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Stellenbosch Economic Working Papers: WP03/2017

www.ekon.sun.ac.za/wpapers/2017/wp032017

May 2017

KEYWORDS: Volunteering, human capital, social capital, 'Ubuntu', religiosity
JEL: C51, D64, D71, L32

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS
UNIVERSITY OF STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

A WORKING PAPER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS AND THE
BUREAU FOR ECONOMIC RESEARCH AT THE UNIVERSITY OF STELLENBOSCH

www.ekon.sun.ac.za/wpapers

Building bridges or deepening divides: Resources and formal volunteering in post-apartheid South Africa

Dineo Seabe[1] and Ronelle Burger[2]

Abstract

This study investigates volunteering in a highly unequal society. It uses post-apartheid South Africa as a case study: the enduring apartheid legacy has left deep divides between classes and races in the country. The research asks if formal volunteering serves to enhance social cohesion or reinforces such social divides. Logistic analysis is applied to the 2001 South African World Values Survey, to measure the strength of the relationship between the likelihood to volunteer, and selected human, social and cultural capital variables. The analysis shows that volunteering tends to align with existing social divides. Individuals are more likely to volunteer if they are educated and affluent, supporting the dominant status theory. Prejudice and not valuing sharing are also associated with a higher proclivity for volunteering. Broadly, we find that the available evidence suggests that volunteering is associated with bonding, rather than bridging, social capital. Although hardly uncontentious, broad-based support for and involvement in religious volunteering suggest that religious communities and congregations could in the future provide a bridge to help heal the rifts if links between such communities are strengthened.

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1. Introduction

Over the last two decades, there has been a growing interest in volunteering as it is increasingly perceived as an "important and under-recognized asset" (United Nations General Assembly 2001, p. 4). The optimism surrounding volunteering is not surprising when the size of the labor force is considered. It is estimated that globally 1 billion people donate their time to charitable causes (Salamon, Sokolowski & Haddock, 2011). Volunteering is thought to hold benefits for society, governments, voluntary organisations and the individual volunteer. Thus, the activity strengthens social and economic institutions and consequently contributes to social and economic development (Obadare, 2011; Caprara, Mati, Obadare & Perold, 2012; Lough & Mati, 2012).

Volunteering is often depicted as a mechanism for social transformation, and enhanced social cohesion, but it is important to also realise that it occurs within the existing structure and in many cases it can work in favour of maintaining inequities and injustices instead of in promoting social change. It is widely understood that volunteering is dependent on a willingness to contribute, but the activity also requires opportunities to participate meaningfully. These opportunities may often rely on resources and capabilities that are unequally distributed between participants. Additionally, volunteering is also influenced by cultural norms and practices, which may aid or inhibit involvement and may channel individuals into volunteer roles. Because of the role of differing opportunities for volunteering, volunteering can replicate and deepen existing divides. Considering these complexities, we study the likelihood of volunteering within post-apartheid South Africa where there are social divides, which are also reflected in the volunteering landscape. More than two decades after the end of apartheid, South African society remains fragmented and unequal. Its Gini coefficient is among the highest in the world (Adjaye-

Gbewonyo, Avendano, Subramanian & Kawachi, 2016). Due to the legacy of apartheid, the rifts between rich and poor tend to overlap and align with other social dimensions such as residential neighbourhood, education, language groups and race. This has acted to reinforce and deepen the social and economic cleavages of the past (Adato, Carter & May, 2006). Given its enduring rifts, South Africa poses an interesting investigation into whether the volunteer landscape tends to promote social cohesion in practice, or merely traces and exacerbates existing fractures.

In examining this question, we present a holistic empirical model of volunteering within the context of a developing country experiencing high poverty, inequality and unemployment. We include several measures of social cohesion and social capital, including an explicit measurement of the relationship between volunteering and negative social capital by using the prejudice variable. Furthermore, we include a measure of the indigenous African *ubuntu*[1] values, to capture the impact of a belief in human solidarity as a positive influence on the likelihood of volunteering.

In the following section, we outline the hybrid integrated theory of volunteering and review the relevant empirical literature. Subsequently, our research aims and questions are presented followed by the data and methods we employed. Our findings are discussed and interpreted and the last section concludes.

2. Background

The South African Government recognises the potential of volunteering and views it as a social development strategy. As a result, since 1994, various policies and programmes have been put in place to promote the practice in an attempt to build social cohesion. The Department of Arts and Cultural Affairs (2013, p.1) argues that "inequalities, exclusions and disparities based on

ethnicity, gender, class, nationality, age, disability or any other distinctions, which engender divisions, distrust and conflict are reduced and/or eliminated in a planned and sustained manner" through organized volunteer activities. These government programmes are further used to promote self-sufficiency among the citizenry, while simultaneously dealing with service delivery challenges, poverty and unemployment.

Voluntary activities are prevalent in South Africa because of either, the government's efforts to encourage participation, or the tradition of generosity that has customarily existed in the nation. It may also be a combination of these. Stats SA (2011) calculated that 48%[2] of the 2 499 participants in its survey reported to have volunteered. Of these volunteers, 37% volunteered in formal organisations, 54% informally and 9% took part in both forms. Volunteers offered 379 291 000 working hours in 12 months, equivalent to the contribution of 182 351 labor force participants working 40 hours per week (Stats SA, 2011).

Current research on the volunteer landscape is shifting from investigating the motivations and characteristics of the individual volunteer, to include the organisational, institutional and cultural contexts that form part of this landscape. However, it remains important to revisit the subject of volunteer characteristics and motivations because most of the empirical, large sample studies have come from developed countries, and few from Africa. Consequently, limited empirically grounded general statements can be made about the distribution and correlators of volunteering within the context of high poverty, inequality and unemployment, such as that witnessed in states like South Africa.

Often, it is implicitly assumed that volunteering will promote social cohesion by bringing together people of different backgrounds, to champion a common cause. The activity is assumed to be participatory and inclusive. The orthodox argument speculates that as a form of social

capital, volunteerism will promote mutual responsibility among communities, which results from networks that are built by sharing common goals (Caprara *et al*, 2012). However, Haski-Leventhal, Meijs and Hustinx (2010) note that volunteering might not be wholly inclusive because it is an activity undertaken by people with greater human and social capital. It must be noted that this is not necessarily the case with informal forms of volunteering, which happen "outside of any organised context" and "as part of informal networks of extended families, friends and neighbours" (Mati, 2016, p. 7).

The assumed inherent good of volunteering is therefore not a given, especially when it occurs in formal organisations. A balanced and empirically-grounded examination of the dynamics of volunteering can help to consider and investigate such perspectives more critically.

At present, not much evidence is available on this topic. Most studies from the African continent have been small sample studies and qualitative in orientation (Kironde & Klaasen, 2002; Mkandawire & Muula, 2005; Rödlach, 2009; Wilkinson-Maposa, Fowler, Oliver-Evans & Mulenga, 2005 Akintola, 2010; Alexander, 2011; Caprara, et al., 2012; Naidu, Sliep & Dageid, 2012). There have also been few large sample studies, which have documented patterns of volunteering (Swilling & Russell, 2002 Everatt, Habib, Maharaj & Nyar, 2005; Stats SA, 2011; Greif, Adamcyzyk & Felson, 2011; National Youth Development Agency (NYDA), 2012; Niyimbanira & Krugell, 2014). Of these only a handful have examined the characteristics of volunteers and even less have provided an in-depth quantitative analysis (Everatt et al., 2005; Greif et al., 2011; NYDA, 2012; Niyimbanira & Krugell, 2014).

3. Analytical framework: Wilson and Musick's integrated theory of volunteering

To examine this question, we rely upon the innovative integrated theory of volunteering pioneered by Wilson and Musick (1997). This theory of volunteering falls within the body of work that attempts to explain patterns in volunteering. The theory, with its foundations in sociology, suggests that the willingness alone, to volunteer is a necessary but not sufficient condition for participation.

The theory departs from the traditional perspective in three ways. Firstly, volunteering is a productive activity that occurs within a market, in which individuals who are more qualified are likely to participate. Consequently, human capital in the form of education, income and health would determine an individual's likelihood to volunteer. Secondly, volunteering involves collective action and therefore, it will require social capital[3] in the form of social networks to overcome the free-rider problem inherent in collective action. Portes (1998, p. 8) defines social capital[4] as the "ability to secure benefits through membership in networks and other social structures". Lastly, volunteering is an activity guided by norms and values, acquired from socialization in different social institutions such as religious organisations, communities, families or schools. Wilson and Musick (1997) describe these norms and values as 'cultural capital'[5]. Chambre and Einolf's (2011) argument that cultural values positively influence the occurrence of volunteering, supports the assertion that values and norms are resources for voluntary pursuits. When considering this, it can be argued that *ubuntu*, the ethics and values of fair action that govern human relations in the Bantu culture (Metz, 2007), as a form of cultural capital is also a resource for volunteering. In Southern Africa *ubuntu* is often popularly described as the acknowledgement that your being is intertwined with the beings of others', that you are a person through other people. *Ubuntu* is the philosophy that underlies the ancient traditions of voluntary

actions such as *letsema* and *lima* among the Sotho and Nguni people in South Africa[6] (Twala, 2004). When people volunteer, they may be reifying the values of *ubuntu*. Thus, traditions and values in Southern Africa encourage a generous attitude.

4. Correlates of volunteering: empirical literature

Most studies of volunteering include demographic characteristics. Gender is a particularly salient explanation in the literature. It is often illustrated that women volunteer more frequently than men (Rankopo, Osei-Hwedie & Modie-Moroka, 2007; Taniguchi, 2006). This gender differential seems to be explained by socialization and gender role stereotypes, because these stereotypes raise the expectation that men, as heads of households, take part in lucrative employment while women fill the role of the caregiver and nurturer (Naidu et al., 2012; Rankopo et al., 2007; Taniguchi, 2006). Marriage is similarly found to be an important correlate of volunteering, though gender differences again play a role (Rotolo & Wilson, 2006; Einolf & Philbrick, 2014). Einolf and Philbrick (2014, p. 583) explained that "newly married women, but not men, are less likely to volunteer after marriage" and as a category are likely "to volunteer fewer hours".

Race is also an important correlate of volunteering, but the association differs from study, to study subject, to "the nature of the sample, measure of volunteering and other controls included" (Wilson, 2012, p.9). The relationship between age and volunteering is posited as curvilinear, as volunteering increases with age, peaking at midlife and decreasing thereafter (Sundeen, 1990; Chambre & Einolf, 2011).

According to Wilson (2000), education is the most consistent correlate of volunteering. This is supported by Gestuizen and Scheepers (2012), who identify cognitive competence as the most influential factor in the relationship between education and volunteering. Employment status is

also reported to have a significant relationship with volunteering but its net influence can only be established if both its constraining and enabling influences are accounted for (Wilson & Musick, 1998). Employment may inhibit volunteering because it limits the time that is available for non-work activities, but work may also have a positive influence on volunteering through its influence on social integration and social status (Wilson, 2000).

The results on the relationship between income and volunteering are inconclusive and tend to differ with context. Higher wages imply a higher opportunity cost, which means that the likelihood of volunteering is reduced. A higher income also reflects a 'dominant status', which qualifies an individual for volunteer work and raises the probability that they will be asked to volunteer.

Other studies have also considered the influence of social integration and the level of social networks and ties (Ryan, Agnitsch, Zhao & Mullick, 2005; Jones, 2006; Paik & Navarre-Jackson, 2010). Ryan et al. (2005) reported that greater community attachment through social ties leads to an increase in the likelihood that a person will volunteer. Jones (2006, p.263) agrees with this, and reports a positive connection between volunteering and social ties, which leads her to argue that volunteering "is best promoted in communities with webs of multiple shared ties". Paik and Navarre-Jackson (2010) maintain that being asked to volunteer is an important correlate of carrying out the service, and therefore control for recruitment in their study. Based on their results, Paik and Navarre-Jackson (2010) conclude that the influence of social networks on volunteering depends on recruitment, and on whether those networks lead to bonding or bridging social capital. Bridging social capital is created when members of an internal group reach out to an external group to "seek access or support or to gain information" (Larsen, Harlan, Bolin, Hackett, Hope, Kirby, Nelson, Rex & Wolf, 2004, p. 66). It differs from bonding social capital in

that bonding social capital occurs within groups of people who share an identity or networks (Larsen et al., 2004).

In both developed and developing countries, cultural capital in the form of religion is reported to have a positive influence on volunteering (Wilson & Musick, 1997; Wilson & Musick, 1998; Ruiter & De Graaf, 2006; Paik & Navarre-Jackson, 2010; Greif et al., 2011; Guo, Webb, Abzug & Peck, 2013). This may be the result of internalized norms of altruism by religious individuals, but also religious structures serving as vehicles for recruitment and mobilization of volunteers.

5. Research question

This study focuses on understanding how volunteering is influenced by the distribution of resources, in a country with a polarized society and suffering from high levels of poverty. We question whether volunteering aligns with existing post-apartheid social divides, or does the activity help to bridge these divisions and enhance social cohesion. We aim to understand the trends of volunteering, in the national context of high poverty, inequality and unemployment, to determine whether volunteering mirrors the "existing power imbalances and inequality" or challenges and bridges these divides (Hustinx, Cnaan & Handy, 2010, p. 426).

6. Data and methods

6.1 World Values Survey (WVS) data

The 2001 wave of the World Values Survey (WVS) is used in this study because it includes the required demographic and socio-economic variables, but more importantly, subjective variables related to values, and social and cultural attitudes. The 2001 wave data was selected because it

makes explicit enquiry into volunteering, unlike the comparable section in the 2006 questionnaire, which only asks if a respondent is actively involved in any of the listed organisations.

The WVS is a cross-national research study consisting of representative samples from 97 countries, reflecting 90% of the world population (WVS, 2001). The survey uses a standardized questionnaire to measure changing beliefs concerning religion, gender roles, work motivations, democracy, good governance, social capital, political participation, tolerance of other groups, environmental protection, and subjective wellbeing. Additionally, the survey gathers demographic and socio-economic information such as education, income, employment status and class. Data for the South African wave of the survey was collected between March 2001 and May 2001 from a random sample of 3000 individuals, who were 16 years of age and older. For this study the final data set includes 2813 observations.

6.2 Variables

The variables included in this study are selected based on theory and existing literature, as well as the South African cultural milieu. They include a volunteer dummy variable, constructed from responses to the question: "For which [organization], if any, are you currently doing unpaid voluntary work?" (v54-v67). Demographic variables such as age, marital status, race and gender are included to control for confounding factors. The remaining variables represent human, social and cultural capital dimensions.

Variables depicting socio-economic status such as income, education, social class, self-reported health, and employment status are included as proxies for human capital. Income is a categorical variable that ranges from 1 to 6. The education variable is also a set of dummy variables. Categories of education were reduced from the original 12 included in the survey, to four

categories: no schooling (the reference category), less than matric, matric and post matric. Self-reported health is included as an ordinal variable, which ranges from 1 (poor) to 4 (very good) and employment status as a dummy variable, coded 1 if employed, and 0 if unemployed. Question v229 of the WVS (2001) asks if respondents are 'employed now or not', and they could respond yes or no.

The WVS additionally, has a rich list of questions on social capital. Social networks are represented by time with family, time with friends, and time with colleagues. Two variables are included as indicators of bridging social capital. The first is a generalized trust dummy variable and the other is prejudice, which denotes the absence of bridging social capital. The generalized trust dummy is derived from the question in the survey, which ask respondents if generally speaking they thought people could be trusted. The prejudice variable was constructed from responses to questions v69, v72, v73, v76, and v77, which asked respondents "Which of these groups would you not want as neighbors?" – Jews, Muslims, homosexuals, people of a different ethnicity and/or migrants. The affirmative responses to these questions were summed and divided by five. The result was an average prejudice score ranging from 0 to 1.

Civic mindedness is included in the analysis as well. The survey asks participants to respond to the question: "Have you ever done, might you or would you never take part in boycotts, signing petitions, demonstrations, and unofficial strikes and/or occupying buildings?" (v134-v138). The responses to the categories were summed and divided by five to get the civic mindedness average score, ranging from 0 'not civic minded' to 2 'very civic minded'.

The influence of cultural capital on volunteering is examined via a set of variables that reflect *ubuntu* and another set that indicate religious devotion. The *ubuntu* variables include 'sharing' and 'serving others'. Sharing is a dummy variable that was constructed from a question that asks

respondents if a value is important to confer onto children. The 'serving others' variable was established from responses to the question "How important is serving others in your life?" (v10) Variables that reflect religious devotion include "The importance of God" (v196). This is included as an ordinal variable ranging from 1 to 10, which allowed respondents to illustrate how significant God is in their lives. Religious identity (v186) is included as a dummy variable with three categories: religious, non-religious and atheist. Other questions depicting religiosity were ordinal variables for the 'frequency of prayer' (v199) and 'church attendance' (v185).

6.3 Method

Logistic regression (also referred to as logit regression) has been selected as the analysis method because it is designed to estimate the association between a binary outcome variable and explanatory variables, which may be continuous or categorical. The logit results are presented as the marginal effects at the mean, of each independent variable on the likelihood to volunteer. The marginal effect of the independent variable is the slope of the logistic curve at a point, holding all other variables constant.

The analysis includes descriptive statistics and four models of the likelihood to volunteer. Models one to three are used to estimate the influence of each form of capital (human, social and cultural) separately. All variables are then combined to estimate a full model of volunteering in model four. The four models also include demographic variables as controls.

7. Results

7.1 Descriptive statistics

In the sample 72% of respondents are Black, 13% White, 10% Coloured and 3% Indian. Due to the apartheid legacy race remains an important social divide and we use the official ethnic categories used by government to track progress in the post-apartheid period.

In terms of gender, 48% of the sample are female and 52% male. Additionally, the mean age of respondents is 35 years and 47% are married.

The average survey respondent has some form of schooling and belongs to a household with lower income. Though more than 42%[7] of all respondents have no form of employment, the average participant still self-identifies as middle class. Fifty-one percent of respondents state an education qualification less than matric, 28% completed matric and 16% have a post matric qualification. Those respondents, who live on approximately R3000 (about US$220) a month, perceive themselves to belong to low income households, but most see themselves as middle class. The mean health status category of 3.1 (excellent) illustrates that respondents view themselves as being in good health.

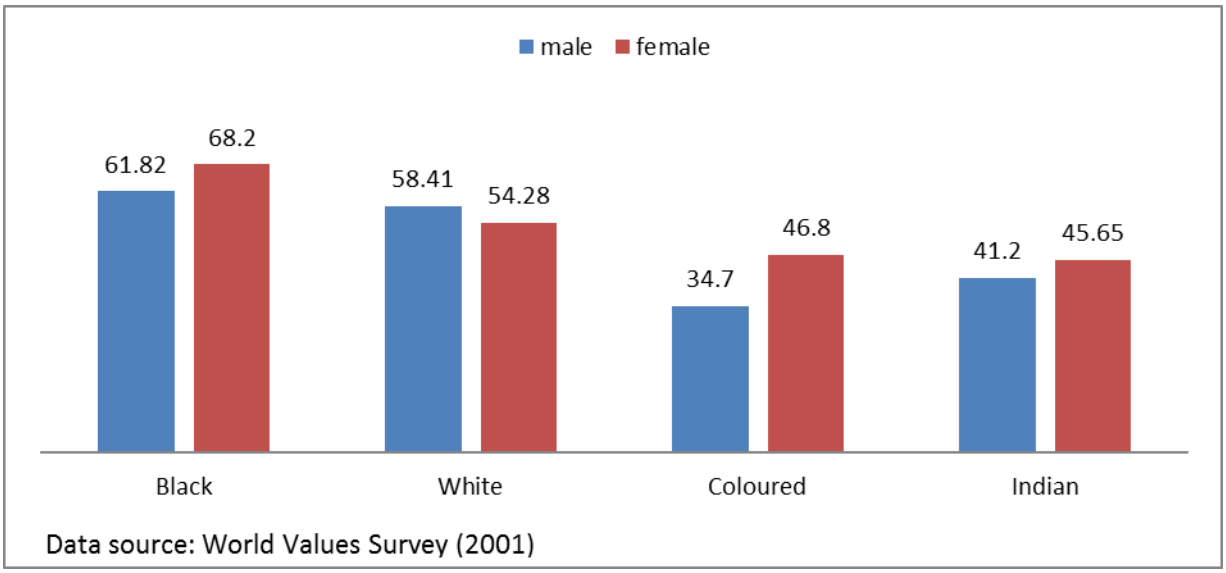
In terms of the social capital indicators, the survey participants appear to value time with friends and family, more than time with colleagues. The respondents have low mean prejudice (0.288 on scale of 0-1), and low generalized trust (0.11 on scale of 0-1). They score moderately on civic participation (0.61 on a scale of 0-2) scores. Additionally, 28% of respondents think that sharing is an important value to impart to children. They also expressed belief that serving others is an important value, with the mean score being 2.4 on scale of 1-3.

When considering the responses to religious devotion, prayer appears to be a frequently practiced religious ritual with a mean of 4.9 (on a scale of 0-6). This contrasts with church attendance,

which has a mean score of 3.9 (on a scale of 0-6). In addition, 75% percent of respondents self-identify as religious, compared to 17% who self-identify as not religious, and 2% as atheist. The respondents further indicate that God is very important in their lives (score 9.1 on a scale of 1-10).

The findings of the descriptive analysis reveal that most South Africans volunteer, with 61% of respondents volunteering their time to benefit others, in 2001. In terms of racial differences, in 2001 a greater proportion of the Black South Africans volunteered, compared to White, Indian and Coloured South Africans. Among Black people, 65% volunteered compared to 57% of Whites, 43% of Indians and 41% of Coloureds.

Figure 1: Likelihood to volunteer by gender and race



There are also gender differences in the likelihood to volunteer within the different races. Figure 1 illustrates that the greatest gender difference occurs between males (34.7%) and females (46.8%) within the Coloured sample. This difference, in terms of percentage point differences, is less within the Black sample (6%) and even smaller within the White (4%) and Indian (4%) race groups. Apart from the White subgroup, females of other races volunteer more than their male counterparts.

Figure 2: Likelihood to volunteer by educational attainment

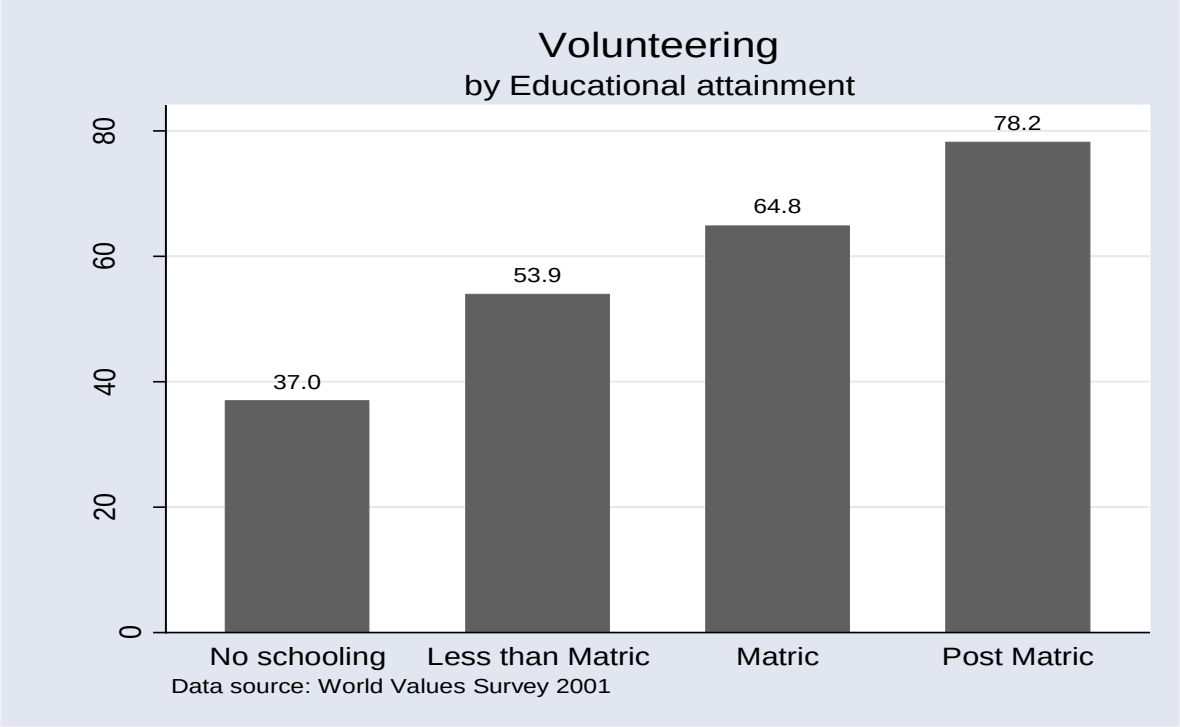
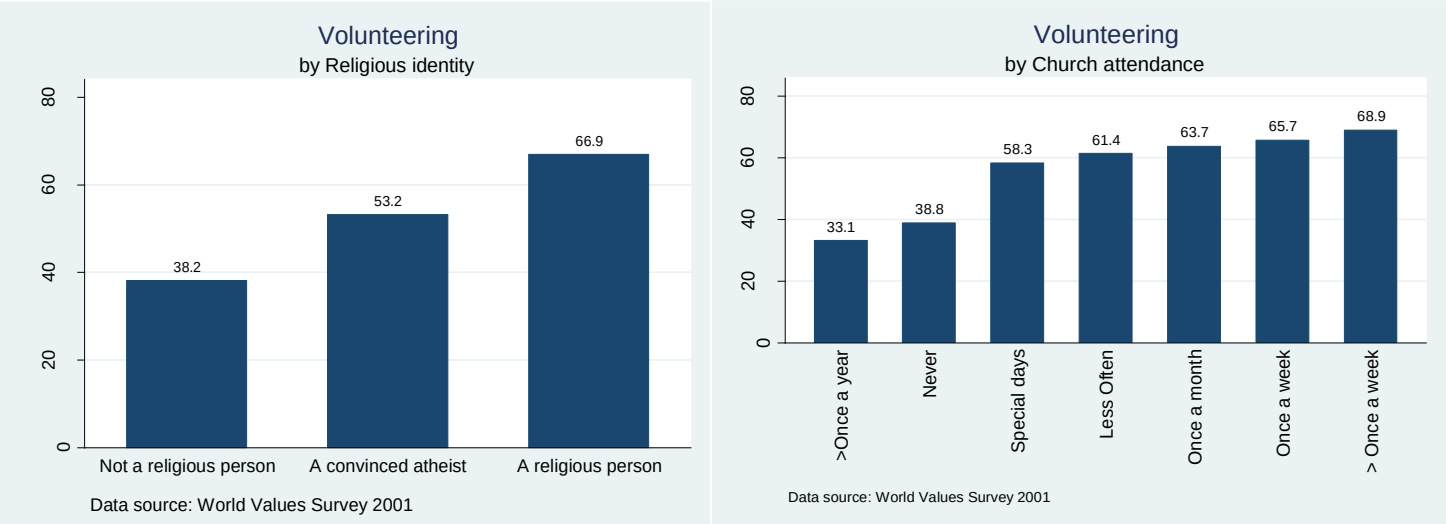


Figure 2 illustrates a positive relationship between educational attainment and the likelihood to volunteer. Seventy eight percent of people with a post matric qualification volunteer, which is 13, 24 and 42 percentage points higher than for people with matric, less than matric and no schooling. The relationship between class and the likelihood to volunteer is not linear.

Volunteering increases from 47% to 69% between lower and working class individuals, but then it decreases to 65% for the middle class and 55% among the upper class.

Figure 3: Likelihood to volunteer by religious identity and church

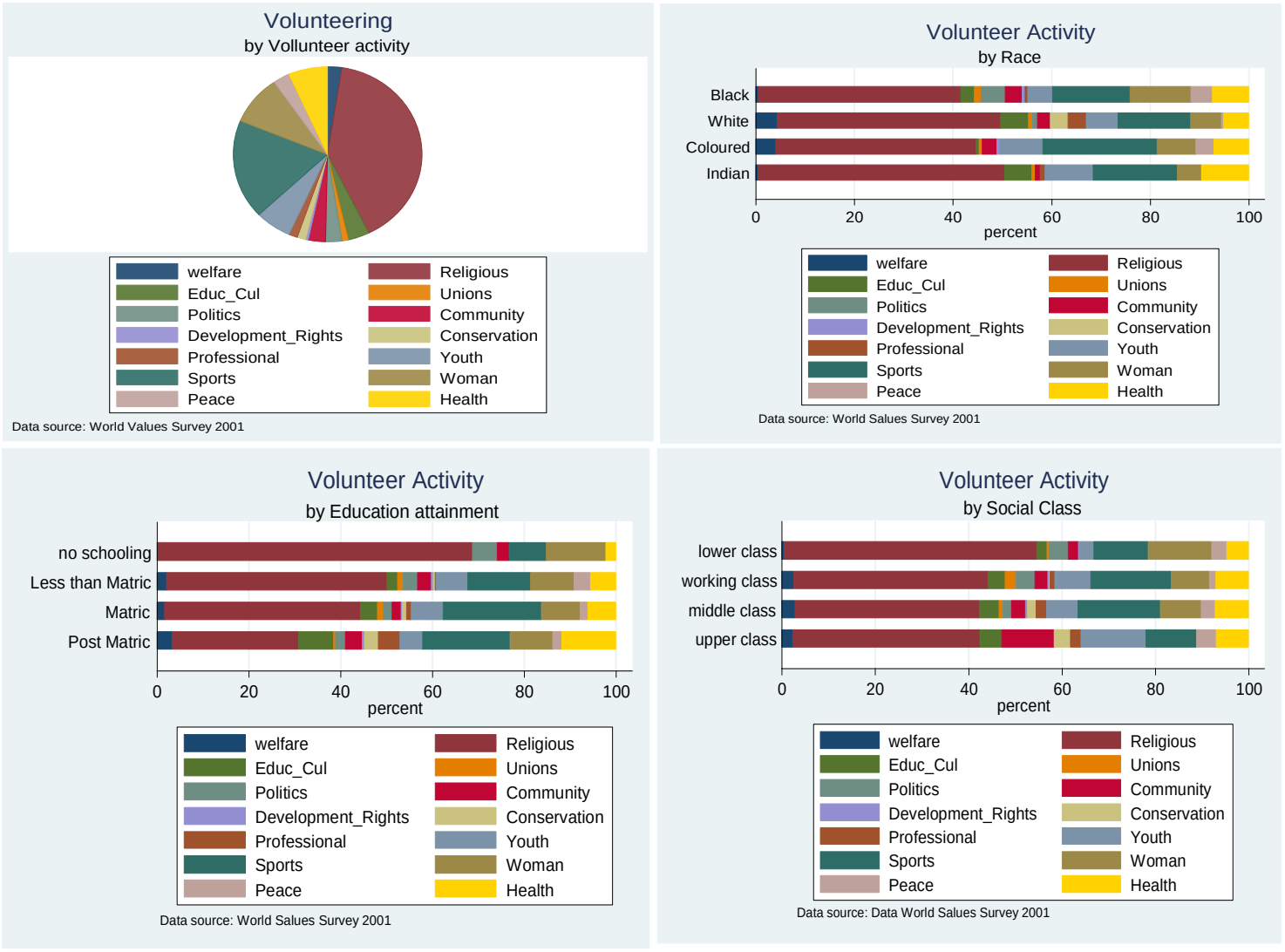


Studies on volunteering have noted religion as an important condition for volunteering. The data presented in Figure 3 supports this. Sixty seven percent of people who identified as religious, engage in volunteering, compared to 53% of those who identified as atheist and 38% who identified as non-religious. The likelihood to volunteer also appears to be greater among regular church attendees. Figure 3 shows this positive relationship, with 69% of individuals who attend church more than once a week, giving of their time. Those who attend church once a week (67%), once a month (64%), less often (61%) and once a year (58%) follow them. Individuals who never attend (38%) or only attend church on special occasions (33%) have a lower likelihood to volunteer.

Figure 4 shows how volunteers are distributed among different volunteering activities. It also reveals how such preferences tend to align with social divides such as race, resulting in a type of sorting mechanism. For example, in the Coloured population about 20% prefer to volunteer in sports-related activities whereas sport volunteering is relatively rare amongst other race groups.

In turn, other activities such as professional associations and conservation activities are pursued almost entirely by White volunteers. By contrast, religious volunteering is popular amongst all race groups, which is encouraging. However, one must bear in mind that due to the enduring geographic footprint of apartheid era racial segregation, neighbourhood congregations and religious communities tend to be racially homogenous.

Figure 4: Volunteer activities and socio-economic characteristics



The results reveal that 11% of male volunteers and 2% of female volunteers choose professional and political organisations. This provides evidence that women are less represented in higher stakes professional activities, which have greater prestige and opportunities for social mobility. Conversely, women are over represented in care activities relating to community wellbeing and health: 23% of women volunteers choose community and health organisations compared to 13% of male volunteers.

The graph, at the bottom left of Figure 4, shows that volunteers with no schooling are overconcentrated in religious organisations (74%), while such volunteering constitute less than 35% of volunteering for all other educational categories. The graph also shows that individuals who identify as lower class are more likely to volunteer in religious organisations. However, educational attainment has a positive relationship with the likelihood to volunteer in health-related activities, which could be attributable to the value of health training for such activities.

7.2 Regression results: Likelihood to volunteer

The table below estimates the partial correlations when including all the discussed variables in a multiple regression framework. In the discussion that follows, the focus is on model 4.

Table 1: Marginal effect of human, social and cultural capital on the likelihood to volunteer

	Human Capital		Social Capital		Cultural Capital		Full Model	
	dy/dx	St Err	dy/dx	Std Err	dy/dx	Std Err	dy/dx	Std Err
Demographic								
White(rf)								
Black	0.26***	0.15	0.05***	0.01	0.09***	0.01	0.17***	0.01
Coloured	-0.27	0.17	-0.18***	0.02	-0.17***	0.02	-0.14***	0.2
Indian	-0.43**	0.03	-0.09***	0.02	-0.15***	0.02	-0.11***	0.02
Age	0.002***	0.000	-0.001**	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.002***	0.00
Lnage								
Children	0.004	.003	-0.01	0.003	-0.01	0.003	-0.00	0.00
Married	0.03***	.010	0.06***	0.01	0.07***	0.01	0.02**	0.01
Female	0.07***	0.01	0.11***	0.01	0.001	0.01	0.03***	0.01
Human Capital								
Low class (rf)								
Working class	0.21***	0.16					0.15***	0.02
Mid class	0.18***	0.02					0.12***	0.02
Upper class	-0.00	0.02					0.01	0.02
No schooling(rf)								
Less than matric	0.03	0.03					0.002	0.02
Matric	0.15***	0.03					0.10***	0.03
Post matric	0.28***	0.03					0.23***	0.03
Health status	0.001	0.005					-0.00	0.00
Employed	-0.05***	0.01					-0.03***	0.01
Income1(rf)								
Income2	0.002	0.01					0.02***	0.005
Income3	0.6***	0.00					0.07***	0.004
Income4	0.03***	0.01					0.01**	0.004
Income5	0.02***	0.00					0.01**	0.003
Income6	0.02***	0.00					0.01***	0.004
Social Capital								
Time with friends			-0.02***	0.005			-0.003	0.004
Time with family			0.03***	0.005			0.005	0.005
Time with colleagues			0.001	0.004			0.01**	0.003
Prejudice			0.09***	0.014			0.12***	0.013
Generalised trust			-0.7	0.01			-0.02	0.01
Civic mindedness			0.19***	0.01			0.18***	0.01
Cultural Capital								
Sharing					-0.08***	0.01	-0.7***	0.01
Serving others					0.03***	0.01	-0.01	0.01
Importance of God					0.6***	0.002	0.05***	0.002
Church attendance					0.02***	0.003	0.03***	0.002
Frequency of prayer					-0.03***	0.003	-0.01**	0.003
Religious(rf)								
Not religious					-0.19***	0.01	-0.16***	0.01
Atheist					-0.21***	0.03	-0.09***	0.02

Standard Errors in Parentheses
* P<0.05, ** P<0.01, *** P<0.001
Data source: World Values Survey, 2001

7.2.1 Demographic factors

Table 1 indicates that volunteering is more prevalent amongst Black respondents than amongst White, Coloured and Indian respondents and this result is consistently significant. Being married and being female is also consistently positively and significantly associated with the likelihood to volunteer.

7.2.2 Human capital

In terms of human capital, individuals who self-identified as middle and working class have a greater likelihood of volunteering, than those who identified as lower class. The differences are significant and robust to the inclusion of social and cultural factors, as shown in the full model. The logit result for education gives credence to the argument that it is consistently positively correlated with the likelihood to volunteer. The likelihood of volunteering is higher for individuals with some form of education (even less than matric), than for those with no schooling at all. The results further show the likelihood of volunteering increases with educational attainment. The positive and significant coefficient on household income and higher classes provide further support in favour of the dominant status theory. However, the likelihood of volunteering is lower for employed individuals, possibly reflecting the higher opportunity cost of time for the employed.

7.2.3 Social capital

Civic-mindedness have a consistently positive and significant relationship with volunteering, confirming that those who are actively engaged in community and civic life have a higher likelihood of volunteering. Prejudice also has a positive association with the likelihood of volunteering and this relationship is robust, which reinforces earlier cited interpretation that

suggest that volunteering often serves as bonding rather than bridging capital and happens primarily within homogenous neighbourhoods.

7.2.4 Cultural capital

The evidence on cultural capital is mixed, with some of the expectations about the relationship between cultural capital and volunteering being confirmed and some refuted.

The results for some of the religiosity variables are as expected, and confirm the positive effects of religion on volunteering. It appears to be the socialisation that drives religious volunteering because those who pray frequently tend to volunteer less. Respondents who noted God as being an important feature in their lives, as well as individuals who attend church frequently, are more likely to volunteer. In terms of religious identity, individuals who self-identified as not religious and atheists have a considerably lower probability to volunteer, than individuals who self-identified as religious. However, those who value sharing are less likely to volunteer.

8. Discussion and conclusion

The results show that certain groups are more likely to volunteer than others: Blacks have a greater likelihood of volunteering, relative to Whites. This finding is in line with other research on volunteering in South Africa (Everatt et al., 2005) but is at odds with research on volunteering in developed countries (Wilson & Musick, 1997).

The positive marriage coefficients confirm Rotolo and Wilson's (2006) conclusion that married individuals are more likely to volunteer than unmarried individuals. According to the complementarity theory, similarities within couples, results in a greater chance of each partner valuing and taking part in similar activities, including volunteering. Rotolo and Wilson (2006, p.

318) explain that "Marriage has involved them in a close relationship in which the attitudes and activities of the other partner are bound to have a powerful influence".

It appears that the dominant status theory holds true in South Africa, as more educated and more affluent citizens are more likely to volunteer. This finding is consistent with the conclusions of the literature (e.g. Wilson & Musick, 1997; Forbes & Zampelli, 2014). In South Africa, Stats SA (2015) results show that in 2014 the volunteering rate[8] was 10.6 % for people with a tertiary qualification. This is higher than the 5.4% for people who have completed secondary school, 4.5% for those who have some secondary school education and 5.7% for people with no schooling.

Dominant status theory is further confirmed by the positive relationship between the likelihood to volunteer and income, and to a lesser extent self-identified social class. The likelihood to volunteer is greater for higher income groups, relative to 'income1'. Middle class and working class individuals have a higher probability to volunteer than lower class individuals do. Yet, if participants self-identified as higher class, the probability to volunteer was less than that of the lower class.

However, contrary to the dominant status theory we find that the employed are less likely to volunteer, than the unemployed. This can be explained by the economic theory of labor supply substitution[9], which predicts a decrease in volunteering when the opportunity cost of time (wages) is high (Roy & Ziemek, 2000). Later empirical work by Stats SA (2014) shows comparable estimates: the volunteer rate was 6.2% for discouraged work seekers and 5.6% for the unemployed compared to 4.5% for employed individuals.

What is more interesting among the social capital proxies is the consistent positive relationship between volunteering and prejudice and also the negative relationship between volunteering and

sharing. This may signal the presence of bonding rather than bridging social capital, which in the context of South Africa's past of racial segregation, should not be surprising. The descriptive analysis showed that South Africans of different races and socio-economic groups not only continue to live separately, but also volunteer separately. Individuals volunteer in their closed networks, self-selecting into different volunteer activities based on their race, education and class.

Religiosity appears to be an important gateway to volunteering. We find that church attendance has a significant positive correlation with the likelihood to volunteer, but spirituality does not, suggesting that it may work via the social dimension rather than altruism and values. Greif et al. (2011) argued that people can perform religious rituals with no significant meaning attached to them, and therefore not embody 'Godly' living. If this line of reasoning is followed, then the influence of church attendance on volunteering could be indirect through the networks and opportunities it creates for volunteering.

It is interesting to note that volunteering in religious organisations appears to be more socially diverse; individuals with no education and who self-identify as lower class are better represented in church-based volunteering activities, than in other volunteering activities.

The inclusivity of religious volunteering can be explained by the historical legacy of religious organisations in South Africa. Swilling and Russel (2002, p. 11) note that religious organisations have been "systematically creating networks of support within disenfranchised communities with no other means of social welfare", since the colonial and apartheid era, albeit for different reasons. According to Stats SA (2014) 94% of South Africans had a religious affiliation whether Christianity, Islam, Judaism or African religion, and over 50% of them attended their place of worship at least once a week. The broad base support for religion – and specifically Christianity,

with 80% of South Africans self-identifying as a Christian or associated with a Christian denomination[10] – combined with the encouraging finding that church volunteering cuts across the socio-economic divide, provides some hope for bridging socio-economic and racial divides. However, churches and religious centres are in most cases located in racially homogenous communities and consequently church-based volunteering would in most cases serve to strengthen existing community ties.

While it is encouraging that levels of volunteering are high in South Africa, the analysis provides little evidence that volunteering helps to heal the nation's scars from apartheid. On the contrary, there is more evidence that appears to suggest that volunteering is aligned with such divides. We find that the educated and the affluent in society are more likely to volunteer, confirming the dominant status theory of volunteering. Additionally, we see that different race and socio-economic groups tend to gravitate towards different volunteering activities. It is therefore not surprising to see that individuals with a higher level of prejudice are significantly more likely to volunteer.

Given the persistence of the notion that volunteering heals divides and builds social cohesion, it is important to conduct more empirical research to investigate this question critically. This research considered associations in a cross-section logit regression. Where panel data is available more sophisticated quantitative work would be possible and one could progress further in untangling the complicated causal links between these variables.

Endnotes

1. *Ubuntu* is a social philosophy prevalent among the Bantu people of Southern Africa. It is normally represented by the phrase '*umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*' – 'a person is a person because of others'.
2. Percentage computed from Stats SA VAS (2011), which reported that 1193 of the 2466 people survey mentioned to have volunteered.
3. In their later work Musick and Wilson (2007) do not use the term 'capital' but 'social resources' to refer to the benefits that accrue from membership in networks.
4. The notion of social capital adopted in this paper is that of Portes (1998), who distinguishes between the sources and consequences of social capital. The sources of social capital may be consummatory norms and values that induce behavior from others. These may include bounded solidarity, "a belief in the collective fate of a group" (Shih, 2002, p.9) and value introjection, which is the internalization of group norms and values. The sources of social capital can likewise be instrumental such as reciprocity exchanges and enforceable trust. Social capital also has consequences, which may be positive (norm observance and network mediated benefits) or negative (exclusion of outsiders and excessive claims on group members).
5. The concept of cultural capital employed in the theory was adapted from Bourdieu's (1986) notion of cultural capital. For Bourdieu (1986, p. 241), capital is a "force inscribed in the objectivity of things so that everything is not equally possible". Consequently, cultural capital is "long lasting dispositions of mind and body" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 241) that are unconsciously acquired through socialization, which vary with the time period, society and social class, and that determine the level of material and symbolic profits an

individual enjoys in society. Cultural capital can thus be explained as the symbolic assets (skills, tastes, posture, style, mannerisms etc.) possessed by an individual, which are acquired through belonging to a particular class and that can facilitate greater social mobility relative to people who do not possess them.

6. *Letsema* and *lima* are age-old traditions of collective voluntary action among the Sotho and Nguni people in South Africa. The practice of *letsema* involved collective action by community members to perform a task for a particular household. Once the task was completed, the household would offer food and beverages to give thanks to the volunteers. The Ngunis had a similar practice of *lima*, derived from *ukulima*, which means to plant. The practise is different to *letsema* because it involved the collective cultivation of communal land (Twala, 2004).
7. The unemployment rate includes those who are still at school, as well as pensioners.
8. According to the Stats SA definition, this represents the percentage of the population that reports engaging in any of the specified volunteer activities during the reference period. It is computed by dividing the number of volunteers identified through the volunteering module by the population (15 years and older) of the country (Stats SA, 2010).
9. The investment model of volunteering may also be applicable in the case of South Africa. Studies in the region have shown that individuals who volunteer are further motivated by the desire to gain experience and skills to improve their employability. Volunteering is used as a means of investing in their human capital in order to increase their likelihood to obtain gainful employment (Akintola, 2010; Kiptot & Franzel, 2014; Kawash, 2009; Swart, Seedat & Sader, 2004). The investment model of volunteering is also made likely

by the fact that it is reported that the unemployed volunteered more hours when out of pocket expenses were received (Niyimbanira & Krugel, 2014).

10. This estimate was based on the Census 2001 data because the question on religion was not asked in the Census 2011. This estimate comes from Government of South Africa (2012).

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Appendix A: Descriptive statistics for included variables

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Dependent				
Volunteering	0.61	0.49	0	1
Religious	0.36	0.48	0	1
Sports	0.14	0.35	0	1
Prof & Pol	0.11	0.31	0	1
Com & Hel	0.17	0.38	0	1
Women	0.7	0.25	0	1
Other	0.14	0.35	0	1
Independent Variables				
Demographics				
White	0.14	0.35	0	1
Black	0.73	0.45	0	1
Coloured	0.10	0.30	0	1
Indian	0.03	0.18	0	1
Age	35	14.15	16	98
Female	0.48	0.5	0	1
Married	0.47	0.5	0	1
Human Capital				
No schooling	0.03	0.17	0	1
Less than matric	0.52	0.50	0	1
Matric	0.30	0.45	0	1
Post matric	0.16	0.37	0	1
HH income	2.28	1.33	1	6
Upper class	0.03	0.18	0	1
Middle class	0.37	0.48	0	1
Working class	0.29	0.45	0	1
Low class	0.25	0.43	0	1
Employed	0.42	0.49	0	1
Health Status	3.16	0.9	1	4
Social Capital				
Time friends	2.3	0.94	0	3
Time family	2.5	0.82	0	3
Time colleagues	1.3	1.3	0	3
Trust	0.16	0.32	0	1
Prejudice	0.29	0.31	0	1
Civic part	0.61	0.54	0	2
Cultural Capital				
Ubuntu				
Sharing	0.28	0.45	0	1
Serving Others	2.4	0.75	0	3
Imp Of God	9.10	1.74	1	10
Freq Prayer	4.71	1.94	0	6
Church Att	3.7	2.04	0	6
Religious	0.78	0.42	0	1
Not Religious	0.17	0.39	0	1
Atheist	0.03	0.17	0	1