rather economic equality than a high level of wealth. This might be the case only for the European region, where almost all countries have at least a decent economic situation. In lower developed regions of the world, the economic situation probably has a stronger effect. Overall, the results show that in secular and equal countries people engage more in formal volunteering. These two contextual characteristics have been studied together and are related. Specifically, Ruiters and van Tubergen (2009) tested *the theory of modernization of economies* of Norris and Inglehart (2004) and found empirical support that countries characterized by high attendance rates have also higher socioeconomic inequalities.

For the first time, this study examined both cross-sectional and longitudinal effects of three economic and cultural factors known in the literature to affect volunteering. By doing so, I was able to show that there is both a between and within effects of income inequality on volunteering and they are not identical. Hence, it can be misleading to assume that the association of the time-constant component of variable (cross-sectional effect) is identical to the time-variable component of the variable (longitudinal effect). These findings highlight the importance of using repeated cross-sectional survey data in order to control for possible biased effects of dynamic factors, and gain valuable insight into differences in volunteering across societies and time (Fairbrother, 2014; Schmidt-Catran & Fairbrother, 2015; Te Grotenhuis *et al.*, 2015).

A few limitations of this study deserve to be discussed. Firstly, due to a high number of missing values, answer inconsistencies, and lower number of volunteers, I reduced the number of countries to 33. Secondly, the data used contains measures only for formal volunteering and, therefore, I could not examine the effect of contextual factors on informal volunteering. Finally, the data used contains only four time points

and would be interesting to see if the longitudinal effects will hold with data collected in more time points. However, to my knowledge such dataset does not currently exist.

To sum up, the previous literature has documented the impact of cultural and economic contexts on volunteering and the necessity of empirical evidence to explain cross-national and longitudinal differences. The present study not only leads further support to some of the previous findings regarding the contextual determinants of volunteering, but also adds more information about the changes in volunteering across time.

Notes

1. Besides the economic and cultural context, the political context of the country is sometimes taken into consideration when studying voluntary involvement, specifically: the number of years of continuous democracy or the type of welfare state. In this study, I do not include them for several reasons. Firstly, the European countries that have a high GDP per capita are also the ones that have experienced democracy for a longer time and there is a high correlation between these two. Also, most countries have experienced democracy for a similar number of years and there is not so much variance on this variable. Secondly, some studies included a measure of the welfare state in the analyses based on the *crowding-out hypothesis*. This hypothesis states that the involvement of the government “crowds out” the traditional providers of the social services (e.g., solidarity networks, nonprofits) and discourages private philanthropy (Salamon & Sokolowski, 2003). However, to my knowledge, previous cross-national research did not find support for it (e.g., Salamon & Sokolowski, 2003; Van Oorschot & Arts, 2005). Even though I did not include a control for democracy level or the type of welfare state, I

controlled for whether the country experienced communism, which has been consistently found to have a strong negative effect on volunteering and civic participation in general (e.g., Musick & Wilson, 2008).

2. To check whether the findings are robust, I carried out an analysis of influential cases (bivariate scatter plots and analysis of residuals) at both country and country-year level. First, at the country level, Luxembourg and Russia showed up in the scatter plots to be potential outliers. Luxembourg has a high percentage of volunteers and a far higher GDP per capita than the rest of the countries, while Russia has a very high income inequality indicator and the lowest percentage of volunteers. However, only when Russia was left out the analyses the results changed, therefore Luxembourg was kept in the analysis and for Russia I included a fixed-effect dummy variable. Second, the scatter plots for the country-year level, showed a cluster of three potential outliers: the third wave of Greece, Great Britain, and Slovakia. One explanation is that these had the highest rates of volunteers in wave 3 and were very high compared with the rates of the same countries in the other waves. When excluding them from the analysis one by one, the results did not change significantly. However, Van der Meer *et al.* (2010) recommend simultaneous exclusion of all three cases when they form a cluster, which in this case lead to a change in the results. Therefore, for these three cases, I added a dummy variable as well. By adding dummy variables for outliers instead of their deletion, we can avoid the loss of statistical power (for more on this topic see Van der Meer *et al.*, 2010).
3. I checked whether the results are stable by conducting multicollinearity tests. The tests showed that all coefficients are stable.

4. In the multilevel analyses models, the decision of adding first the cultural predictors are based on the modernization theory which states that a high level of economic growth leads to a decline in religiosity (Inglehart, 2003). Therefore, I was interested to see if the cultural predictors have a significant and positive effect on volunteering and if their effects persist once the economic determinants were included in the analysis. Furthermore, I added income inequality after economic development to see if living in an equal society can have an additional effect on volunteering and whether country's wealth continues to have an impact.

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Annexes

Annex 1. Individual and country-level sample size

	1981-1984	1990-1993	1999-2001	2008-2010	Total
Austria		1371	1463	1411	4245
Belgium	898	2504	1693	1488	6583
Belarus			895	1416	2311
Bulgaria		907	931	1243	3081
Croatia			896	1167	2063
Czech Republic		2030	1746	1309	5085
Denmark	1104	995	979	1472	4550
Estonia			938	1401	2339
Finland		525	886	988	2399
France	1166	888	1486	1455	4995
Germany East		1311	968	940	3219
Germany West	1240	1984	991	919	5134
Great Britain	1137	1435	814	1449	4835
Greece			1029	1375	2404
Hungary		972	940	1471	3383
Iceland		659	908	744	2311
Ireland	1191	990	920		3101
Italy	1305	1915	1883		5103
Latvia			889	1357	2246
Lithuania			882	1241	2123
Luxembourg			976	1514	2490
Malta			985	1434	2419
Netherlands	1040	982	985	1502	4509
Norway	974	1139		1012	3125
Poland		957	1068	1259	3284
Portugal		1073	884	1261	3218
Romania		1069	1027	1273	3369
Russia			2354	1259	3613
Slovakia		1070	1273	1374	3717
Slovenia			941	1268	2209
Spain	2182	2470	1061	1297	7010
Sweden	846	886	926	839	3497
Ukraine			1029	1381	2410
Total	13083	28132	35646	39519	116380

Annex 2. Reasons for excluding survey-waves or countries

	1981-1984	1990-1993	1999-2001	2008-2010
Albania	0	0	0	4
Azerbaijan	0	0	0	4
Austria	0	Present	Present	Present
Armenia	0	0	0	4
Belgium	Present	Present	Present	Present
Bosnia Herzegovina	0	0	0	4
Bulgaria	0	Present	Present	Present
Belarus	0	0	Present	Present
Canada	5	5	0	0
Croatia	0	0	Present	Present
Cyprus	0	0	0	4
Northern Cyprus	0	0	0	4
Czech Republic	0	Present	Present	Present
Denmark	Present	Present	Present	Present
Estonia	0	3	Present	Present
Finland	0	Present	Present	Present
France	Present	Present	Present	Present
Georgia	0	0	0	4
Greece	0	0	Present	Present
Hungary	0	Present	Present	Present
Iceland	3	Present	Present	Present
Ireland	Present	Present	Present	1
Italy	Present	Present	Present	1
Latvia	0	3	Present	Present
Lithuania	0	3	Present	Present
Luxembourg	0	0	Present	Present
Malta	3	3	Present	Present
Moldova	0	0	0	4
Montenegro	0	0	0	4
Netherlands	Present	Present	Present	Present
Norway	Present	Present	0	Present
Poland	0	Present	Present	Present
Portugal	0	Present	Present	Present
Romania	0	Present	Present	Present
Russian Federation	0	0	Present	Present
Serbia	0	0	0	4
Slovak Republic	0	Present	Present	Present
Slovenia	0	2	Present	Present
Spain	Present	Present	Present	Present
Sweden	Present	Present	Present	Present
Switzerland	0	0	0	4
Turkey	0	0	4	1

Continued

Annex 2. Continued

	1981-1984	1990-1993	1999-2001	2008-2010
Ukraine	0	0	Present	Present
Macedonia	0	0	0	3
Great Britain	Present	Present	Present	Present
USA	5	5	0	0
Germany West	Present	Present	Present	Present
Germany East	0	Present	Present	Present
Northern Ireland	3	3	4	1
Kosovo	0	0	0	4

Note: 0 - not present in the survey, 1 - high number of missing values or answer inconsistencies,

2 - missing value on GDP per capita, 3- missing value on Gini, 4 - only one wave left/present,

5 - not situated in the European region

Chapter 4 Religion in the host country and immigrants' membership in civic associations

(co-authored with Dr. Malina Voicu)

Abstract

In this paper, the relation between host country's religious culture and the civic involvement of first-generation immigrants is examined. Using data from the European Value Study 2008, multilevel logistic regression analyses are applied to examine whether there is a relation between the religious denomination that prevails in the host country or the level of ethnic diversity and immigrant civic involvement in religious and secular organizations. The findings indicate that the percentages of Roman Catholic, Orthodox, or Muslim believers in the destination country are negatively associated with membership in religious organizations, while for membership in the secular organizations we find no effect. Furthermore, the results reveal no support for a relation between the level of ethnic diversity and civic involvement in either of the two organizations. These results are further discussed in the article.

Keywords: immigrant civic participation, host country, opportunity structure, religion, European Values Study

Introduction

There is a growing body of research on the integration of immigrants in host countries. The interest in this topic comes as no surprise since nowadays more and more people choose to leave their country of origin for better opportunities in another society or just for the thrill of experiencing a new culture. Hence, many studies have been dedicated in finding out how newcomers cope with the transition into the new culture and what makes their integration process easier. However, only recently scholars have started focusing on civic participation as one of the activities that have a positive effect on immigrants' integration. In the literature, we find for example that volunteering helps immigrants' integration by offering them the chance to build up their social capital (Handy & Greenspan, 2009).

Most of the studies regarding immigrant civic participation focus on the differences between immigrants and natives and what individual predictors determine these variations (e.g., Carabain & Bekkers, 2011; Wang & Handy, 2013). It was shown, for instance that immigrants participate less than natives and resources such as education, health, informal social network, income, or language proficiency have a positive effect on this type of activity (e.g., Handy & Greenspan, 2009; Wang & Handy, 2013). A few recent studies indicate that not only the individual factors affect involvement, but also the characteristics of the country of destination. For instance, a high level of civic participation or economic development in the host countries has been found to play an important role in immigrants' likelihood to become members of civic organizations (Aleksynska, 2011; Voicu & Rusu, 2012, Voicu, 2014). However, there is still very little knowledge on how these and other contextual characteristics of the host country influence civic participation among immigrants; and, to our knowledge, no

other study has paid attention to the impact of the religious culture in the host country on immigrant civic mobilization.

This study furthers past research and examines whether the cultural context of the host country plays a role in immigrants' individual decision to become a member of a civic organization. Specifically, we investigate the role of the dominant religious denomination and level of religious diversity in increasing immigrants' likelihood to be part of a religious or non-religious organization. We start from the assumption that religion boosts civic participation. First, collective aspects of religiosity like affiliation and attendance can increase social capital and produce larger social networks that work in favor of civic participation (van Tienen *et al.*, 2011; Paxton, Reith & Glanville, 2014). Second, religious organizations play an important role in mobilizing civic engagement by providing facilities and networks needed for mobilization at micro-level and a hierarchy of administrative units that perform in a coordinated way at regional, national, and international level (Giugni & Morariu, 2007; Norris, 2014; de Hart, Dekker, & Halman, 2014). Thirdly, values and moral norms like altruism and willingness to help others are promoted by religious institutions, which usually encourage membership in voluntary organizations (Forbes & Zampelli, 2014; Ruiter & De Graaf, 2006). Also, religious organizations are part of the opportunity structure in the host country by providing opportunities for immigrants' civic engagement. Therefore, the type of religious culture that prevails in the host country can offer support to a participative culture that can boost both natives and immigrants' civic participation.

The level of ethnic diversity in the host country can play a role in increasing the immigrant participation rates as well. One argument is that a high level of ethnic diversity offers a larger variety of ethnic and religious organizations from which immigrants can choose the one that fits their needs best. This could be especially

important for new comers as it is a place where immigrants can meet people with similar backgrounds and build their informal network or find useful information about the new culture.

In short, the scientific contribution of this study is to investigate to what extent two important cultural characteristics, namely the type of religious denomination that prevails in the host country and level of ethnic diversity explain differences in immigrant membership in civic organizations across Europe.

Theories and hypotheses

Religious denomination as an opportunity structure for civic participation

The dominant religious tradition of the host country can play an important role in the case of immigrants' likelihood to join a voluntary organization by acting as an opportunity structure. By opportunity structure we refer to a contextual characteristic that can boost or hinder the attainment of collective interests (Koopmans, 1999, 2004). In other words, it can offer more space and fewer constrains for people to engage, in this case, in civic activities (Gamson & Meyer, 1996). Opportunity structures traditionally refer to the nature of political cleavages, institutional structure, alliance structure and prevailing strategies of social movements (Meyer, 2004). Recently, scholars have been using this term to explain other strategic interventions in the public domain that are usually referred as "claim-making" (Giugni & Morariu, 2007). Furthermore, they are not always political, specifically they can be also cultural because culture can provide a structure as well (Koopmans, 1999). Culture and its constituents such as narratives, values, and belief systems are of the fixed and given components of opportunity structures (Gamson & Meyer, 1996).

By being a belief system and by providing an institutional structure, the dominant religious tradition of a country can represent an opportunity structure for various types of political and civic mobilization. Specifically, there are two structural elements of religious denominations that can help enhance immigrants' civic participation: the propensity for fostering civic participation and the permeability of religious group boundaries for the outsiders. On one hand, some religious traditions are more favorable regarding the development of a vivid associative life. They have a much larger number of civic associations and provide a better institutional structure for civic engagement (Curtis, Bear & Grabb, 2001; Paxton, Reith & Glanville, 2014). This has a positive effect on both natives and immigrants' likelihood to participate in civic activities. On the other hand, there are religious traditions that create strong inter-group borders and are less willing to accept outsiders. According to Ersanili and Koopmans (2011), low permeability of group boundaries increases the emotional cost of adoption. Therefore, religious groups having low permeable borders impede civic involvement by preventing people to integrate in their social network. Hence, this second structural element is especially important in the case of immigrants because the prevalence of religious traditions with low permeability will inhibit their participation. In the following lines, we discuss the four main religious traditions in the European region based on these two dimensions.

Protestant and Roman Catholic religious denominations are known to have a positive effect on civic participation, while Orthodox and Islamic religions hinder this type of activity (Lam, 2006; Ruiter & De Graaf, 2006). Protestant religion creates opportunities for practicing civic skills and stimulates the development of civic associations. For example, it allows for a higher participation of lay on the liturgy and is organized in smaller congregations (Verba *et al.*, 1995). Furthermore, Protestantism

encourages social tolerance and “extra-familial orientation”, which weakens kinship ties and produces more permeable inter-group borders (Lam, 2002; Lam, 2006; Ruiters & De Graaf, 2006). Concerning immigrants, moving to a Protestant country can therefore increase their chances to become a member of a voluntary organization due to a high number of associations and openness to outsiders.

Compared to the Protestant religion, Catholic church has a strict hierarchical organization and does not allow for a significant involvement of individuals in religious services and, consequently impede the active engagement. However, some aspects recommend Catholic tradition as being better for fostering a vivid civil society. First, the values orientations promoted by Catholic church fit better with civic engagement. Specifically, Catholic tradition emphasizes among its core values altruism, the pursuit of the common good, and stresses the role of community in social life (Lam, 2006). These values orientations make Catholic tradition a good ground for civic participation. Second, it has an international structure and functions under direct supervision of a common leader. This makes it a single international institution, instead of a collection of national churches that work together (Madeley, 2014). Therefore, one could say that Catholic organizations are more permeable and more open to receive and integrate foreigners than Protestant organizations. However, Catholic church emphasizes the close relationship between family and church and does not leave too much room for participation in voluntary organizations (Lam, 2006). Moreover, the hierarchical structure of Catholic church opposed to the horizontal and egalitarian one of the Protestant one limits civic engagement (Norris, 2014). For instance, Catholic church provides many social services within its hierarchy and impedes in this way the involvement of its own members.

The concept of *symphonia* is used to describe the relationship between the Orthodox church and the political power throughout history. *Symphonia* means subordination of the religious institution to the state (Stan & Turcescu, 2000, 2007). While the state controlled public life, the Orthodox church was only in charge with spiritual life. However, its dominance in this area was challenged, from time to time, by politicians (Stan & Turcescu, 2007). This relationship had significant consequences for the public role of the church and its impact on shaping civic life. The model promoted by the Orthodox church resembles to a statist society, namely a society dominated by the state. It is a separate and superior order of political governance and does not promote the development of a civic society (Schofer & Fourcade-Gourinchas, 2001; Jepperson, 2002). As a result, the number of civic associations in Orthodox countries is lower and provide fewer opportunities for involvement. In addition, due to its theology, the Orthodox world sometimes sees pluralism and diversity as being problematic, which leads to strong inter-group borders and less permeability (Prodromou, 2004). Thus, we expect that Orthodox countries will offer immigrants less support and opportunities to involve civically.

Regarding the Muslim religion, several characteristics intrinsic to Islam make it also incompatible with a rich civil society. One of these core characteristics is the lack of separation between religion and political power, and between political and spiritual authority (Stepan, 2000). This hinders the development of civil society because the state leaves no space to religious bodies to develop independently and to organize outside the regular political power. Moreover, Islam has an encompassing nature, regulating every single aspects of believers' individual and social life, leaving no room for the development of a civil society (Esmer, 2014). Also, compared to other societies, secularization is absent in Muslim societies, which impedes the advancement of civil

society (Gellner, 1992). All these factors contribute to the lack of civil society in predominantly Muslim societies, which provide no opportunities for civic engagement. In addition, there is no legitimate space for other religions because of the fusion between religious and political community (Stepan, 2000). Therefore, Muslim societies have strong inter-group borders and almost no permeability for outsiders.

Table 1 sums up the opportunity structure for immigrants' civic engagement by the main religious cultures in Europe. Protestant countries offer the best opportunity structure due to their large number of civic associations and greater level of tolerance that make immigrants' integration in these organizations much easier. Catholic countries provide also a good opportunity structure for participation because of its international structure. However, it does not offer the same large network of civic associations as in the case of Protestant countries. Orthodox and Muslim cultures come on the last place due to the reduced number of civic associations and lower openness towards foreigners. Therefore, our first hypothesis reads:

H1: Dominant religious tradition of host country has a significant impact on immigrants' civic engagement. Immigrants living in Protestant countries have better chances to get involved in a civic association, compared to those living in a Roman Catholic, Orthodox, or Muslim country.

Table 1. Religious denominations depending on the opportunity structure

		Number of organizations	
		+	-
Permeability	+	Protestant	Catholic
	-		Orthodox Muslim

Religious diversity and civic participation

The contextual characteristic of interest for this study is the degree of religious diversity in the host country. Generally speaking, the potential impact of social diversity on social life is framed by two contradicting theoretical explanations: *the conflict* and *the contact approach*. According to the conflict approach, diversity has negative effects on social life (Putnam, 2007; Savelkoul, Gesthuizen & Scheepers, 2014). Highly diverse societies lack social trust and have lower level of civic and political involvement because people with different backgrounds do not know each other, do not trust each other, and do not want to cooperate in producing the public good (Putnam, 2007). Moreover, different groups might compete over the same resources and will be more likely to give priority to those belonging to the same group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Hence, diversity brings conflicts and this can hamper social life. At the opposite side, the contact theory states that diversity is beneficial for the social life because it allows people with different cultural backgrounds to engage in common activities and get to know each other (Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew *et al.*, 2011). Thus, diversity boosts tolerance, inter-groups cooperation, and is beneficial for political participation and democracy (Putnam, 2007; Savelkoul, Gesthuizen & Scheepers, 2014).

In addition, we believe that the presence of religious diversity in the host country may play a role in increasing the chances of immigrants to join an organization beyond promoting tolerance and cooperation. Religious diverse countries provide many opportunities for civic engagement especially when it comes to participation in religious organizations. One argument is that the “offer on market” is larger and people belonging to different traditions have the opportunity to find the organization that fits their needs best. This explanation functions in a similar way as *supply side theory* operates in case of religious markets, namely a higher offer produces higher involvement (Iannacone,

1991). The contextual religious diversity boosts the level of individual commitment in religious groups. It provides a larger choice of organizations and, as a result it boosts participation and increases the level of individual civic engagement (Borgonovi, 2008).

Membership in religious organizations is equivalent with membership in ethnic organizations when it comes to the immigrant group (Voicu & Serban, 2012). Religious organizations are bonding organizations that provide opportunities to connect to people with similar backgrounds (Handy & Greenspan, 2009; Storm, 2015). Carabain and Bekkers (2011) state that “immigrants tend to be drawn to ethnic congregations in a host country, not only to practice their religion, but also to maintain their ethnic identity” (p.3). Hence, a diverse market provides higher chances to find something compatible with one’s own religious affiliation and enhances the overall civic engagement of immigrants. Therefore, we expect a positive influence of religious diversity on membership in religious organizations. Also, since religious diversity is part of the opportunity structure for membership in religious organizations, we do not expect to find a similar effect in the case of participation in secular organizations. Based on these theoretical arguments, we state the following hypothesis:

H2: The higher the degree of ethnic diversity in the host country, the higher the chances that an immigrant will join a religious organization.

Data and methods

Data

Our empirical analyses are conducted with data from 2008/09 wave of European Values Study (EVS). The EVS are repeated cross-section surveys carried out in over 40 European countries since 1981. Their focus is on Europeans’ values orientations and how they change over time. The study sample is restricted to 2991 immigrants from 25

European countries (Austria, Belgium, Croatia, Cyprus, Northern Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, France, Great Britain, Greece, Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Russian Federation, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and Ukraine).

Measures

Dependent variables. *Membership in religious organizations* is measured by asking respondents whether they belong to a religious or church organization (1 “mentioned”, 0 “not mentioned”). *Membership in secular organizations* is measured by asking respondents whether they belong to one of the following types of organizations: social welfare services for elderly, handicapped, or deprived people; third world development or human rights; conservation, the environment, ecology, and animal rights, peace movement; organizations concerned with health; professional associations, education, arts, music, or cultural organizations; local community action on issues like poverty, employment, housing, racial equality; women’s groups, sports or recreation, trade unions, and other groups. Both variables are dichotomous, with value 1 for respondents who belong to at least one of the mentioned organizations.

Independent variables. For *host country’s religious denomination*, we took the percentage of people belonging to one of the four religious denominations, namely: Protestant, Roman Catholic, Orthodox, and Muslim, based on the data from CIA World Fact Book 2011. *Religious diversity* is measured with religious fractionalization indicator from Quality of Government Dataset (2008).

Control Variables. We used nine individual-level control variables related to the socio-demographic and religious background and that are well-known to have an influence on civic participation (Wilson & Musick, 1997; Wilson, 2000; Wilson, 2012).

These are: *age*, *age squared/100*, *gender* (1 “female”), *education* (semi-continuous, eight categories), *marital status* (married or living in a couple, divorced or separated, single), *employment status* (employed, student, other), *religious faith* (measured by the item: “How important is God in your life?”, the answer categories ranged from 1 “not at all” to 10 “very important”), *church attendance* (the answer categories range from 1 “never, practically never” to 7 “more than once a week”), *religious denomination* (no religion, Protestant, Roman Catholic, Orthodox, Muslim, and other religion), and *time since respondents migrated in the host country*. This last variable plays a key role when it comes to civic participation among immigrants. Specifically, past studies showed that the likelihood of civic involvement increases with the length of stay and second generation immigrants have similar participation rates as natives (Voicu & Serban, 2012; White *et al.*, 2008). There are also two contextual control variables included in the analysis: *GDP per capita* (in dollars, World Bank, 2008) and *average membership in voluntary organizations* (the average number of natives belonging to an organization). The latter taps the country’s opportunity structure or participative culture for immigrants’ civic engagement. Descriptive statistics for all variables included in the current analysis are provided in Table 2.

Method

To test the effects of the dominant religious denomination and degree of religious diversity in the host country on immigrant involvement in voluntary organizations, hierarchical logistic models were conducted, using the statistical software STATA 13 (*gllamm* command). The relative low number of cases per country of origin does not give us the opportunity to employ cross-classified hierarchical regression models, which

would allow controlling not only for the relevant characteristics of the host country, but also for the characteristics of the country of origin. Therefore, we have controlled only

Table 2. Descriptive statistics

Variables	N	Mean	SD	Range
<i>Level 1</i>				
Membership in secular associations	2991	0.32	0.47	0-1
Membership in religious associations	2991	0.10	0.30	0-1
Age	2991	47.45	17.03	18-90
Age squared/100	2991	25.41	17.12	3.24-81
Female	2991	0.58	0.49	0-1
Education	2991	5.02	2.02	1-8
Marital status				
Single	2991	0.30	0.46	0-1
Married or living as a couple	2991	0.58	0.49	0-1
Divorced or separated	2991	0.12	0.33	0-1
Employment status				
Unemployed	2991	0.40	0.50	0-1
Employed	2991	0.54	0.50	0-1
Student	2991	0.06	0.23	0-1
Religious faith				
Church attendance	2991	6.67	3.20	1-10
Church attendance	2991	3.30	1.96	1-7
Religious denomination				
No Religion	2991	0.26	0.44	0-1
Protestant	2991	0.07	0.25	0-1
Roman Catholic	2991	0.25	0.43	0-1
Orthodox	2991	0.22	0.41	0-1
Muslim	2991	0.15	0.35	0-1
Other Religion	2991	0.06	0.24	0-1
<i>Level 2</i>				
Protestant (%)	25	12.59	21.77	0-86
Roman Catholic (%)	25	30.17	30.63	0-83
Muslim (%)	25	5.72	19.73	0-99
Orthodox (%)	25	17.44	31.55	0-97
Religious fractionalization	25	0.42	0.20	0.00-0.72
Ln (GDP per capita)	25	3.20	0.89	1.07-4.56
Avg. membership in associations	25	0.44	0.21	0.18-0.93

for the effects of host county within the frame of the logistic multilevel regression models. More specifically, we conducted four regression models separately for membership in religious and secular organizations.

The first model is the null or empty model and reports whether there is significant variance between countries regarding immigrant's membership. The second one includes nine control variables, which are also all individual-level variables of the

analysis, namely: age, gender, education, marital status, employment status, time since migration, religious faith, church attendance, and the religious denomination of respondents. In the third model, we added three country-level variables: religious denomination (or percentage of Protestant, Roman Catholic, Muslim, and Orthodox individuals), religious fractionalization, and GDP per capita. As a last step, in the fourth model, the average membership in voluntary organizations was included in the analysis. We would like to mention here that the missing values were handled using *listwise deletion* method and the data was weighted by taking out the study's sample mean by country (the average country mean is 91.6).

Results

Table 3 reveals that immigrants living in North-Western European countries are more likely to volunteer, compared with those living in other parts of Europe. In countries like Denmark, the Netherlands, and Norway, more than 70% of immigrants declared to be members of at least one voluntary organization. At the opposite pole, we find countries such as Greece, Portugal, Slovak Republic, and Northern Cyprus with less than 20% of immigrants being civically involved. At the first glance, one can say that immigrant civic engagement follows the pattern of the native born population, Northern countries and the Netherlands being known for higher civic commitment. An explanation for these differences can reside in the economic situation of the countries and their religious tradition. As previous studies showed, in more developed countries there is more support for the development of civil society, which leads to a higher number of organizations from which both natives and immigrants can choose what fits them best (Halman, 2003).

Furthermore, these percentages confirm also that in Protestant countries there are higher rates of civic participation compared with nations where other types of religion prevail. Regarding the percentages of immigrants belonging to religious and secular organizations, we can notice that in Orthodox and Muslim countries like Ukraine or Macedonia, there are very low percentages of immigrants belonging to a voluntary organization, which confirms the fact that these denominations discourage civic involvement (Stepan, 2000; Schofer & Fourcade-Gourinchas, 2001).

Table 4 presents the results of multilevel analyses of a set of cultural and economic contextual factors on civic participation. The findings from null model, with random intercept only (not shown in the Table 4), indicate that there is variation between countries for both types of membership. For membership in religious organizations, the between-country variance is 0.518, decreases to 0.136 when adding the level 1 and 2 main predictors (Model 2), and reaches 0.063 in the final model with participative culture variable (i.e., average membership in voluntary organizations) (Model 3). In the case of membership in secular organizations, the null model indicates that 76.4% of the total unexplained variance is attributed to the country level, decreases to 26.9% in Model 5 (with level 1 and 2 predictors), and to 1% in Model 6. Furthermore, the intra-class correlation is equal to 0.136 in the null model for membership in religious organizations, and is 0.188 for membership in secular organizations; which shows again that there is variance between countries that can be explained using multilevel regression models. Regarding the fit of the models, Table 4 indicates that the log likelihood values decrease from the null model to the final model. For instance, concerning membership in religious organizations, there is a decrease of 14.17, which means that the less parsimonious models (with the predictors included) fit better than the parsimonious ones.

Table 3. Percentage of immigrants belonging to voluntary associations

	All voluntary associations (%)	Religious associations (%)	Secular associations (%)
Austria	35	11	32
Belgium	59	9	53
Croatia	40	12	34
Cyprus	20	3	17
Northern Cyprus	19	2	13
Czech Republic	50	13	40
Denmark	90	35	85
Estonia	27	10	20
France	39	6	35
Germany	29	6	26
Greece	16	1	15
Latvia	22	9	16
Lithuania	16	5	7
Netherlands	84	33	78
Norway	72	16	69
Portugal	19	6	16
Russian Federation	20	5	15
Slovak Republic	18	2	14
Slovenia	29	6	25
Spain	24	7	20
Sweden	55	15	51
Switzerland	53	10	46
Ukraine	31	5	24
Macedonia	33	3	30
Great Britain	55	28	41

The effect of religious denomination on civic participation is different for religious and secular organizations. While in the case of religious organizations the dominant denomination has a negative significant effect, in the case of secular organizations the effect disappears after controlling for host country's opportunity structure for civic engagement. More precisely, the results show that living in a country with high percentages of people belonging to Roman Catholic, Muslim, or Orthodox religion has a negative effect on immigrants' likelihood to become part of a religious organization. For instance, the odds of becoming a member of a religious organization are 0.98 less with one-unit increase in the percent of people belonging to Roman Catholic religion (Model 3). Contrary to our original expectation, Catholic denomination does not score higher on providing a better environment for immigrants' civic

participation as compared to Orthodox and Muslim denomination. In the case of secular organizations, living in a country with a higher percentage of Muslim or Orthodox believers, has a negative significant effect on becoming a member. However, the effect disappears once we control for the country's participative culture, namely the average membership in voluntary organizations. Therefore, the results partially support our first hypothesis for membership in religious organizations.

Table 4. Hierarchical logistic regression for membership in religious and secular voluntary associations (odd ratios)

Variables	Religious associations			Secular associations		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
(Intercept)	0.00**	0.00**	0.00**	0.05**	0.02**	0.01**
<i>Level 1</i>						
Age	0.94	0.95	0.94	1.02	1.02	1.02
Age squared/100	1.06	1.05	1.06	0.96	0.96	0.97
Female	1.44*	1.41*	1.44*	0.91	0.91	0.90
Education	1.16**	1.16**	1.16**	1.25**	1.25**	1.26**
Single (ref.)						
Married or living as a couple	1.30	1.27	0.25	1.08	1.07	1.08
Divorced	1.16	1.11	1.12	1.09	1.07	1.09
Unemployed (ref.)						
Employed	1.27	1.25	1.26	1.58	1.56	1.54
Student	1.63	1.80	1.75	1.88**	1.89**	1.81**
Religious faith	1.22**	1.22**	1.22**	0.99	0.99	0.99
Church attendance	1.83**	1.82**	1.84**	1.09*	1.10*	1.10*
No religion (ref.)						
Roman Catholic	4.05**	3.99**	3.83**	0.84	0.85	0.86
Protestant	16.92**	15.84**	15.44**	1.08	1.06	1.09
Orthodox	2.87**	2.99**	3.15**	0.63**	0.64**	0.60**
Muslim	2.52*	2.84**	2.72**	0.67*	0.69*	0.70*
Other religion	8.25**	7.90**	7.88**	0.88	0.88	0.95
Time since migration	1	1	1.01	1.02**	1.02**	1.02**
<i>Level 2</i>						
% Protestant		1	1		1.01	1
% Roman Catholic		0.98**	0.98**		1	1
% Muslim		0.97**	0.98**		0.99*	1
% Orthodox		0.97**	0.98**		1*	1*
Ln(GDP) per capita		1.16	0.92		1.48*	1
Religious fractionalization		0.91	1.12		1.05	1.38
Membership in ass. (mean)			11.19*			69.25**
Random intercept	0.846	0.136	0.063	0.664	0.269	0.012
Log Likelihood	-33.70	-33.06	-32.88	-82.50	-82.10	-80.32

Notes: Null model: Log likelihood: religious org. = -47.05, secular org. = -87.58; N: 25 countries, 2991

respondents; ** p < .01; * p < .05.

Contrary to our expectation, the effect of religious diversity does not show a significant effect on being a member in any of the two types of organizations. Thus, the degree of religious diversity in the host countries does not play a role in immigrants' decisions to become members of voluntary organizations. Therefore, we reject the second hypothesis.

As far as individual level control variables are concerned, five factors turned out to have significant effects on joining a religious organization, which is in line with previous research (Wilson & Musick, 1997; Ruiter & De Graaf, 2006), namely: education, gender (female), church attendance, religious faith, and religious denomination. The higher the education level or religiosity of an immigrant, the higher the chances to join this type of organization. Furthermore, female immigrants and those who attend church services often are more likely to become members of a religious organization compared to men and those who do not visit church regularly. Regarding membership in secular organizations, the level of education, being employed or a student, and living for a longer time in the host country exert significant effects on the target variable. Furthermore, belonging to Orthodox or Muslim religion has a negative effect on immigrants' likelihood to become a member in this organization.

It is interesting to notice that religious beliefs seem to be relevant only for membership in religious organizations, while church attendance has a significant effect, namely boosts engagement in any type of association. Furthermore, individual religious denomination has a positive effect for membership in a religious organization and this effect does not disappear when we control for the contextual factors. Overall, these findings show that there are significant differences between the profiles of immigrants who decide to join a religious or secular organization. Immigrants with stronger religious beliefs prefer to join a religious organization, while those better integrated

into the host society, that have a higher socio-economic status and live for a longer time in the host country are more likely to become members of a secular organization.

The effect of control variables at the country level goes in the expected direction. The country's opportunity structure for civic engagement (participative culture), tapped by the average membership in a voluntary organization, has a very strong positive effect on membership in both types of associations. Furthermore, the economic development of a host society has an effect only on immigrants' membership in secular organizations.

Discussion and conclusions

This study focused on whether the main religious denomination in the host country produces favorable conditions for immigrants' civic commitment in religious and secular organizations, by creating an opportunity structure beneficial for civic engagement. Moreover, we investigated if countries with higher levels of religious diversity boost immigrants' civic engagement by providing a broader range of possibilities for membership in religious organizations. Our first conclusion is that host country's main religious denomination is relevant for immigrants' membership in religious associations, but not in secular ones. Respectively, we found that living in a country with high percentages of Roman Catholic, Orthodox, or Muslim believers decreases the chance of becoming part of a religious organization, while living in a country with high percentages of Protestants has no effect on this type of involvement. First, this finding resembles previous research which indicates that Orthodox and Muslim religions have a negative effect on civic participation. They do not encourage their members to perform civic activities outside church or support the development of civic society in general (Stepan, 2000; Schofer & Fourcade-Gourinchas, 2001). Second, it reveals that the positive effect of living in a predominant Protestant or Roman Catholic

society on civic participation does not hold in the case of the immigrant group (e.g., Ruiter & De Graaf, 2006). Regarding the Roman Catholic religion, not only it does not have a positive effect but it actually decreases immigrants' chances to join an organization. Hence, it contradicts our expectation regarding the inter-confessional differences. Looking back to Table 1, one can speculate that it is not propensity for civic engagement that boosts or impedes immigrants' involvement, but is rather the permeability of the religious group's border that matters. However, we would need a deeper theoretical and empirical investigation regarding these religious denominations before reaching a firm conclusion regarding this topic; and this can be a suggestion for further research on the topic.

Concerning the non-significant effect of religious denomination on membership in secular organizations, one explanation is that immigrants who are part of these types of organizations are usually better integrated as well (i.e., live for a longer time in the host country, have better language skills). Therefore, they are more interested in secular organizations because represent a great way to meet natives and extent their social network (Carabain & Bekkers, 2011; Wang & Handy, 2013). Furthermore, the predictors of civic participation are similar to those of the general population. The level of economic development or average membership in voluntary organizations are the ones that play a significant role here and not the religious contextual characteristics.

Our second conclusion is that ethnic diversity has no effect on involvement in any type of organization. Hence, the contact and competing approaches which state a relation between the degree of diversity in a country and social life are not supported by EVS data. This means that it is not the larger offer on the religious market or the diversity of religious organizations that brings immigrants in religious or ethnic organizations. What we believe it matters is to be a fit between immigrants' religion and

what is offered on the 'market'. Hence, it is possible that, for instance a Protestant immigrant will be more likely to join a religious organization in a predominant Protestant country than in a Roman Catholic one. Due to the limited number of cases of immigrants per country of origin, this study did not take into consideration the interaction between individual denomination and the main religious culture in the host country. However, further research should focus on this particular interaction and try to depict how this fits or the lack of such fit affects immigrants' civic engagement.

To sum up, this study extended previous research on the relation between religion and civic participation by showing that the religious culture of a country does not only have implications on natives' membership in civic organizations but also on the one of immigrants. Furthermore, it reveals that the presence of a variety of voluntary organizations and a developed civil society in the host country has positive effects on immigrants' integration. However, EVS dataset does not distinguish between membership in associations for natives and immigrants. Membership in associations for immigrants has different associates and the mechanisms that pull people inside them differ from the ones that motive the engagement of natives (Voicu & Rusu, 2012). In our study, we considered religious organizations as a proxy for ethnic and migrant organizations. However, further research should focus on the effect of a larger opportunity structure and of religious culture in the host country on engagement in immigrant associations.

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Chapter 5 Discussion and conclusions

In this study, we examined the determinants of civic participation among natives and immigrants in a comparative perspective. In other words, we looked at the effects of individual and country-level determinants of civic participation between and within the two groups. The aim was threefold. The first goal of the study was to offer more insights regarding the differences in civic participation between natives and immigrants and what individual characteristics explains them (chapter 2). The second aim was to find out what cultural and economic country-level characteristics explain individual decision to engage in voluntary activities across and within European countries (chapter 3). Not at least, we investigated how the cultural context of the host country affects immigrants' likelihood to become part of a voluntary organization (chapter 4). In this last chapter, I present the main results and contributions of the study, classified by the main research questions/aims.

Research question 1: What are the differences in civic participation between natives, Western, and non-Western immigrants; and what explains these differences?

Study 1 set out to investigate the differences in civic participation between natives, Western, and non-Western immigrants living in the Netherlands. The first finding is that the three groups have similar patterns of civic involvement in all four different organizations taken into consideration (i.e., activist, interest, leisure, and religious organizations). Hence, for the first time, our study showed that immigrants have similar preferences for civic activities as natives. Furthermore, it goes beyond the efforts of

previous studies because this has never been studied among different types of migrant groups. Building and extending the previous literature, we reveal that immigrants engage in civic activities at lower rates (e.g., Carabain & Bekkers, 2011; Wang & Handy, 2013), with non-Western immigrants having the lowest rates. Our second main finding is that there are differences in civic participation between the three ethnic groups and these differences differ by the type of voluntary organization taken into consideration. Firstly, we found differences between the three groups only for participation in religious organizations. Contrary to our expectations, we found that non-Western immigrants do not differ from natives and, moreover, perform less activities in religious organizations, once controlled for demographic characteristics. This is remarkable as previous studies consistently showed that immigrants are more likely to engage in religious volunteering than natives (Handy & Greenspan, 2009; Carabain & Bekkers, 2011). One explanation for the lower rates of non-Western immigrants is that most of them are Muslim, while the Netherlands has a predominant Christian religious tradition. Hence, there might not be too many opportunities for Muslims to join a religious organization in the first place. Regarding the differences between Western immigrants and natives, Western immigrants tend to be more educated and less religious than non-Western immigrants and have more similar backgrounds as natives. Therefore, on the one hand, they might not be interested or do not need to join a religious or ethnic organization in the first place and, on the other hand, natives have higher rates of participation in religious organizations because they are more likely to live in a close community and participate in religious and church organizations due to social pressure. Regarding participation in secular organizations, we found no differences between non-Western immigrants and natives. Interestingly, if we look at the differences between Western immigrants and natives, we can see that the former group is more likely to

perform more activities in two out of the three secular organizations, namely activist and interest organizations compared to natives. One explanation is the fact that these organizations are known to be of interest for immigrants who are well integrated in society and join them to extend their network (Handy & Greenspan, 2009; Wang & Handy, 2013).

The third result of this study indicates a few but important differential effects of only human resources on civic participation for the three groups. Specifically, we find that among Western immigrants, those with a higher level of education engage in more activities in activist or interest organizations. Furthermore, among both Western and non-Western immigrants, students are more likely to carry out unpaid work for organizations. Regarding religious organizations, non-Western higher educated immigrants perform less civic activities. Therefore, contrary to our expectations, there is little evidence for the differential effects of resources between natives and non-Western immigrants. One reason could be that the immigrants in our sample were already for a few years settled in the host country, as they all were able to fill in the questionnaires in Dutch language. Thus, it could be that these differences will be more pronounced between natives and recent newcomers. However, as far as we know, there are no representative survey data available that were collected in the native language of immigrants.

Research question 2: To what extent do cultural and economic contexts explain differences in formal volunteering between and within countries?

The main purpose of study 2 was to find out what explains differences in formal volunteering across European countries. As it was mentioned before, there have been

an increasing amount of studies that examined volunteering or more broadly civic participation from a cross-national perspective. However, for the first time, this study analyzed the effect of time variant contextual characteristics both cross-nationally and longitudinally. The results show that income inequality, religion, and percentage of Protestant believers negatively affect individual volunteering; while the economic situation, percentage of Roman Catholic or Orthodox people do not play a significant role. Firstly, the negative cross-sectional effect of religiosity contradicts past theoretical assumptions that living in a devout society increases one's chances to volunteer (e.g., Lam, 2006; Ruiters & De Graaf, 2006). An explanation for this result is the fact that in Europe modernization had a negative effect on religiosity and the voluntary sector has been mainly built on secular rather than religious organizations (Prouteau & Sardindha, 2013). Norris and Inglehart (2004) state that modernization has been depressing religious beliefs and participation as people have become more economically secure. Therefore, religion might play an important role in countries like the U.S., where religious and church organizations are an important part of the voluntary sector, but this is not the case in Europe. The findings contradict previous research on the positive effect of Protestant tradition as well (e.g., Lam, 2006); and prove again that when it comes to the European region, living in a religious country, regardless of whether the predominant religion is known to shape civic values and behavior and encourage volunteering, lowers one's chances to become a volunteer in a secular organization. Secondly, regarding income inequality, there is both a cross-sectional and longitudinal negative effect of income inequality on volunteering, the latter being stronger. This result is in line with the theoretical expectation that in unequal societies there are lower rates of volunteering because citizens from low-income classes are less likely to volunteer as they lack the necessary resources to participate or feel that they do not

have the power to make a difference in the society (Uslaner & Brown, 2005; Lancee & Van de Werfhorst, 2012). Also, a raise in inequality over time can have a negative effect on both starting and continuing to volunteer. As the economic inequality increases, the social gap between the lower and upper social classes becomes larger which can lead to less cooperation between citizens. Collectively, the results regarding economic development and income inequality indicate that what matters for people to volunteer is rather economic equality than a high level of wealth. This might be the case only for the European region, where almost all countries have at least a decent economic situation. In lower developed regions of the world, the economic situation probably has a stronger effect. From a methodological point of view, this study revealed that the between and within effects of time variant predictors on formal volunteering are not the same (e.g., income inequality effects). Hence, it can be misleading to assume that the association of the time-constant component of a variable (cross-sectional effect) is identical to the time-variable component of the variable (longitudinal effect). These findings highlight the importance of using repeated cross-sectional survey data in order to control for possible biased effects of dynamic factors (Fairbrother, 2014; Schmidt-Catran & Fairbrother, 2015; Te Grotenhuis *et al.*, 2015), and gain valuable insight into differences in volunteering across societies and time.

Research question 3: To what extent does the religious context of a host country explain differences in civic participation between immigrants?

Study 3 focused on whether the main religious denomination in the host country and the presence of religious diversity boost immigrants' civic engagement by providing a broader range of possibilities for membership in religious organizations. Our first

conclusion is that host country's main religious denomination is relevant for immigrants' membership in religious associations, but not in secular ones. Respectively, we found that living in a country with high percentages of Roman Catholic, Orthodox, or Muslim believers decreases the chance of becoming part of a religious organization, while living in a country with high percentages of Protestants has no effect on this type of involvement. Hence, it contradicts our expectation regarding the inter-confessional differences. One explanation is that it is not the propensity for civic engagement that boosts or impedes immigrants' involvement, but is rather the permeability of the religious group's border that matter. However, we would need a deeper theoretical and empirical investigation regarding these religious denominations, before reaching a firm conclusion regarding this topic; and this can be an opening for further research on the topic. Concerning the non-significant effect of religious denomination on membership in secular organizations, one explanation is that immigrants who are part of this type of organizations are usually better integrate as well (i.e., live for a longer time in the host country, have better language skills). Therefore, they are more interested in secular organizations because represent a great way to meet natives and extent their social network (Carabain & Bekkers, 2011; Wang & Handy, 2013).

Our second conclusion is that ethnic diversity has no effect on involvement in any type of organization. Hence, the contact and competing approaches which state a relation between the degree of diversity in a country and social life are not supported by EVS data. This means that it is not the larger offer on the religious market or the diversity of religious organizations that brings immigrants in religious or ethnic organizations. What we believe it matters is to be a fit between immigrants' religion and what is offered on the "market". Hence, it is possible that, for instance a Protestant immigrant will be more likely to join a religious organization in a predominant

Protestant country than in a Roman Catholic one. Due to the limited number of cases of immigrants per country of origin, this study did not take into consideration the interaction between individual denomination and the main religious culture in the host country. However, further research should focus on this particular interaction and try to depict how this fits or the lack of such fit affects immigrants' civic engagement.

In conclusion, this study presents evidence that there are differences in civic participation between immigrants and natives living in Europe. On one hand, we find that the two groups have the same patterns of involvement in different voluntary organizations but, on the other hand, non-Western immigrants volunteer at a lower rate, followed by Western immigrants. This finding is complementary to previous studies (e.g., Wang & Handy, 2013; Carabain & Bekkers, 2011). Remarkably, we find that there are no major differential effects of the cultural, human, and social resources on civic participation among the two groups; and natives, not immigrants, are the ones more prone to be part of a religious organization, contrary to the previous theoretical evidence (e.g., Wang & Handy, 2013). Furthermore, this study highlights for the first time the importance of accounting for type variant predictors when it comes to explaining civic behavior. Particularly, we find that religiosity, economic development and income inequality have different cross-sectional and longitudinal effects on formal volunteering across Europe. Also, the findings show that living in an economically equal and secular country increases the chances to volunteer in the European region and that country's devoutness does not positively affect individual volunteering, as it has been previously reported (e.g., Ruiters & De Graaf, 2006). Not at least, this dissertation offers evidence that the cultural context of the host countries has an impact in the likelihood of immigrants' likelihood to become part of a voluntary organization. More specifically, we

found that in Muslim, Orthodox or Roman Catholic countries, immigrants engage civically to a lower extent.

Finally, apart from the theoretical, methodological, and empirical contributions, we hope that the findings of this dissertation can be used by policymakers and practitioners to advance civic participation across Europe and not only. Firstly, the findings can be helpful for public institutions to develop new strategies, policies, or projects that encourage these types of activities. For instance, the results from the multilevel studies about the country-level predictors of civic involvement can help the developing countries like Romania to create more effective national strategies to encourage participation and, at a broader level, to build a civil society. Furthermore, the findings can also be used by the developed countries to strengthen their civil society. Secondly, our results can be valuable resources for voluntary organizations. For example, chapter two offers more insight regarding the differences in the profile of volunteers between natives and immigrants and their interest for different types of organizations. This kind of information can help voluntary organizations to create effective recruitment and retaining strategies and, subsequently, successfully attract the type of volunteers needed for their activities.

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Curriculum vitae

Education

- 10/2013 – 09/2016 Ph. D Candidate
Research Training Group "Social Order and Life Chances in Cross-National Comparison", University of Cologne, Germany
Dissertation title: Civic participation among natives and immigrants living in Europe (coords.: Prof. Dr. Elmar Schlüter & Prof. Dr. Karsten Hank)
- 08/2015 -11/2015 Visiting Scholar
Sociology Department, Radboud University, The Netherlands
- 08/2011 – 07/2013 Research Master Social and Behavioral Sciences: Individual in Social Context, Minor: Social Sciences
School of Social and Behavioral Sciences, Tilburg University, The Netherlands
- 10/2008 – 06/2010 Master of Arts Advanced Sociological Research
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- 09/2009 – 02/2010 Erasmus Exchange Programme (Non-degree)
Sociology Department, University of Granada, Spain
- 10/2005- 06/2008 Bachelor of Arts Sociology
Minor: European Integration and Regional Security
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Professional experience

- 04/2016 – 09/2016 Teaching Assistant
Course: Analysis of longitudinal data (Prof. Dr. Hans-Jürgen Andreß), University of Cologne
- 01/2013 – 07/2013 Research Intern
European Values Study, study: "Regional differences in work values across Europe", supervisors: Dr. Inge Sieben and Dr. Loek Halman

Professional experience (continued)

11/2012 – 07/2013	Research Intern Sociology Department, Tilburg University, study: "Cross-national differences in objective and subjective labor market insecurity among young people in Europe", supervisor: Prof. Dr. Ruud Muffels
09/2012– 11/2012	Research Intern European Values Study, study: "Differences in values across Europe", supervisors: Dr. Loek Halman and Dr. Inge Sieben
02/2012 – 06/2012	Research Intern Sociology Department, Tilburg University, study: "LISS Panel Survey: Civic Participation Module" (non-response analysis), supervisor: Dr. Erik van Ingen
03/2010 – 08/2011	Research Assistant Laboratory of Youth Research, Institute of Educational Sciences, Romania
01/2011 – 03/2011	Local Coordinator Problems of Recognition in Making Erasmus (PRIME) Survey carried out by Erasmus Student Network with the support of European Commission, Romania
10/2008 – 08/2009	Research Assistant Direction for Youth Policy (former Directorate of Youth Studies and Research), Romania
07/2009	Field Coordinator Study: "Social capital in Romanian communities", coordinator: Dr. Ioana-Alexandra Mihai (University of Bucharest), Turnu Magurele, Romania
05/2008	Field Operator Study: "Offices, restaurants, and shops: The extension of Bucharest's central area over the semi-central area", coordinator: Prof. Dr. Liviu Chelcea (University of Bucharest), Romania

Further post-graduate training

04/ 2014 - 07/2014	"Introduction to multilevel analysis using MPlus", University of Cologne
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12/2014	"Advanced research methods: Introduction to Bayesian analysis using R, Structural Equation Modeling, and event history analysis", SOCLIFE, University of Cologne

Further post-graduate training (continued)

- 08/2012 "Web surveys", GESIS Summer School in Survey Methodology (instructors: Mick Couper & Katja Lozar Manfreda), organized by GESIS and University of Cologne
- 07/2010 "Anthropology, ethnography and comparative folklore of the Balkans", Konitsa Summer School, organized by University of Ioannina, the "Boarder Crossing" Network of Academics and Municipality of Konitsa, Greece

Grants and scholarships

- 08/2015 DAAD - IPaK Mobility Grant awarded for a research visit at Radboud University
- 06/2013 German Research Foundation (DFG) Studentship
Three-year studentship awarded for Ph. D studies (University of Cologne)
- 08/2011 Oldendorff Excellence Scholarship
School of Social and Behavioral Sciences, Tilburg University
One of the three full scholarships awarded for attending the Research Master Programme
- 09/2009 Erasmus Scholarship
Department of Sociology, University of Bucharest
- 09/2009 Merit Scholarship
Department of Sociology, University of Bucharest
Highest average grade after the first year of Master Programme
- 09/2006 Merit Scholarship
Department of Sociology, University of Bucharest
Scholarship awarded to the top 30 students out of approximately 450

Publications

Articles in academic journals (peer-reviewed)

Damian, E., & Van Ingen, E. (2014). Social network site usage and personal relations of migrants. *Societies*, 4, 640-653 (Open access: <http://www.mdpi.com/2075-4698/4/4/640>).

Other publications

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Conference presentations

- Damian, E. (2016). Civic participation among natives and immigrants living in Europe, within SOCLIFE Research Seminar, University of Cologne, Germany.
- Damian, E., & Schlüter, E. (2015). "A closer look at the relation between religiosity, education and formal volunteering. A cross-regional analysis using Austrian data", within the 6th Conference of the European Survey Research Association, Reykjavik, Iceland.
- Voicu, M., & Damian, E. (2015). "Religious culture in host country and immigrants' membership in civic associations", within the 6th Conference of the European Survey Research Association, Reykjavik, Iceland.
- Voicu, M., & Damian, E. (2015). " Religious culture in host country and immigrants' membership in civic associations", within The 33rd International Society for the Study of Religion conference: Sensing Religion, Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium.
- Voicu, M., & Damian, E. (2014). " Religious culture in host country and immigrants' membership in civic associations ", within 11th Annual Conference of International Migration, Integration, and Social Cohesion Research Network, Madrid, Spain.
- Damian, E. (2014). Understanding volunteering variation in Europe: A multilevel approach to cultural and economic factors, within the 11th International Society of Third Sector Research Conference: 'Civil Society and the Citizen', Muenster, Germany.
- Damian, E. (2014). Explaining variation in volunteering by looking at the Individual and country-level economic and cultural determinants, within SOCLIFE Spring Workshop, Cologne, Germany.
- Muffels, R.J.A., & Damian, E. (2013). "How young people fare during the recent crisis: Exploring the outcomes Of uncertainty and risk across countries and welfare state regimes", within European Consortium for Sociological Research Conference, Tilburg, The Netherlands.
- Mitulescu, S., & Damian, E. (2011). "University graduates and the European Voluntary Service", within "Life after graduation: The Role of Graduate Employment and Tracking Systems for Continuous Curricula Development and Quality Enhancement in Higher Education" International Conference, organized by UNESCO European Centre for Higher Education (CEPES) and "Lucian Blaga" University of Sibiu, Sibiu, Romania.
- Damian, E., & Marosy, J. (2010). "Tourist space in Saranda, Albania", within the *Anthropology, Ethnography and Comparative Folklore of the Balkans Summer School*, University of Ioannina and Border Crossings Network, Konitsa, Greece.
- Damian, E., & Iftode, O.C. (2009). "Tolerance towards the different ones. A comparative analysis regarding tolerance between young Romanian and young Hungarian minority", within *The Youth in Romania and the Hungarian Youth Conference*, organized by Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities and Max Weber Foundation for Social Research, Cluj, Romania.

Reviews

Peer-reviewed journals European Sociological Review (1 article)

Skills

Statistics STATA (advanced), SPSS (advanced), R Software (intermediate), AMOS (intermediate), MPlus (intermediate), MLwIN (intermediate), Latent Gold (beginner)

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Languages English (advanced - TOEFL IBT score: 100 out of 120 (date taken: 08/2011))
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