

S. Wojciech Sokolowski^a

*Show me the way to the next
worthy deed: towards a
microstructural theory of
volunteering and giving**

Abstract

Using the data from a survey undertaken in the United States in 1992, this article examines the effects of altruism, self-interest and social ties on motivations to give and volunteer, as well as the effects of volunteering on definitions of life goals. Social ties with non-profit organisations were good predictors of both the value of charitable contributions and the time volunteered for charitable causes. The level of prior philanthropic activism and social connections with philanthropic institutions had an effect on life goals. Altruism and the desire for self-improvement had effects on volunteering, but not on giving. Utilitarian motives (expected career advancement) had no observable effects on volunteering or giving. Based on those findings, a general microstructural model of philanthropic behaviour is proposed.

Introduction

Volunteering and charitable giving occupy a prominent place in the American political culture and mythology (Salamon, 1992). However, a recent study (Salamon and Anheier, 1996) reveals that private donations constitute a relatively minor portion of the non-profit sector's resource base in industrialised nations. Although the level of private support in the US is markedly higher than in other developed countries, the sobering truth is that the non-profit sector relies primarily on sales, fees for services and payments from the public sector.

If private charitable giving contributes so little to the production of public goods, why does it exist at all? In the age of professionalisation, commercialisation and institutionalisation of services, why do individuals bother to sacrifice their own time and money for the production or delivery of public goods, instead of ceding that task to commercial

providers or public agencies? After all, charitable gifts and volunteering represent considerable personal cost to the donors. Would it not be more rational on their part to forbear that cost altogether, especially when such forbearance would have a relatively minor impact on the non-profit sector?

The question 'Why do people give or volunteer?' can be answered by two different causal models of human behaviour. A first 'attitudinal' model, frequently implicit in everyday discourse (Wineburg, 1991), explains philanthropic acts by personal motives, attitudes and dispositions of the actors. A second 'microstructural' model explains such actions by the influence of various social forces on an individual actor, such as the number and character of ties to other individuals, and the dynamic of interaction with others. The models are complementary rather than mutually exclusive, since they focus on two different aspects of human behaviour.

One version of the first model adopted, among others, by Arrow (1975) and James (1987), identifies two types of conscious motives that affect human behaviour: rational pursuit of self-interest; and altruism or commitment to promoting a particular set of values. Under this formulation, while some human actions are guided by rational calculations aimed at the maximisation of personal utility, other actions originate in altruistic or value-rational motives and aim at benefiting others.

An alternative version of the attitudinal model expands the notion of self-interest by including economic as well as non-economic incentives and claims that philanthropic actions originate, in fact, in utilitarian motives. Olson (1965; see also Kaufman, 1993) argues that individuals engage in philanthropic activity in as much as the personal cost of such engagement does not exceed the expected personal share in the collective good in question. Utilitarian motives can also include emotional gratification. For example, Howarth (1976) found that certain personality characteristics of female volunteers differed from non-volunteers. His findings suggest that both altruism (a desire to extend a helping hand), and broadly defined self-interest (gratification of unfulfilled psychological needs) played a role in the decision to volunteer.

However, the attitudinal model of behaviour in general cannot claim unambiguous empirical support (for a discussion see Snow et al., 1983; also Lee and Ofshe, 1981; Berger and Zelditch, 1983; Sherman, 1983; Mohr, 1986). With respect to philanthropic behaviour, Mitchell (quoted in Douglas, 1983, pp. 76-77) directly tested Olson's model and found that, contrary to its claim, individuals are ready to participate in philanthropic activities even if they do not expect to receive tangible personal benefits.

Monroe (1991) examined the role of rational and altruistic cognitive frameworks among 28 philanthropists, heroes, and rescuers of Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe, and found that neither framework could explain the actions of the subjects. However, social ties (familiarity with the recipients of help), and the perception of being linked to others through a shared humanity proved to be factors explaining altruistic behaviour.

Puffer and Meindl (1992) found that rational incentives may have either no or even negative effect on participation on a sample of United Way volunteers, a finding that contradicts Olson's hypothesis which suggests a positive correlation between such incentives and participation in voluntary activities. To summarise, the attitudinal model explains philanthropic behaviour by the altruistic motives of the actors or the personal gratification they receive from engaging in such behaviour. This model has found support in some, but not all, empirical studies of selected groups of individuals engaged in philanthropic activities. Those mixed results can be attributed, at least in part, to the focus on narrowly defined groups of subjects and the complexity of possible motives among individuals.

The second explanation of philanthropic action rests on the microstructural model, which stresses the importance of social ties and interaction among individuals in explaining their behaviour. That model has two components: the explanation of the initial decision to participate in philanthropic activities; and the explanation of the effects of that participation on the subsequent behaviour and attitudes. A distinctive feature of this approach is that the attitudes are viewed as a consequence rather than a cause of participation. This model focuses primarily on the initial decision to participate in a movement, but some authors (Barkan et al., 1995) extended it to explain why people stay in the movements to which they were initially drawn through their social connections.

The microstructural model of participation has been accepted, among others, in studies of social movements. McAdam (1986) found that participation or withdrawal from the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer project could be predicted from an individual's level of organisational affiliations, defined as high level of prior civil rights activism, and the existence of strong and extensive ties to other participants. Snow et al. (1980) found the influence of structural proximity (social ties), biographical availability (having enough free time), and effective interaction with movement members (movement's network) on the strategy and the success of recruitment to social movement activities. Rochford (1982) found that recruitment opportunities and associated recruitment strategies influence ideology and organisational arrangements of the Nichiren Shoshu Buddhist movement.

Drawing from earlier empirical findings and Goffman's (1986) notion of frame (defined as schemata of interpretation that enable individuals to locate, perceive, identify and meaningfully interpret events that occur in their lives), Snow et al. (1986) proposed a new theoretical approach to social movements in which attitudinal-cognitive processes are viewed as both pre-condition and a result of movement participation. They identified four processes of frame alignment, or linking of an individual's and the movement's interpretative schemata. Frame *bridging* is a process of finding or building the constituency of a particular movement through networking and interactive processes. Frame *amplification* is presenting a movement's ideology as relevant to the potential participant. Frame *extension* is the promotion of the movement's programme by pointing at values and beliefs of participation that may not be apparent to potential constituents and supporters (for example, they may overcome social alienation, or meet members of the opposite sex). Finally, frame *transformation* is the process of redefining activities, events, biographies and so on in terms of the movement's framework.

In this article, the microstructural model of movement participation is applied to philanthropic activism, based on the far reaching similarities between these two types of behaviour. Both behaviours are forms of collective action; that is, they require interaction and cooperation of a group of people. Both behaviours ostensibly aim at achieving some form of collective good, and require a relatively high level of personal commitment that frequently calls for a departure from ordinary daily routines, spontaneity, dedication and orientation toward others.

Given these similarities, one can reasonably expect that a similar set of factors may play a role in propelling people to engage in social movement and philanthropic activities. Indeed, such an expectation can be supported by empirical research. Clary and Miller (1986) found that socialisation history and participation in highly cohesive groups is positively correlated with sustained altruistic behaviour. Guterbock and London (1983) found that strong community orientation and ties are good predictors of the participation in voluntary associations among African Americans, whereas attitudinal factors, such as feelings of isolation and deprivation, have little impact on such participation. Andreoni and Scholz (1990) found that a donor's charitable contributions were affected by the level of contributions made by other members of his/her reference groups. Mark and Shotland (1982) and Reingen (1978) showed the correlation between solicitation appeals and the level of the donor's contributions. Barkan et al. (1995) found that microstructural ties that predict initial enrolment in a movement's activities are also primary factors explaining the sustained participation, but the effectiveness of the movement in addressing social problems it seeks to solve, ideology and the sense of solidarity also play a role.

To summarise, the microstructural model explains philanthropic activism by the influence of social ties that link an individual to other members of society. From that standpoint, an individual's attitudes toward philanthropy are affected by his/her participation in philanthropic activities. While empirical studies of various volunteer groups generally confirm the participation aspect of the model, little research has been done to study the effects of participation on the cognitive frame of the participant.

Another limitation of the empirical studies described above is their generalisability. Most of them focus on a small group of individuals engaged in a particular type of organisation or activity. Many of those groups use specific recruitment strategies and ideological justifications that are appealing only to rather narrow constituencies. Furthermore, the focus on a self-selected sample (namely those who already participate) automatically excludes from the scrutiny those individuals who chose not to participate. This makes it difficult to assess the effects, if any, of those specific recruitment strategies and ideological appeals on the population at large.

To solve that difficulty, this article takes a different approach. Using survey data from a large, representative sample of the US population, it constructs and evaluates a general model of philanthropic activity that is not limited to any specific movement, organisation or form of philanthropy. In operational terms, a set of empirically testable hypotheses from the attitudinal and microstructural models described above is derived, and the predictive power of those hypotheses tested to explain the level of respondents' involvement in philanthropic activities. Based on the results of that test, a general model of philanthropic behaviour is constructed.

Using standardised, cross-sectional survey data requires a word of caution. First, only very general indicators can be used as proxies for various types of social ties, and the reader should be cautioned that those general proxies may not reflect the rich complexity of social relations underlying specific forms of philanthropy.

Furthermore, the data reflect the respondents' recollection of their past activities rather than a direct measurement of such participation, and that creates a potential for a systematic error. For example, respondents tend to inflate their reported church attendance when they respond to surveys (Hadaway et al., 1993). Since philanthropy, like church attendance, is a socially desirable activity, it is likely to be affected by a similar bias. To be sure, the direction of that bias is closely tied to the respondent's value system, and thus its effects may cancel each other out, given the large size of the sample. Nonetheless, the exact assessment of such bias is not possible with the data at hand.

A more serious reservation stems from the consideration of the proper temporal sequence of the cause and the effect in the behavioural models under the scrutiny. The attitudinal model, viewing attitudes as the cause, requires that such attitudes exist prior to the reported participation, while the microstructural model reverses the causal direction, implying that participation exists prior to the development of the motives. Strictly speaking, a cross-sectional survey measures the attitudes expressed by the respondents at the time when the survey was taken, while it reports participation that occurred prior to the survey.

From that perspective, only the microstructural model — viewing attitudes as an effect of participation — can be properly tested with such data. The attitudinal model, on the other hand, needs an additional assumption that the attitudes reported in the survey existed prior to participation; that is, they remain relatively stable over a period of time.

Making such an assumption does not appear to be unreasonable, if the survey questions specifically ask for activities that have occurred within a recent and relatively short period of time (for example, one month before the survey was taken). People do not generally change their attitudes overnight, and it is reasonable to assume that they had held the attitudes similar to those reported in the survey for at least a few weeks or even months. However, subtle shifts in attitudes over time, if any, cannot be reflected in this type of data.

On the other hand, any such attitudinal shifts, if they occur, may result in biased reports of philanthropic activities, as discussed above. Since the direction of that bias is likely to be the same as the direction of possible changes (that is, a more favourable attitude toward philanthropy may result in over-reporting of philanthropic activities while less favourable attitudes may lead to under-reporting), the possibility of spurious relationship exists, and one must interpret the effects of the reported attitudes on the reported behaviour with caution. The microstructural model seems to be less vulnerable to this type of error, because interpreting a positive correlation between participation and attitudes as a causal effect does not hinge on the additional assumption, as the attitudinal model does.

Hypotheses

The following three hypotheses explain the level of philanthropic activism by the effect of different attitudes and social forces.

Hypothesis 1. There will be a positive effect of the strength of altruistic

orientation held by the respondent on the level of his/her involvement in philanthropic activities.

Hypothesis 2. There will be a positive effect of the strength of the desire to achieve personal gratification by the respondent on the level of his/her involvement in philanthropic activities.

Hypothesis 3. There will be a positive effect of the number of social ties linking the respondent to organisations traditionally associated with philanthropy on the level of his/her involvement in philanthropic activities.

The following two hypotheses, derived from the microstructural model and the frame alignment theory (specifically, the frame transformation process), explain the attitudes toward philanthropy as a life goal.

Hypothesis 4. There will be a positive effect of the level of the respondent's involvement in philanthropic activities on the strength of his/her attitudes favouring philanthropy as an important life goal.

Hypothesis 5. There will be a positive effect of the number of social ties linking the respondent to the institution of philanthropy on the strength of his/her attitudes favouring philanthropy as an important life goal.

Data

The data come from a 1992 survey of 2,671 randomly selected respondents in the US, conducted for *Independent Sector* by the Gallup Organization. The survey included, among other, questions measuring the respondent's orientation toward different life goals, and reasons for volunteering and making charitable contributions. The level of philanthropic activism was measured by the dollar value of household contributions to various philanthropic causes during the previous twelve months, and the number of hours the respondent spent in the past month engaged in various types of volunteer work. Questions were also asked about the respondent's sex, income, education, responsibility in the household for making charitable contributions, membership in religious and non-profit organisations, and the history of voluntary activism in the family.

Method

Dependent variables. There were three dependent variables used in this study: 'charitable giving', 'volunteering', in models represented by the hypotheses H1, H2, and H3, and 'philanthropic orientation' in the model represented by the hypotheses H4, and H5.

'Charitable giving' was operationalised as the value of contributions to various charitable causes during the past twelve months. Volunteer participation was measured by the number of hours volunteered during the month prior to the survey. Both variables were constructed by adding the respective values of money and time reported for the following types of not-for-profit organisations: health, education, religious, human services, environment, public/society benefit, recreation (adults), arts, culture and humanities, youth development, private and community foundations, international/foreign, and other.

Descriptive statistics of all variables are presented in Table 1. The total value of the self-reported gifts is \$1.7 million, of which 60 per cent (\$1 million) was given to religious organisations. By contrast, of the total 25,800 hours reportedly volunteered during the month prior to the survey, only 2.1 per cent (552 hours) were donated to religious

Table 1. Descriptive statistics of variables

Variable	Mean	St. dev.	Min.	Max.	N
Hours volunteered last month (hours)	9.8	21.7	0	190	2,638
Value of household's charitable contributions last year (\$)	827.8	1,837.3	0	32,780	2464
Sex (1=female)	0.5	-	0	1	2,671
Household annual income (1=\$7,000 or less; 13=\$100,000 or more)	7.1	-	1	13	2,256
Education (1=elem. school; 6=grad. school)	3.5	-	1	6	2,641
Church attendance (1=none; 4=weekly)	2.7	-	1	4	2,636
Organisation membership (0=none; 4=4 or more)	0.6	-	0	4	2,671
Asked to volunteer (1=yes)	0.5	-	0	1	2,671
Asked to contribute money (1=yes)	0.8	-	0	1	2,671
Responsible for giving donations to charity (1=yes)	0.9	-	0	1	2,671
Parents volunteered (0=neither; 2=both)	0.8	-	0	2	2,381
How long volunteered (0=never; 4=5 years or more)	1.6	-	0	4	2,428

Standard deviations for ordinal and nominal variables are not listed.

organisations. For that reason, volunteering and giving are analysed in this article separately.

A further justification of the separate analysis of these two activities is that volunteering generally requires sustained personal commitment, whereas donating money or property could be a single act. One might thus expect that the former may require somewhat stronger motivation than the latter. This observation suggests that 'philanthropy' may not be a homogenous concept, and could include two different types of behaviour. It is thus reasonable to examine whether there are any differences in factors that predict those behaviours. Separate analyses of these two types of philanthropic involvement allow the examination of any potential differences in the effects the independent variables have on the measures of volunteering and giving.

The dependent variable stipulated by hypotheses 4 and 5 (claiming the effect of philanthropic activism on attitudes) is the measure of attitudes that are favourable toward philanthropy as a life goal. That measure must reflect not only the respondents' favourable disposition toward philanthropic activities, but above all, their perception of those activities as important vis à vis other life goals.

The variable 'philanthropic orientation', measuring attitudes toward philanthropy as a life goal, was constructed by factor analysing¹ fifteen indicator variables measuring respondents' attitudes toward various life goals. The indicators contributing the most (loadings > 0.4) to that factor were: 'giving time through volunteer work', 'financial contributions to charities', 'being active in community', and 'making world a better place'.

Independent variables and constructs. The social interaction variables were conceptualised as the number of ties to various types of voluntary organisations, and the contact with individuals engaged in philanthropic activism.

Membership in voluntary organisations does not automatically imply philanthropic behaviour. One can be nominally a member without active participation in the philanthropic work carried out by the organisation. To avoid conflating these two phenomena, the questionnaire specifically asked for the actual community work rather than mere belonging to or performing functions in non-profit organisations.

The variable 'organisation membership' was constructed by the simple recoding of responses to the question asking about the respondent's involvement in various types of voluntary organisations. The measure ranges from 0 indicating no membership in any organisations, to 4 indicating membership in four or more types of voluntary associations. Church attendance was measured on a Likert scale ranging from 0 (none) to 4 (weekly attendance).

Social ties to non-profit activists were measured by two binary variables: 'Respondent was asked to contribute money or property by a significant other', and 'Respondent asked to volunteer by a significant other'. While the first variable had originally only two values (1=yes); the second variable was obtained by collapsing the following responses: 'Through participation in an organisation or group or through my workplace', 'Had a family member or a friend in the activity or benefiting from the activity', and 'Asked by someone' (coded as 1=yes), as opposed to 'Sought out activity on my own', 'Saw an advertisement or request—radio, TV, or printed source', and 'Other' (coded as 0=no).

The independent variables used in the model of 'charitable giving' were constructed by exploratory factor analysis (see endnote 1) from fourteen questions asking for various types of goals hoped to be achieved through charity. Three factors were extracted: 'helping the needy', 'improve the world' and 'utilitarian'. The variables contributing the most (loadings>0.5) to the first factor were: 'increase opportunities for others', 'teach people to be self-sufficient', 'help individuals in need', 'enhance moral basis of society', 'improve cultural life of the community' and 'change society'. The variables contributing to the second factors were: 'protect the environment', 'find cures for diseases', 'promote global peace', 'keep taxes and costs down' and 'help grassroots organisations'. Finally, the variables contributing to the third factor include: 'obtain job experience', 'improve or learn new skills' and 'make good use of free time'.

The first two factors represent two aspects of altruistic motivation hypothesised by H1: a desire to provide immediate relief to individuals in distress, and a desire to bring about a more lasting change in collective standards of living. The third factor corresponds to the utilitarian motivation hypothesised by H1 that links participation in philanthropic activities to attaining personal gratification.

The independent variables used in the model of 'volunteering' were constructed by exploratory factor analysis (see endnote 1) from nineteen questions asking for different reasons for volunteering. Three factors were constructed:

- '*Self-improvement*' (including the following variables: 'learn new skills', 'explore my own strengths', 'explore career options', 'engage in more fulfilling activities', 'deal with my own problems', 'gain a new perspective', 'if I help others, they will help me' and 'I have free time');
- '*Helping others*' (constructed from variables 'it is important to help others', 'compassion toward people in need', 'do something for a cause', 'I enjoy the work', 'volunteering is important to people I respect' and 'religious concerns'); and

- 'Utilitarian' ('make new career or business connections', 'get foot in door at a desired workplace', 'volunteering looks good on a resumé', 'a relative or a friend benefits from the activity' and 'I previously benefited from the activity').

'Helping others' represents the altruistic motives hypothesised by H1. The two remaining factors measure the utilitarian motives hypothesised by H2. The factor labelled 'utilitarian' measures a desire to obtain material benefits, while the factor 'self-improvement' represents the desire to satisfy one's psychological needs (see Howarth, 1976, discussed in the preceding section).

The independent variables in the model testing hypotheses 4 and 5 (the effect of participation on attitudes) included the level of participation in philanthropic activities measured by the number of hours volunteered last month, and the length of time the respondent had been a volunteer. The latter was constructed from the respondent's answer to the question 'How long have you been a volunteer?' 0 indicating no volunteering experience at all, and 4 indicating five-year or longer experience.

Social ties to the institution of philanthropy were measured by the three variables. Two of them, 'organisation membership', and 'church attendance' have been described earlier. The third variable, 'parents volunteered', aims at measuring the number of family ties to philanthropic institutions and ranges from 0 (neither parent was involved in community work) to 2 indicating that both parents volunteered.

All models tested in this study also included three control variables: sex, household income and education. The purpose of adding these variables was to reduce the possibility of spurious relationships that might have resulted from failing to account for differences attributable to the respondents' socio-economic status. These controls are proxies for a wide array of social and economic factors that are not directly related to the five models described above, but nonetheless have an obvious impact on the size of contributions, or the value systems.

Procedures. All five hypotheses were tested by creating multiple regression models and comparing the percentage of variance explained by each model. Since the order of entering variables to the regression equation affects the results, each model pertaining to specific hypotheses was tested independently from the others, followed by the test of the model with all the variables under the investigation.

Hypotheses 1, 2, and 3 were tested in the following order. First, the hypotheses derived from the attitudinal model (Model 1) and microstructural model (Model 2) were tested independently of each other. Then, the third model (Model 3) provided a test of all the

relevant independent variables entered simultaneously to the regression equations. Two sets of such models with two different dependent variables — 'volunteering' and 'charitable giving' — were constructed.

Finally, the model of 'philanthropic orientation', constitutes a simultaneous test of hypotheses 4 and 5.

Results

The results of the regression analyses are presented in Tables 5, 6 and 7. Model 1 of 'volunteering' (Table 2) examines the effects of altruism (H1) and self-interest (H2) on the number of hours volunteered by the respondents. In that model, altruism represented by the variable 'helping others' proved to be statistically significant. The effect of self-interest, on the other hand, is ambiguous. While the variable 'self-improvement', representing emotional gratification expected from volunteering is significant, the variable 'utilitarian' (expected career advancement) is not. This model explains only 9 per cent of the variance, substantially less than the alternative models.

On the other hand, all variables in Model 2 of 'volunteering' are statistically significant. The variables in that model represent hypothesis

Table 2. Regression models of volunteering (hours volunteered)

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Constant	-3.10	-5.66**	-4.64*
Sex (female)	4.27**	4.28**	4.06**
Income	0.41*	-0.07	0.02
Education	2.31**	0.57	0.53
Reason: utilitarian	0.07		0.38
Reason: self-improvement	1.99**		2.11**
Reason: help others	4.16**		2.07**
Church attendance		1.69**	1.29
Organisation membership		4.41**	4.04**
Asked to volunteer		10.05**	9.72**
Adjusted R squared	0.09	0.16	0.17
N	1,778	2,185	1,766

* significant at $p < .05$

** significant at $p < .01$

All coefficients reported in the table are unstandardised.

3 claiming the relationship between the number of social ties and the level of voluntary participation. The model explains 16 per cent of variance.

Finally, Model 3 of 'volunteering', testing both attitudinal and microstructural variables simultaneously, is consistent with the results obtained in Models 1 and 2, as none of the test variables lost its statistical significance. This model explains 17 per cent of variance; that is, the inclusion of the attitudinal variables to the microstructural model increased its predictive power by only 1 per cent.

A brief look at the control variables reveals that women tend to volunteer more than men and that relation is not explained away by either attitudinal or microstructural variables. On the other hand, the positive effects of income and education, that are not explained by the attitudinal variables (Model 1), disappear when the microstructural variables are introduced in Models 2 and 3.

Table 3 presents three models of 'charitable giving'. Since that variable was reported on the household level while all other variables (except income) measured the characteristics of the respondent, only those cases where the respondents reported being responsible (alone or jointly with the spouse) for making charitable contributions were selected for the analysis.

Model 1 tests the effects of three variables associated with the attitudinal model, but only one, 'help the needy' measuring altruism, proved to be significant. The other measure of altruism, 'improve the world', as well as the measure of self-interest ('utilitarian', related to career advancement) were not significant. The model explains 13 per cent of variance.

Only two of the three effects of the microstructural variables tested in Model 2 — 'church attendance' and 'organisation membership' — were significant. The model explains 18 per cent of variance, again an improvement as compared to the attitudinal model alone.

Finally, only the effects of microstructural variables 'church attendance' and 'organisation membership' were significant in Model 3, while the effect of attitudinal variable 'help the needy' was explained away by introducing the microstructural variables. The model explains 21 per cent of variance.

Not surprisingly, income and education had significant effects on the amount of contributions in all three models, but the behaviour of the indicator variable 'sex' was rather odd, as it gained significance when the microstructural variables were introduced. Since the analysis of the independent variables' tolerance did not indicate collinearity problems, this may be an artifact of the listwise deletion of cases, as the missing data caused variation in the size of effective samples. The negative effect of sex suggests that, unlike in 'volunteering', women

Table 3. Regression models of charitable giving (dollar value of contributions)

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Constant	-529.53**	-1472.47**	-1386.08**
Sex (female)	-136.20	-169.50*	-203.61**
Income	118.21**	117.93**	108.26**
Education	171.27**	79.68*	100.75**
Reason: utilitarian	-25.01		-9.14
Reason: improve the world	-20.12		-15.83
Reason: help the needy	177.04**		80.31
Church attendance		390.12**	357.03**
Organisation membership		202.90**	205.46**
Asked to contribute		189.25	146.38
Adjusted R squared	0.13	0.18	0.21
N	1,549	1,823	1,538

* significant at $p < .05$

** significant at $p < .01$

All coefficients reported in the table are unstandardised.

tend to give less to charity than men. An alternative interpretation of that finding is that women tend to under-report household's charitable contributions.

A comparison of the full 'volunteering' and 'charitable giving' models (Model 3) also confirms an earlier suggestion that philanthropy is not a homogenous concept, as its two components — 'volunteering' and 'charitable giving' — differ by what predicts them. The attitudinal variables had an effect on 'volunteering', but turned out to be rather poor predictors of 'charitable giving', especially when the micro-structural variables were introduced. Solicitation increased volunteering time, but had no effect on the amount of charitable contributions. Income and education had independent of the test variables effects on 'giving', but no such effects were observed for 'volunteering'. Finally, being a female had a positive effect on 'volunteering', but a negative effect on 'charitable giving'.

The final model to be tested involved the effects of the respondent's involvement in philanthropic activities (Hypothesis 4) and his/her social ties to the institution of philanthropy (Hypothesis 5) on his/her attitude toward philanthropy as a life goal (Table 4). Both sets of variables turned out to be significant, and the model explains 21 per cent of variance. Only one control variable, 'sex', had a positive effect

Table 4. Regression models of philanthropic orientation (factor scores)

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Unstandardised coefficients</i>
Constant	-0.920**
Sex (female)	0.161**
Income	-0.008
Education	0.017
Parents volunteered	0.091**
Hours volunteered last month	0.004**
How long a volunteer	0.089**
Church attendance	0.203**
Organisation membership	0.071**
Adjusted R squared	0.21
N	1,614

** significant at $p < .01$

on philanthropic orientation, while no such effects independent of the test variables were observed for 'income' and 'education'.

Based on those findings we can accept hypotheses 3, 4 and 5 derived from the microstructural model of philanthropic behaviour. Altruism had an effect on 'volunteering', as predicted by hypothesis 1, but its effect on 'charitable giving' was less clear. The data suggest that such an effect, while discernible, is explained away by the microstructural variable. We can, therefore, accept hypothesis 1 on the condition of limiting its scope to 'volunteering'.

The effect of personal gratification on philanthropic behaviour found very limited support. That effect was observed only in one instance, namely a desire for self-improvement (Models 1 and 3 of 'volunteering'). No effects of utilitarian motivation (expected career advancements) were observed. Since the desire for self-improvement is not a unique feature of the utilitarian model of philanthropic behaviour, and has been claimed by alternative explanations, such as the Abraham Maslow's model of the self-fulfilling individual (Howarth, 1976), we must conclude that the data do not provide sufficient support for hypothesis 2.

Discussion and theoretical implications

This study has demonstrated that social ties and interaction are better predictors of 'volunteering' and 'charitable giving' than personal values and attitudes. However, the measures of altruism and the desire for self-improvement proved to be significant predictors of 'volunteering'

even after accounting for the effects of social ties and interaction.

Personal involvement in philanthropic activities and social ties to the institution of philanthropy proved to have an effect on the level of philanthropic orientation in a person's life goals. This finding is consistent with the frame transformation process, hypothesised by the microstructural model of participation. However, the cross-sectional data at hand do not tell whether philanthropic orientation reported in the survey was also held to the same degree before the reported behaviour took place. The issue of frame alignment resulting from philanthropic activism needs further examination, using longitudinal rather than cross-sectional data.

Another important finding is that philanthropic behaviour is not a homogenous concept, because its two components — 'volunteering' and 'charitable giving' — differ by what predicts them. It appears that volunteering, which involves a more sustained commitment than giving, also requires a more diversified array of inducements that includes not only social ties to voluntary organisations, but also altruistic orientation and the promise of self-fulfillment. By contrast, giving appears to be more the function of the donor's financial resources than his or her value system.

In that context, it is important to underscore the differences in reporting volunteering and charitable contributions by men and women. Let us recall that women were more likely than men to report volunteering (Table 2), which by its nature is an individual contribution, but at the same time they were less likely than men to report charitable contributions (Table 3). Since such contributions were made jointly by the household, we should thus expect no differences between the sexes in that respect. Following the findings reported by Hadaway et al. (1993; see discussion above), I suggest that this difference may be indicative of a gender bias in reporting 'socially desirable' activities. Volunteering indicates personal commitment and caring (at least, more so than giving away cash), and such traits are clearly associated with female roles in our society. Therefore, *ceteris paribus*, women may be more likely to report volunteering than contributions of property or money. That can explain the observed differences in the effects of sex on volunteering and giving. That finding has potentially significant consequences for the reliability assessment of self-reported data which are commonly used (e.g. Hodgkinson et al., 1992) for estimating the size and value of volunteering in the population, and thus warrants further investigation.

These findings are helpful in answering the central questions posited in this article 'Why do people participate in philanthropic activities?' The suggested answer is 'because somebody showed them the way to a socially worthy deed'. People engage in philanthropic activities

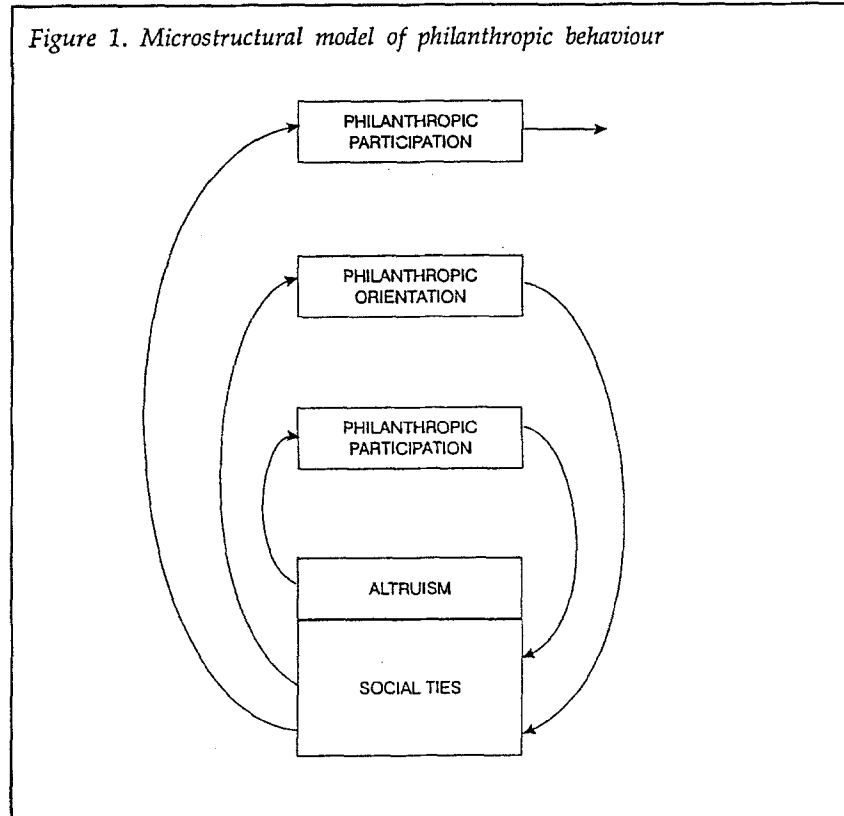
because they are induced by their friends, relatives or philanthropic activists, or because they are recruited through networks of their organisational affiliations.

While the results of this study are consistent with earlier empirical findings reported in the literature, they contribute to the microstructural theory of participation in voluntary associations in two ways. First, the fact that the effect of microstructural ties on participation was confirmed independently of the recruitment strategies used by any particular organisation, by observing a representative sample that included not only participants but also non-participants, creates grounds for generalising the earlier findings beyond their original scope — social movements (McAdam, 1976; Snow et al., 1980; Rochford, 1982). Second, the data provide conditional empirical support for the frame alignment model (Snow et al., 1986), hypothesising the effect of involvement in voluntary organisations on the cognitive frame of the participants.

Based on those findings, we can propose a general model of philanthropic behaviour and philanthropic orientation in life goals. As individuals become involved in philanthropy, their attitudes, values and life goals change and become more favourable toward philanthropy. Those attitudes, in turn, motivate them to pursue a 'next worthy deed'. This microstructural model of philanthropic behaviour can be illustrated as an expanding spiral that originates in social ties, and leads to participation in philanthropic activities which change the participant's attitudes which, in turn, motivates him or her for further participation (Figure 1).

A practical significance of this model for non-profit organisers is that philanthropy, like love or friendship, needs careful cultivation by interpersonal contacts to thrive. As a Chinese proverb says, 'a friend in the market is better than money in the purse'. Counting on spontaneous donations of time and money or even general media appeal for such donations can have a rather limited effect if the organisers fail to utilise organisational networks and personal connections to attract potential donors and volunteers.

This study strongly suggests that further research should be directed to the investigation of microstructural variables — especially various types of social networks and social proximity between donors or volunteers and non-profit organisations — affecting engagement in philanthropic activity. The frame alignment theory provides a useful framework for further studies of the effects of philanthropic activism on the cognitive framework of the participants, but requires longitudinal rather than cross-sectional data.



Notes

- ^a Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, and Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey.
- * A version of this paper was presented at the 1995 Annual Meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
- 1 For readers less familiar with quantitative methods of data analysis, exploratory factor analysis is a method of detecting correlations among several indicator variables for the purpose of identifying common factor(s) among them which are then treated as single variable(s) in subsequent analyses. The meaning of the factor is determined by the variables that most significantly contributed to its construction, which is measured by the factor loadings. Loadings can vary from -1 to 1, values closer to 1 indicating a significant contribution.

References

- Andreoni, J. and Scholz, J. (1990) *An Econometric Analysis of Charitable Giving with Interdependent Preferences*, Social Systems Research Institute, No. 9023, University of Wisconsin-Madison.
- Arrow, K. (1975) Gifts and exchanges, in E.S. Phelps (ed.) *Altruism, Money, and Economic Theory*, Russell Sage, New York.
- Barkan, S.E., Cohn, S.F. and Whitaker, W.H. (1995) Beyond recruitment: predictors of differential participation in a national antihunger organization, *Sociological Forum*, 10, 1, 113-34.
- Berger, J. and Zelditch, M. Jr (1983) Artifacts and challenges: a comment on Lee and Ofshe, *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 46, 1, 59-62.
- Clary, E.G. and Miller, J. (1986) Socialization and situational influences on sustained altruism, *Child Development*, 57, 6, 1358-69.
- Douglas, J. (1983) *Why Charity? The Case for a Third Sector*, Sage, Beverly Hills, California.
- Goffman, E. (1986) *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*, Northeastern University Press, Boston, Massachusetts.
- Guterbock, T.M. and London, B. (1983) Race political orientation, and participation: an empirical test of four competing theories, *American Sociological Review*, 48, 439-53.
- Hadaway, C.K., Marler, P.L. and Chaves, M. (1993) What the polls don't show: a closer look at US church attendance, *American Sociological Review*, 58, 6, 741-52.
- Hodgkinson, V.A., Weitzman, M.A., Toppe, C.M. and Noga, S.M. (1992) *Nonprofit Almanac 1992-1993: Dimensions of the Independent Sector*, Jossey-Bass, San Francisco, California.
- Howarth, E. (1976) Personality characteristics of volunteers, *Psychological Reports*, 38, 855-8.
- James, E. (1987) The nonprofit sector in comparative perspective, in W. Powell (ed.) *The Nonprofit Sector: A Research Handbook*, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut.
- Kaufman, D.A. (1993) Self-serving philanthropy and pareto optimality, in Avner Ben-Ner and Benedetto Gui (eds) *The Nonprofit Sector in the Mixed Economy*, The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- Kessler, R.C (1978) Choice among behavior options: a methodology and an empirical example, *Social Science Research*, 7, 1, 1-23.
- Lee, M.T. and Ofshe, Richard (1981) The impact of behavioral style and status characteristics on social influence: a test of two competing theories, *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 44, 2, 73-82.
- Mark, M and Shotland, T. (1983) Increasing charitable contributions: an experimental evaluation of the american cancer society's recommended solicitations procedures, *Journal of Voluntary Action Research*, 12, 8-21.
- McAdam, D. (1982) *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois.
- McAdam, D. (1986) Recruitment to high-risk activism: the case of freedom summer, *American Journal of Sociology*, 92, 64-90.

- Mohr, P.B. (1986) Demeanor, status cue of performance? *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 49, 3, 228-36.
- Monroe, K.R. (1991) John Donne's people: explaining differences between rational actors and altruists through cognitive frameworks, *Journal of Politics*, 53, 2, 394-433.
- Olson, M. (1965) *The Logic of Collective Action*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Puffer, S.M. and Meindl, J.R. (1992) The congruence of motives and incentives in a voluntary organization, *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 13, 425-34.
- Reingen, P.H. (1978) Inducing compliance with a donation request, *Journal of Social Psychology*, 106, 281.
- Rochford, E.B. (1982) Recruitment strategies, ideology, and organization in the Hare Krishna movement, *Social Problems*, 29, 399-410.
- Salamon, L.M. (1992) *America's Nonprofit Sector: A Primer*, The Foundation Center, New York.
- Salamon, L.M. and Anheier, H.K. (1996) *The Emerging Nonprofit Sector: An Overview*, Manchester University Press, Manchester.
- Sherman, S.J. (1983) Expectation-based and automatic behavior: a comment on Lee and Ofshe and Berger and Zelditch, *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 46, 1, 66-70.
- Snow, D.A., Zurcher, L.A. and Eklund-Olson, S. (1980) Social networks and social movements: a microstructural approach to differential recruitment, *American Sociological Review*, 45, 787-801.
- Snow, D.A., Zurcher, L.A. and Eklund-Olson, S. (1983) Further thoughts on social networks and movement recruitment, *Sociology*, 17, 112-20.
- Snow, D.A., Rochford, E.B., Worden, S.K. and Benford, R.D. (1986) Frame alignment process, micromobilization, and movement participation, *American Sociological Review*, 51, 464-81.
- Wineburg, S.S. (1991) Factors affecting philanthropic behavior of Jewish adolescents, *Journal of Social Psychology*, 131, 3, 345-54.