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What gives? Cross-national differences in students' giving behavior

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ABSTRACT

This study is targeted to understanding the giving of time and money among a specific cohort – university students across 13 countries. It explores predictors of different combinations of giving behaviors: only volunteering, only donating, neither, as compared to doing both. Among the predictors of these four types of giving behavior, we also account for cross-national differences across models of civil society. The findings show that students predominantly prefer to give money than to volunteer time. In addition, differences in civil society regimes provide insights into which type of giving behavior might dominate. As expected, in the Statist and Traditional models of civil society, students consistently were more likely to be disengaged in giving behaviors (neither volunteering nor giving money) in comparison to students in the Liberal model who were more likely to report doing 'both' giving behaviors. An important implication of our findings is that while individual characteristics and values influence giving of time and money, these factors are played out in the context of civil society regimes, whose effects cannot be ignored. Our analysis has made a start in a new area of inquiry attempting to explain different giving behaviors using micro and macro level factors and raises several implications for future research.

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1. Introduction

Scholars have relied on several different models to explain giving behavior, both in contributions of time and

money. In general they are well able to explain the simultaneous donations of money and time by individuals (Brown & Lankford, 1992; Andreoni, Gale, & Scholz, 1996). However, there exist groups of individuals that either only volunteer time or only donate money, and little attention has been paid to how these groups differ from individuals who do both or who do neither. In studies that investigate the supply of volunteer labor, authors frequently note that volunteers also often donate money (Freeman,

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1997; Handy & Srinivasan, 2005; Steinberg, 1990). They argue that individuals consider donations of money and time as complementary activities. However, the literature is silent regarding those groups of individuals who only volunteer. How do they differ from their counterparts who also donate money? Similarly when questions of contributions of money are considered, the focus is on groups who donate money, some of whom also volunteer but not all. Again, these groups are treated identically to those who donate money and volunteer versus those who only donate money or only volunteer.

In this study we focus on the differences and similarities among those groups of individuals who neither volunteer or donate, only donate, and only volunteer in comparison to with those who do both. Using survey data on giving behaviors of university students from 13 countries, this study will compare and contrast the giving behavior of time and money among those who only do one or none of behaviors in comparison with the group who does both (the reference group in this study). This design enables us to also examine if there are cross-national differences in addition to individual determinants of such giving behaviors.

2. Literature review and research questions

Although some countries publish annual statistics on volunteering and giving so that pertinent data are easily accessible, others do not. For example, the Canadian national survey on volunteering and giving conducted in 2007 found that over a 12-month period most Canadians provided either time or money to charitable and nonprofit organizations. Almost 84% of the population made a financial donation to a nonprofit organization, and during the same period 46% of the population volunteered their time (Hall, Lasby, Ayer, & Gibbons, 2009). Similar statistics can be obtained in many developed countries, some for volunteering and giving, and in others for one or the other. Although these statistics are available they are not easily accessible, and in some cases not reliable as national estimates of volunteering and giving (Cnaan, Jones, Dickin, & Solomon, 2010; Rooney, Steinberg, & Schervisch, 2004). However, the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project (Salamon et al., 2004) has done a remarkable job of gathering consistent and reliable estimates of the nonprofit sector in countries across the globe using uniform measurement techniques. Their findings suggest unambiguously that volunteering time and donating money are ubiquitous behaviors. In the nonprofit sectors in the 40 countries in their study, volunteering represents an average of over 40% of the workforce in the civil society sector organizations and private donations represent 15% of their revenues (Salamon, 2010; Salamon & Sokolowski, 2009). Given that the size of the civil society sector in these countries represents anywhere from 2.0% to 8.9% of the economically active population, these numbers are significant.

Thus our investigation takes as its starting point the study of a phenomenon that is ubiquitous, and one that has received extensive attention in the literature. Scholars have not only furnished observational data from large national and international surveys (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008; Hall, Lasby, Ayer, & Gibbons, 2009; Independent

Sector, 2001; Low, Butt, Ellis, & Davis Smith, 2007), but also they have provided in depth inquiries from a variety of disciplines, including sociology, economics, social work, political science, and psychology using their disciplinary lenses, and often collaborating with other disciplines to understand the individual behavior of donating and volunteering (See Hustinx, Cnaan, & Handy, 2010 for a review). It is beyond the scope of this article to review these studies but to point out that most studies focus on giving behavior at the individual level of either donating or volunteering without differentiating from those who do both; a few studies focus on individuals who donate as well as volunteer. However, to our knowledge, no studies examine individuals who only engage in one type of giving behavior to the exclusion of the other, versus those who do both or neither.

Theoretically, such mutually exclusionary giving behavior is possible. Indeed, from a rational choice perspective giving time and money may be considered as competitive behaviors, that is, two alternative options with different costs and benefits. Rational choice theory assumes that individual behavior is determined by a rational decision based on the relative costs and benefits (monetary and nonmonetary) of available options (Andreoni, 1990; Lindenberg, 2001). Thus, also in the case of giving behavior, rational choice theory predicts that there exists a substitution or 'trade-off' between giving money or time (or neither) based on rational calculus (Freeman, 1997). People with more free time available will be more likely to volunteer than to donate money. On the other hand, those with higher incomes will be more inclined to give money instead of time. In other words, if time is a scarce good, it is a rational option to exchange it with money in order to contribute to a good cause.

Regarding differing assumptions of whether rational individuals are altruist or instrumental or a combination, economists use different models for understanding the mix of different giving behaviors. For example, economists use the *public goods* model to explain behavior on the assumption that those who give are *pure altruists*. For such an individual the purpose of engaging in giving behavior is to maximize its effect, and from this perspective it is surely best to give as much as possible to increase the supply of the public good (Duncan, 1999; Handy & Katz, 2008). The act of giving (time or money) does not provide any utility; the only utility to the consumer is in the production of the public good. In this case, depending on the individual, the gift can be time or money, whichever is most efficient but not both. The consumer sees gifts of time and money as substitutes and is motivated to give one or the other to increase the public good (Duncan, 1999).¹

For example, an individual who can sell time in the workplace for \$100 per hour and whose volunteering work can be bought by the charity for \$20 per hour has a comparative advantage in donating. By contrast, an individual whose volunteering value to the charity is \$20 per hour

¹ However, as argued by Handy and Katz (2008) even in the public goods model we may find simultaneous donations of time and money if we assume a divergence in the disutility of paid and volunteer work.

but whose value in the labor market is \$8 per hour, has a comparative advantage in volunteering. This calculus suggests that individuals ideally should either donate or volunteer but not both. And yet, simultaneous volunteering and donating is extremely common. Indeed, it may be viewed as the rule rather than the exception.

The *consumption model* advanced by economists is better suited to explaining simultaneous giving and volunteering. The model assumes that individuals are not pure altruists, and that giving is motivated by some private benefits, such as the 'warm glow' received by the giver from the act of giving (Andreoni, 1990). Within this model, the individual is an *impure altruist*, and it is then reasonable to explain simultaneous donating and volunteering: volunteering may give individuals a hands-on 'warm glow' that is of a different dimension than the warm glow obtained in the donation of money. An individual receives utility from both types of 'warm glow' and thus engages simultaneously in volunteering and donating. The impure altruist model is one in which individuals derive utility both from a private 'warm glow' and from providing a public good to society through giving. In this instance, the explanation of simultaneous volunteering and donating is straightforward: the individual derives (private) 'warm glow' from volunteering and utility from the public good component of his/her giving, which is more efficiently produced through donating. Other private benefits derived from volunteering may include career enhancement from volunteering experiences, especially in those contexts where such experiences (used on résumés) signal positive characteristics in the labor market. Indeed research shows that volunteering and donating behaviors are complementary, suggesting that the individual receives utility from the act of providing each of these gifts (Brown & Lankford, 1992; Menchik & Weisbrod, 1987).

Much of the literature that focuses on giving toward public goods is indifferent to how the goods are produced (Bergstrom, Blume, & Varian, 1986) with a few exceptions. Duncan (1999) uses the public goods model and assumes that those gifts of time and money are perfectly substitutable, and others assume that they are complements (Brown & Lankford, 1992; Menchik & Weisbrod, 1987). Given that most people volunteer and donate (Handy & Katz, 2008), it is not surprising that researchers who study giving behavior very rarely focus on those who only donate or those who only volunteer or those who do neither.

Another perspective germane to volunteering and donating is a life course perspective, i.e., indicating volunteering activities differ across life stages as will the propensity to give. For example, for individuals moving through postsecondary education, life stages such as career establishment, marriage, parenthood and retirement will present different opportunities and constraints to donate and volunteer. Even when dealing with a specific cohort – university students, where students enter at 18 and leave around 25 years of age on average—we may expect some changes. Overall, in this phase of their lives they will have greater discretion than when they were adolescents to make choices about their organizational and institutional roles (Shanahan, 2000). Furthermore, as they develop within this period, albeit a brief period of 4–6 years,

their civic involvement can deepen as they are exposed to numerous opportunities to volunteer and donate through student clubs and organizations. Only panel data can reveal these influences as shown by Oesterle, Johnson, & Mortimer (2004). Their research reveals that for young people from late adolescence (age 18–19) through young adulthood (age 26–27), attending school during this life stage promotes volunteerism.

This study is targeted to understanding giving behavior of time and money among a specific cohort – university students across 13 countries – and explores predictors of different types of giving behavior (only volunteering, only donating, and neither) as compared to doing both. In exploring predictors of these types of giving behavior, we account for individual differences and also account for cross-national differences using the five models of civil society advanced by Salamon and Sokolowski (2009): Liberal, Corporatist, Social Democratic, Statist, and Traditional models. Although this framework is not specific to students' giving behavior, the different models may have relevance as different regimes offer differing opportunities for students to volunteer or donate, as well as provide the political and social context in which giving occurs.

2.1. Individual variables that may account for types of giving

The extant literature on giving money and time shows the influence of many individual level variables. Musick and Wilson's (2008) definitive work on volunteering reviews numerous studies, including their own findings to show that age, gender, income and religiosity are significant individual level variables that affect both the decision to volunteer as well as the intensity (hours) of volunteering. Donating money likewise is also impacted by individual level variables, and several studies that examine predictors of giving find that age, gender (Andreoni & Vesterlund, 2001), membership (Mook et al., 2007) religiosity (Jackson, Bachmeier, Wood, & Craft, 1995), immigrant status (Handy & Greenspan, 2009), marital status and household income (Mesch, Rooney, Steinberg, & Denton, 2006) significantly impact levels of giving. Other studies also show the impact among students of values (Sargeant, 1999; Handy et al., 2010), service requirements in school (Stukas, Snyder, & Clary, 1999), and programs of study (Haski-Leventhal et al., 2008) on giving behavior.

2.2. Social origins theory and types of giving

In the social origins' model, Salamon and Sokolowski (2009) argue that contextual variables not only can explain the scope of the nonprofit sector but also can influence giving behavior, i.e., are people more likely to volunteer or donate money? The Liberal model places greater reliance on private giving and nonprofit organizations to take care of human needs and provide social welfare services. This confluence explains the relatively large nonprofit sector with fairly sizeable private support in the Liberal model. Thus, in this model of civil society, both volunteering and donating money are likely to coexist because ample opportunities occur for participation in giving behaviors.

The Corporatist model reflects a system of social-political organization in which interest groups, such as business associations, labor unions, and nonprofit organizations, cooperate with the state to achieve common societal goals. This arrangement corresponds to a nonprofit sector that is unusually large, with a significant share of its revenue coming from government rather than from charity or private fees. This model can be characterized by heavier reliance on paid staff than on volunteers (Salamon & Sokolowski, 2009). However, because of the large size of the nonprofit sector in the Corporatist model, it also provides a moderate number of opportunities that attract volunteers. However, government funding may crowd out donations of money.

In the Social Democratic model, state involvement in providing social services is dominant, both as a funder and provider of services, suggesting a diminished social service role of the nonprofit sector. Thus, the nonprofit sector exists predominantly in expressive services such as advocacy, sports, recreation, and culture, which provide ample opportunities for volunteer involvement. Since most of the human services are provided by the public sector, nonprofit organizations tend to be self-supporting (e.g. through membership fees) (Salamon & Sokolowski, 2009). Thus, with the high proportion of volunteer involvement and self-supporting activities in the Social Democratic model, there is a crowding out of donations of money but relatively high volunteer participation in fields of activity such as sports and recreation. It may also be noted, however, in the Scandinavian countries that outsourcing of welfare services to the private sector and nonprofits is increasing, so that it becomes more common to volunteer or donate for social welfare causes though on a narrower scale.

Salamon and Sokolowski (2009) observed that the common features of the Liberal, Corporatist, and Social-democratic models are characteristics of 'relatively developed societies, with high levels of industrialization and well established democratic governance' (p. 2). The size of the nonprofit sector is large (above the median). The Liberal and the Social-democratic models share two other characteristics: a medium level of government support for the nonprofit sector with a rather significant reliance on volunteers. The Corporatist model differs from the other two models in that there is a rather high level of government support and a low level of private giving to the nonprofit sector (Salamon & Sokolowski, 2009). Furthermore, Salamon and Sokolowski (2009) note that the service function dominates the civil society sector's activities in the Liberal pattern; the sector's activities in the social-democratic pattern are dominated by expressive functions. It is important to note that the key characteristics that distinguished the Corporatist pattern from the other two models in this group is a rather high level of government support and a low level of private giving (either volunteering or giving). These differing features of the three models may impact students' giving behavior as they provide different contexts, opportunities and expectations for giving.

In their discussion of civil society models, Salamon and Sokolowski (2009) emphasize that the institutional path

of development is far different in societies where industrialization occurred late or is still in its incipient stages, and democratic governance was sacrificed to accelerate economic development or to maintain social order. Two different models emerged. In the Statist model, where the state takes a position of active opposition to certain forms of civil society activity, the nonprofit sector remains quite small, with little government support, and little mobilization of volunteers. As a result, civil society organizations are often forced to depend on income coming either from fees or philanthropy. Furthermore, there are significant variations among local conditions in countries with the Statist civil society models; it is difficult to say what the balance is between service and expressive activities. Because of the underdeveloped nonprofit sector in the Statist model, there can be relatively few opportunities and low expectations and, hence, limited engagement in giving behaviors.

In the Traditional model, where pre-modern forms of social interaction and helping not only survive but also remain dominant in the modern era, a relatively small nonprofit sector exists with limited government support. As in the Statist model, however, the share of nonprofit sector income derived from fees and philanthropy can be relatively high, as these sources of revenue are the only ones available to most nonprofit organizations. In contrast to the Statist model, the share of volunteer participation in nonprofit activities is quite sizeable due to general absence of political restrictions. Because of the relatively small nonprofit sector in the Traditional model, relatively fewer opportunities for volunteer participation may be available. However, as the primary function of nonprofits tends to be poverty relief and development assistance, a greater defining characteristic of this regime.

Salamon and Sokolowski (2009) summarize the common features of the Statist and Traditional models as having relatively small (below the median) size of the nonprofit sector with low levels of government support. Therefore, in both of these cases lower engagement in giving behaviors is expected than in the other civil society models.

Against this macro-structural context of civil society models, we examine cross-national differences in giving behavior among students. In particular, we compare the group of students who combine donating and volunteering with their counterparts who only donate, who only volunteer, or who do neither. Our data come from 13 countries that we group into civil society models as discussed above using the empirical classifications of Salamon and Sokolowski (2009). In addition, we investigate the effects of individual characteristics and values on giving behavior. For example, both volunteering and donating can be influenced by a national context that conceives of giving by students as a social value or religious norm. In Fig. 1 we conceptualize model in a diagram.

Our exploratory research questions are as follows:

1. What is the distribution of giving behavior among university students cross-nationally with respect to only volunteering time, only donating money, doing neither, or doing both?

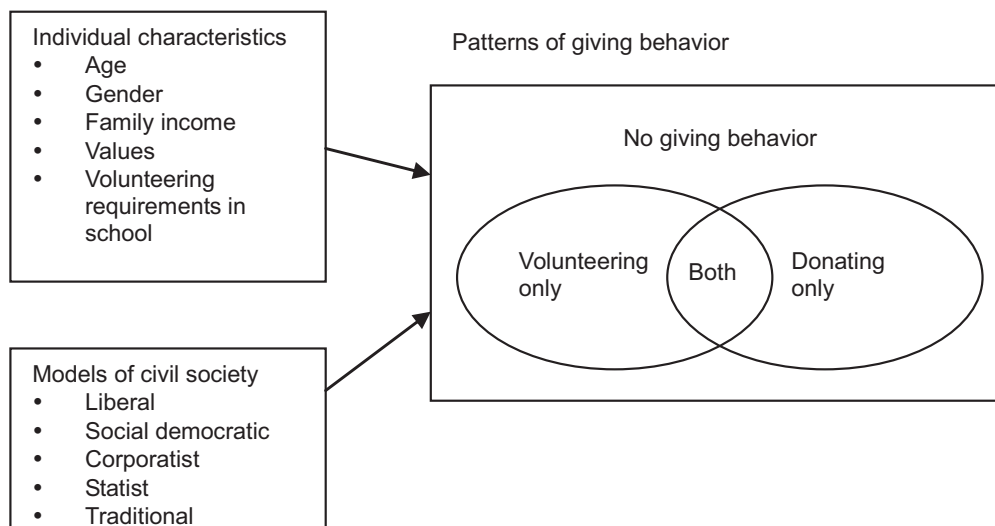


Fig. 1. Conceptual model.

2. Are there any differences in the giving behavior of the university students according to the five models of civil society?
3. In addition to the impact of the models of civil society, what individual level variables – such as personal values systems of the students, field of study, gender, household income, institutional requirements for volunteering in high school and in college, etc. – may account for the variation in giving behavior by university students?

3. Research methods

3.1. Sampling and questionnaire

Since the aim of the research was to study students' different types of giving behavior in a cross-national context, data were collected in 13 different countries: Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, England, Finland, India, Israel, Japan, Korea, Netherlands, New Zealand, and the USA. In each country, a research team member distributed questionnaires to 600 plus university students in 2006–2007. Although surveys were not distributed randomly, the very high number of respondents ($N=9442$) can support the validity of the data.

Because ours is an international study, the questionnaire had to be translated and adopted to the local language and culture. The English version of the questionnaire was first piloted and revised for use in Canada, England, India, and the USA. In all other countries the questionnaire was translated, piloted, and reviewed by a panel of experts before administration in the field.

3.2. Measures

The survey was designed for the purpose of studying giving behavior among university students. To identify different patterns of giving behavior, we examined whether university students reported to have participated in ongoing volunteer activities, and whether they had donated money to a cause or organization in the 12 months preced-

ing the interview. Combining both variables, we identified four types of giving behavior: only volunteering, only donating, doing both, and doing neither (dummy variables, yes coded 1, no coded 0).

To explore students' giving behavior cross-nationally, we utilized the models of civil society developed by Salamon and Sokolowski (2009). Based on their categorization, the Liberal model includes the USA, Australia, New Zealand, UK, and Canada; the Corporatist model includes Belgium, the Netherlands, and Israel; the Social Democratic model includes Finland; the Statist model includes Korea and Japan; and the Traditional model includes India and China.

All countries in this study, except China, were classified by Salamon and his colleagues, and we followed their well-tested and theoretically-grounded typology. Their typology suggests that China has the combined characteristics of a Statist and Traditional civil society model. Given the strong government control, China may be seen as a Statist regime; nevertheless, recent social and economic reforms in China as well as certain endogenous characteristics render it more similar to India than to Korea and Japan. Unlike Japan and Korea, which have smaller homogenous populations, China and India have large and growing heterogeneous populations. Furthermore, China faces rural poverty, increasing income inequalities, and endemic corruption—characteristics that it shares with India. In addition, both are net aid receiving countries, while Korea and Japan are net aid giving countries; hence the civil society organizations in China and India are more focused on internal poverty relief and development aid than in Korea and Japan. In China and India, the civil society organizations are heavily financed by the state and face heavy bureaucratic regulations regarding private financing (Civicus, 2006; Salamon & Sokolowski, 2009). As China and India represent the two largest emerging economies with a growing civil society sector it seems reasonable to categorize China with India as Traditional models of civil society, both of them significantly different from Korea and Japan.

To measure students' personal values systems, students were asked to rate each of seven items according to its importance in their life on a scale from 1 (unimportant) to 5 (very important). The items were chosen to reflect different dimensions of values in life. To determine the set of dimensions emerging from the combined data for the 13 countries, we conducted a principal component analysis. The results reported here are based on a principal component extraction with varimax rotation and Kaiser normalization, which does not allow the extracted factors to be inter-correlated.

The first component incorporates four items that represent materialistic values: making a lot of money; being successful in your studies or work; living a happy, comfortable life; and being able to do what you want. The second component reflects non-materialistic values based on the two items: helping people in need, and making the world a better place. The third value component is referred to as religious value in life. It comprises the remaining item: having a religious faith.

We control for gender (women coded 1; men treated as reference category), age in years, and household income (with high income class coded as 1 and middle or lower income class coded as 0). We excluded education as a variable as our cohort represents university students who have graduated from high school but not university, hence belong to the same education category.

We also control for the study program (dummy variables for business and all other programs with business treated as the reference category), since, following [Astin and Sax \(1998\)](#) and [O'Brein \(1993\)](#), we believe that students in business programs are likely to be more competitive and incentive-oriented than students in other academic programs, including the social sciences.

In some countries high schools and universities have 'volunteering' as a formal or recommended requirement for graduation. This provision not only raises the awareness of volunteering among members of the student cohort but also gives them opportunities to volunteer, thereby raising their rates of participation ([Sundeen & Raskoff, 1994](#)). Thus, we control for volunteer requirements in high school and in university (yes coded 1, no coded 0).

3.3. Method of analysis & measurement model

To analyze patterns of student giving behavior cross-nationally, we use multinomial logistic regression analysis. Our dependent variable consists of 4 categories (volunteering only, donating only, doing both, and doing neither). Our key independent variables are: the five different models of civil society (reference category Liberal) and students' values systems (materialistic, non-materialistic, and religious). We control for individual characteristics of students: age, gender, family income, program of study and institutionalized requirements for volunteering in high school and in university. Thus, we model patterns of giving behavior as a function of:

Giving behavior [4 types] = F [models of civil society; personal values systems; age; gender; family income; program of study; and institutionalized requirements for volunteering]

4. Results

4.1. Descriptive analysis of patterns of giving behavior

[Table 1](#) shows that, overall, nearly half of the sample (49.6%) reported donating only, and about three in ten neither volunteered nor donated (28.0%). Students less frequently combined volunteering and donating (17.0%), and a small minority engaged in volunteering only (5.4%).

This pattern is generally reproduced across all countries. Students are most likely to donate only, with the exception of Japan, in which students are least likely to participate in giving behavior (either volunteering or donating). In general, students in developed countries are more likely to engage in both forms of giving behavior in comparison with students in developing countries. The exceptions to this pattern are the UK, New Zealand, and Japan where students have similar rates of participating in both behaviors as in developing countries. Furthermore, we note that students rarely participate in volunteering only.

On balance, patterns of giving behavior among students are similar in the Liberal, Corporatist, and Social-democratic models of civil society. By contrast, Statist and Traditional regimes show similar patterns to each other. These findings suggest that the models of civil society may have different institutional opportunities for students to engage in the two forms of giving behavior ([Table 1](#)).

[Table 2](#) displays the patterns of volunteer activities undertaken by the students in the various models of civil society. The last column denotes the type of activities likely to dominate in the particular civil society model as posited by [Salamon and Sokolowski \(2009\)](#) in terms of the balance between service (such as serving the homeless, tutoring children, and delivering food) and expressive (such as advocacy, sports, recreation, and culture) activities. The figures in the second and third column present the share of expressive and service activities undertaken by the students in their volunteering behavior. The findings suggest that the students are largely responding to the opportunities present, and that their choices corroborate the civil society models.

4.2. Results of the multinomial logistic regression

We used multinomial logistic regression analysis to predict differences in the patterns of giving behavior (volunteer only, donate only, both volunteer and donate, neither volunteer nor donate). As shown in [Table 3](#), all of the explanatory variables attain statistical significance: the five models of civil society; students' materialistic values, non-materialistic values, and religious values, and the control variables age, gender, family income, program of study, and institutional requirements for volunteering. Thus, these variables help to explain the differences across the four types of students' giving behavior.

[Table 4](#) presents the log odds of the dependent variables for the different patterns of giving behavior. Based on the results shown in the table we discuss the likelihood of belonging to a particular category or pattern of giving behavior as compared to the category of "both vol-

Table 1
Patterns of giving behavior of university students by country and model of civil society.

	Neither N (%)	Volunteering only N (%)	Donating only N (%)	Both N (%)	Total N (%)
USA	260 (23.2)	61 (5.4)	536 (47.9)	263 (23.5)	1120 (100)
Canada	180 (20.7)	71 (8.2)	412 (47.5)	205 (23.6)	868 (100)
England	127 (22.2)	18 (3.1)	365 (63.8)	62 (10.8)	572 (100)
New Zealand	111 (19.5)	19 (3.3)	312 (54.7)	128 (22.5)	570 (100)
Australia	114 (20.0)	17 (3.0)	354 (62.0)	86 (15.1)	571 (100)
Liberal	792 (21.4)	186 (5.0)	1979 (53.5)	744 (20.1)	3701 (100)
Belgium	210 (24.0)	71 (8.1)	406 (46.3)	189 (21.6)	876 (100)
Netherlands	139 (23.8)	38 (6.5)	279 (47.7)	129 (22.1)	585 (100)
Israel	94 (18.6)	46 (9.1)	261 (51.7)	104 (20.6)	505 (100)
Corporatist	443 (22.5)	155 (7.9)	946 (48.1)	422 (21.5)	1966 (100)
Finland	86 (14.8)	22 (3.8)	356 (61.4)	116 (20.0)	580 (100)
Social democratic	86 (14.8)	22 (3.8)	356 (61.4)	116 (20.0)	580 (100)
Korea	183 (26.6)	34 (4.9)	346 (50.3)	125 (18.2)	688 (100)
Japan	585 (56.9)	23 (2.2)	392 (38.1)	28 (2.7)	1028 (100)
Statist	768 (44.8)	57 (3.3)	738 (43.0)	153 (8.9)	1716 (100)
China	361 (40.0)	57 (6.3)	392 (43.4)	93 (10.3)	903 (100)
India	184 (31.9)	29 (5.0)	303 (52.6)	60 (10.4)	576 (100)
Traditional	545 (36.8)	86 (5.8)	695 (47.0)	153 (10.3)	1479 (100)
Total	2634 (28.0)	506 (5.4)	4714 (49.6)	1588 (17.0)	9442 (100)

Table 2
Distribution of sample across models and types of activity.

Civil society models	Expressive % of sample	Service % of sample	Dominant type of activity
Liberal	22.3	29.3	Service
Corporatist	14.7	18.8	Service
Statist	14.0	16.5	Depends on country
Traditional	31.9	25.8	Expressive
Social democratic	19.4	12.2	Expressive

unteer and donate;" to facilitate interpretation Tables 5–7 summarize the results.

4.2.1. Predicting 'doing neither' versus 'doing both'

As Table 5 indicates, at the individual level materialistic values have a positive effect on 'doing neither' in comparison to 'doing both'. Thus, students higher on materialistic values have a higher tendency for disengaging from any form of giving behavior. Conversely, non-materialistic values show a negative effect on 'doing neither' in comparison to 'doing both,' a finding which implies that students with non-materialistic values have a higher likelihood of engaging in 'both' donating and volunteering. Furthermore, religious values negatively impact 'doing neither' in comparison to 'doing both'. Thus, students with higher religious

value have a higher likelihood of 'both' donating and volunteering.

Among the control variables, age has a significant negative effect, thus suggesting that older students have a higher likelihood of 'both' donating and volunteering. The negative, statistically significant coefficient for gender shows that female students are more likely to engage in 'both' giving behaviors. Family income also shows a negative, statistically significant coefficient: students with higher family income are more prone to do 'both' behaviors. Studying in a business program, as compared to other programs, has a positive effect on 'doing neither' rather than 'doing both' donating and volunteering. Institutional volunteering requirements in high school and college are both negative and statistically significant, thus suggesting that

Table 3
Likelihood test in multinomial logistic regression analysis.

Variables	-2 Log likelihood	χ^2	df	P
Intercept	18718.314	0.000	0	
Age	18731.699	13.385	3	0.004
Gender	18761.748	43.434	3	0.000
Family Income	18743.850	25.536	3	0.000
Program of study	18780.048	61.734	3	0.000
Volunteering required in high school	18764.140	45.827	3	0.000
Volunteering required in university	18727.401	9.087	3	0.028
Values				
Materialistic	18768.315	50.001	3	0.000
Non-materialistic	18977.769	259.456	3	0.000
Religious	18817.456	99.142	3	0.000
Models of civil society	19094.806	376.493	12	0.000

Table 4

Comparison of four different patterns of giving behavior in multinomial logistic regression analysis.

	Nothing vs. both		Volunteering vs. both		Donation vs. both	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Intercept	2.213**	0.352	-1.071*	0.521	1.195**	0.303
Age	-0.036*	0.014	0.015	0.021	0.001	0.012
Gender (ref= male)	-0.301**	0.072	-0.171	0.110	0.046	0.064
Family Income High (ref= low/middle)	-0.307**	0.064	-0.230*	0.096	-0.131*	0.056
Program Other (ref= business)	0.408**	0.088	0.213	0.134	0.576**	0.078
Volunteering required in high school (ref= no)	-0.198**	0.045	0.055	0.066	0.032	0.038
Volunteering required in university (ref= no)	-0.179**	0.063	-0.021	0.091	-0.066	0.052
Values						
Materialistic	0.250**	0.037	0.102	0.056	0.188**	0.032
Nonmaterialistic	-0.588**	0.038	-0.367**	0.056	-0.307**	0.033
Religious	-0.350**	0.036	-0.310**	0.055	-0.210**	0.031
Models of civil society (ref= Liberal)						
Traditional	1.132**	0.118	0.736**	0.173	0.543**	0.111
Corporatist	-0.183	0.096	0.278*	0.135	-0.166*	0.080
Statist	1.217**	0.112	0.152	0.186	0.490**	0.106
Social democratic	-0.324	0.171	-0.410	0.281	0.275*	0.132
-2 Log likelihood = 18718.314, $\chi^2_{36} = 1254.763$ **						

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .01$.

students facing institutional requirements have a higher likelihood of engaging in ‘both’ giving behaviors.

Regarding the models of civil society, with the Liberal regime as a reference category, we find that students in both Traditional and Statist models have a lower likelihood to do ‘both’ forms of giving behavior. Students in both Corporatist and Social democratic models are not significantly different than those in the Liberal model; thus, students in these models of civil society are equally likely to engage in both donating and volunteering simultaneously.

4.2.2. Predicting ‘donating only’ versus ‘doing both’

With respect to differences in the giving behaviors, donating only versus both donating and volunteering, Table 6 shows that materialistic values have a positive effect: students with materialistic value systems have a lower likelihood for doing ‘both’ in comparison to donating only. The reverse is true for non-materialistic values. Religious values have a negative, statistically significant effect, thus suggesting that students with stronger religious values have a higher tendency to ‘both’ donate and volunteer.

Students with higher family income are more likely to engage in ‘both’ behaviors. Students enrolled in a business program, as compared to students in other programs, are more likely to ‘donate only’ than to donate and volunteer.

With respect to the models of civil society, with the Liberal model as the reference category, students in the Social democratic, Traditional and Statist models have a lower likelihood of engaging in ‘both’ behaviors than donating only. By contrast, students in the Corporatist model have a higher likelihood of doing ‘both’.

4.2.3. Predicting ‘volunteering only’ versus ‘doing both’

Table 7 presents the result of predicting volunteering only versus both donating and volunteering. At the individual level non-materialistic values and religious values have negative effects, thus suggesting that students with non-materialistic values and those with religious values

have a higher likelihood of engaging in ‘both’ behaviors. Family income also has a negative impact, a finding which implies that students with higher family income have a higher likelihood of doing ‘both’.

The different models of civil society provide further explanation. In comparison with students in the Liberal model (reference category), Traditional and Corporatist models have a positive effect. Thus, students in these regimes have a higher tendency to ‘volunteer only’ rather than to do ‘both’ in comparison with students in the Liberal model.

5. Discussion

When it comes to giving behavior, students are no different than other people: They make choices to volunteer time only, donate money only, do both, or neither give money nor time. The findings regarding giving behavior of students across 13 countries show that, in general, students predominantly prefer to give money than to volunteer time. Our examination of the four patterns of giving behavior in five different models of civil society reveals the complexity of the issues and the difficulty of simplifying and generalizing across cultures.

The different models of civil society offer certain insights into which type of behavior, volunteering or donating, might dominate. Salamon and Sokolowski (2009) posited that the Statist and Traditional models have relatively small (below the median) size of the nonprofit sector with low levels of government support. Indeed, with one exception, the results of our analysis show lower engagement in giving behaviors than in the other civil society models (except for the case of volunteering vs. doing both where Statist and Liberal countries reported equal tendencies). Perhaps the overall level of development may provide additional insight, again with a few exceptions (England, New Zealand, and Japan). Salamon and Sokolowski (2009) also recognize that national characteristics as well as historical developments, not differentiated by their generic

Table 5
Comparing those who both volunteer and donate and those who do neither.

Students who do neither	No-difference	Students who both volunteer and donate
Higher on materialistic values		Higher on non-materialistic values More religious Older More females Higher income family background
More business and economics students		More reported that volunteering was required in high school More reported that volunteering was required in university
	European Corporatist countries (Belgium, Israel and the Netherlands)	
More from Statist countries (Korea and Japan)		
More from Traditional countries (China and India)		
	Social democratic country (Finland)	

Table 6
Comparing those who both volunteer and donate and those who only donate.

Students who only donate	No-difference	Students who both volunteer and donate
Higher on materialistic values		Higher on non-materialistic values More religious
	Age Gender	
More business and economics students		Higher income family background
	Volunteering was required in high school Volunteering was required in university	
		More from European Corporatist countries (Belgium, Israel and the Netherlands)
		More from Statist countries (Korea and Japan)
		More from Traditional countries (China and India)
		More from Social democratic country (Finland)

civil society models, may impact findings regarding non-profit sector activities.

As expected, we found that in the Statist and Traditional models of civil society students were more likely to be disengaged in giving behaviors (neither volunteering nor donating) in comparison to students in the Liberal model, who were more likely to report participating in both types of giving behaviors. In addition, students in the Traditional model had a higher tendency either to 'volunteer only' or 'donate only;' students in the Statist model had a higher likelihood of 'donating only.'

By contrast, students in the Corporatist model were more likely to report participating in both giving behaviors than those in the Liberal (reference) model when compared with 'donating only', but not in comparison to 'volunteering only'. Thus, students in the Corporatist model were

similar to those in the Liberal model when 'doing both' was compared to 'doing neither', but had a higher tendency to 'volunteer only', and a lower tendency to 'donate only'. Finally, students in the Social democratic model were also somewhat similar to those in the Liberal model with respect to 'doing both' versus 'doing neither' or 'volunteering only', but had a higher likelihood of 'donating only'. Overall, students in the Liberal model had consistently higher tendencies to do 'both' than those in any of the other models of civil society, except in comparison with 'donating only'.

Students differ in their giving behaviors not only with respect to the influences of the regimes in which they live but also, as expected, with regard to the values they profess as well as their social demographic backgrounds: As seen in the summary Tables 5–7, students from high-income families, those holding non-materialistic values,

Table 7
Comparing those who both volunteer and donate and those who only volunteer.

Students who only volunteer	No-difference	Students who both volunteer and donate
More from European Corporatist countries (Belgium, Israel and the Netherlands)	Materialistic values	Higher on non-materialistic values More religious
	Age Gender	Higher income family background
	Business and economics students Volunteering was required in high school Volunteering was required in university	
More from Traditional countries (China and India)	Statist countries (Korea and Japan)	
	Social democratic country (Finland)	

and those expressing stronger religious values are more likely to both volunteer and donate. Furthermore, age, gender, and the institutional requirement to volunteer (in both high school and in university) help to explain the differences between those who engage in 'both behaviors' and those who do neither. These variables cannot, however, differentiate between those students who engage in only one type of giving behavior and those who engage in both donating and volunteering.

This study takes on the challenging task of attempting to combine macro level effects – civil society models – with micro level individual characteristics to explain different patterns of giving behavior. Although macro level structures of the nonprofit regimes undoubtedly provide a strong environmental context that determines the opportunities and expectations for individuals to practice giving behaviors, individual characteristics mediate the decisions to give and/or volunteer or to do neither. Based on a student population generally with lower or no income to give, we had expected donating behavior to be less dom-

inant than volunteering – a finding contradicted by our analysis. However, macro level regime effects may dominate so that students may encounter more opportunities to donate money and less access to volunteering. Furthermore, ongoing volunteering demands commitment on a regular basis from students. The results may have changed had we included episodic volunteering, which is a one time, sporadic activity; students are more likely to engage in this type of volunteering, especially if participation is seen as a résumé building activity (Astin, Sax, & Avalos, 1999). Given the trend of modernity and the shift from ongoing volunteering to episodic volunteering (Hustinx, 2010), future research on students (and others) should investigate and distinguish participation in these two types of volunteering.

Of further research interest may be to what types of organizations students volunteer and/or what cause(s) they support with their monetary donations. Individual characteristics might again suggest the fields of activities, however, as Salamon and Sokolowski (2009) have shown, each model of civil society is dominated by either expressive forms of organizations or service organizations. Again, the preponderance of the types of organizations in the various civil society regimes would impact individuals' choices of where to give (time and/or money) and, hence, their decisions to volunteer, donate, do both, or do neither.

This study does not fully examine the validity of economic models related to people's giving of time and/or money, although we find support for the consumption and investment models. Furthermore, as the data did not allow measurement of the opportunity costs facing the students, it is difficult to separate the effects explained in the public goods model (Duncan, 1999). Data on students' opportunity costs would shed better light on the grouping patterns of giving behavior into those who only volunteer or donate, those who do both and those who do neither. Overall, our findings confirm the economic models that suggest all four types of behaviors will co-exist. Age is significant in the overall model (Table 3); from a life course perspective this suggests that the students are more likely to be engaged in donating and volunteering as they move from late adolescence to young adulthood. The findings suggest, moreover, the importance of the civil society regime types as well as individual characteristics in explaining giving behavior among students representing 13 countries.

6. Conclusion

Most studies of giving behavior examine contributions of either time or money. Although useful, these studies overlook the broader spectrum of giving behavior, which ranges from neither volunteering time nor donating money, to either volunteering or donating, to doing both. Empirical studies show that individual behavior varies across these types, but the literature has not attempted to explain these differences. Yet, understanding the different types of giving behavior is important not only to providing a more complete and accurate explanation but also to yielding insights that could potentially stimulate donations of time as well as money. Most societies have a vital interest in increasing both types of giving and could benefit from

knowledge that would help draw people from volunteering only, or donating only, or doing neither, to active participation in both activities. The present research takes the first step in this inquiry.

Based on a large study of university students across 13 countries ($N=9442$), we build and test a model of giving behavior that encompasses four distinct categories: volunteering only, donating only, doing both, or doing neither. Our model incorporates societal level differences in civil society regimes (Salamon & Sokolowski, 2009) as well as differences at the individual level, such as age, gender, family income, and values. To analyze patterns of student giving behavior cross-nationally, we perform multinomial logistic regression analysis. The results show that, indeed, the propensity to donate money, or volunteer, or give both money and time, or do neither varies in a comprehensible manner according to individual values and demographic characteristics, as well as civil society regimes. Thus, our study takes the literature one step further in examining the complexities of donating and/or volunteering (against doing neither) and finds that while individual characteristics and values can influence behaviors of giving of time and money as previously documented, these factors are played out in civil society regimes, whose effects cannot be ignored. Furthermore, these effects are in whether or not an individual engages in giving behaviors, but also in the combinations of these behaviors.

Our analysis has definite limitations. Although it provides a detailed explanation of the giving behavior of one cohort, with the added strength of a multivariate cross-national analysis, it is based on university students. As a result, it has limited variation on some variables, such as age, and restrictions on generalization beyond the cohort. We are unable to examine the effects of education, which is constant for this cohort, yet important in the explanation of giving behavior (Musick & Wilson, 2008). Also, the research taps the types of volunteer activities (expressive and service) that could be expected in different civil society regimes, but it can only partially assess the influence of regime because our data include a limited number of countries.

This analysis has made a start in a new area of inquiry attempting to explain different categories of giving behavior. It has several implications for future research. First, studies should extend the analysis beyond the cohort of university students to the broader population. Second, in cross-national research, contextual variables, measured here by civil society regimes, should be taken into account, to complement the understanding provided by individual values and demographic variables: Both levels have effects on the categories of giving behavior. Third, our cross-sectional data allow only a snapshot of giving behavior at a single point. This behavior will almost certainly change over time, as the characteristics of giving behavior of the student cohort do not match those from national samples. Students are in transition, so that we can expect their behavior to change with respect to many important social phenomena, including giving. Thus, future research might profitably adopt a life course perspective that would help to illuminate differences in giving behavior over time. Indeed, the decision to both donate money and volunteer

time, or to do one or the other, or to do neither is likely dependent not only on contextual and individual variables but also stage in the life course.

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