Who volunteers?

A study on the determinants of volunteering for refugee focused civil organizations, and gender differences within these determinants

Master: Sociology Contemporary Social Problems
Faculty: Social and behavioral sciences
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Date: 26/06/2023

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Word count: 9999

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Foreword

After I completed my thesis at the University of Applied Sciences, I thought my study career was done. It had been an intense 5 years of studying and the idea of continuing was not on top of mind. The idea of doing another thesis made me hesitate a little bit. However, after a while I came to the conclusion I wanted to dive deeper into societal challenges of current society. Before I knew, I already started my pre masters Sociology Contemporary Social Problems in 2021, and finished most of my masters in 2023. I already knew beforehand, but it has not been an easy ride. However, the choice to obtain further knowledge into social subjects I find interesting has been the right call for me and I would make the same choice again if I had to.

Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisor Lute Bos. I struggled a little bit in the beginning stages of my master thesis, and was not always up to date. However, in these more stressful moments Lute provided me with the right advice, feedback and support. It really helped to guide me in the right direction. Additionally, I would like to voice a big thank you to Christel, Danique and Liz, my master thesis group, who have supported me as well. When needed at any time of the day, they really took their time to give me some good advice and motivated me to keep going forward. It is much appreciated.

The next thank you goes out to Emy Kenter, my intern supervisor at Academie van de Stad. I am grateful that you have let me develop my professional skills on my own terms. Giving me the autonomy in doing all the different, sometimes challenging, tasks during my internship at project JongGras. But also for always being open for thesis related questions, thinking with me on how to approach certain tasks like further defining my thesis focus. I appreciate how you helped me to manage the internship and thesis from the start on, which gave me more confidence in the latter stages as well.

To anyone who is reading this thesis I would say, I hope you enjoy reading and it provides you with some new, interesting finding

Thomas van Poppel

Abstract

Introduction: More refugees are crossing Dutch borders, with civil society accommodating their integration process. Volunteers are of increased importance in our contemporary society. Literature suggests people's obtained resources determine their voluntary participation, but insights on volunteering for refugee focused organizations still lack. **Objective**: Researchers have investigated determinants in doing voluntary work, and now it is important to better understand which aspects determine the likelihood to volunteer for refugee focused organizations. This study investigates 'who' these volunteers are. **Theory:** Human capital, social capital and cultural capital were used to understand the effects of education, social contact frequency and religiosity on the likelihood to volunteer. Additionally, socialization and social learning theory were applied to understand gender differences in the effect on volunteering. **Method**: Data from the LISS panel 2022 were used to answer the propositions, executing a binary logistic regression to understand the effect of education, social contact frequency and religiosity on the likelihood to volunteer. **Results**: Volunteering behavior was affected by educational level and religiosity, making human and cultural capital important mechanisms. Social contact frequency does not affect volunteering. Neither education, social contact or religiosity showed gender difference. **Conclusion and implication:** Higher education associates with higher odds in volunteering, through the contribution of cognitive competence, social status and social awareness. Religiosity influences volunteering due to altruistic and caring values religious people comply with. In attracting fitting volunteers, awareness should be created in higher educational, and more religious contexts. To reach the lower educated, the acquisition and awareness should be targeted to intermediate vocational education level. Academie van de Stad could carry this out, but municipalities have a role in facilitating a framework for the acquisition of volunteers at lower educational levels.

Ethical Statement

This study was approved by the Ethical Review Board that is part of the Faculty of Social and Behavioral Sciences of Utrecht of Utrecht University. The research approval is filed in the number 23-1719.

1. Introduction

The flow of refugees and its additional challenges and tasks have been very salient in our societies for decades. European nations struggle to handle large groups of refugees coming in. The challenges started in 2015, when an exponential group of refugees started to cross the European borders after the war-related conflicts in Syria (Pries, p4, 2019). This has caused strain on European states, in terms of attending applications, distributing newcomers (Pries, 2019, p. 2) and accommodating and protecting their needs (UEAA, 2022.). With ongoing wars, the recent developments in Ukraine and the prospected climate refugees, additional waves of refugees are forced to flee elsewhere. European countries are thus facing an ongoing asylum and integration challenge. Also the Netherlands has received increasing numbers of refugees since 2015 (Meijeren et al., 2022). It welcomed more than 46.000 refugees in 2022. And for 2023, The Dutch ministry of Justice expects this number to be rising to approximately 76.000 by the end of the year, exceeding predictions of 50.000 newcomers (CBS, 2022). In a CBS report exploring the prospective demographics of the country, De Beer et al. (2020) expect a population rise of 1.9 million, to 19.3 million Dutch citizens in 2050. Approximately 90% of this increase - 1.7 million people - is due to migration. The growing numbers and significantly declining volunteer-rates (from 51% to 39% in ten years) (CBS, 2022a), indicate that problems with hosting and integrating immigrants in the Netherlands gains in prevalence in the future.

The Netherlands has been struggling with the influx of refugees. It has not always been able, or willing, to guarantee legal and moral protection for newcomers in their country (Pries, 2019, p. 3). As the Dutch have transferred from a welfare state to a participation society in 2014, tasks transferred from national to local authorities and individuals. Every 'able' person is expected to take responsibility for their own lives and their environments (Hurenkamp, 2020). Parallel to this, the responsibility to solve social problems shifted towards regional, local and individual level. This motion towards a participation society put focus on how socially engaged we ought to be in this modern society. As former UN Secretary General Ban Ki Moon described, "It's not a crisis of numbers, it is a crisis of solidarity" (Pries, p1, 2019). It is this struggle with maintaining a solidair to others in society which has made the integration process a troublesome task.

Civil society and its involved organizations have filled the gaps left by the national authorities, and compensated for opportunities they left. Civil society entails non-governmental organizations which collectively try to achieve shared interests, goals and values like development, human rights and social care (Amnesty International, n.d.). It is the embodiment of the participation society, as parties outside the government involve in solving societal challenges. Civil society mostly runs through people doing voluntary work for associated organizations. Voluntary work is defined as 'non-profit activities including unpaid, self- or institutionally organized, or socially-oriented work connected to a regular, project or event-related expenses (Mieg & Wehner, 2002). Voluntary work can be carried out by any

individual and is characterized by voluntariness, non-profit status and meaningful activity (Güntert et. al., 2022). One type of organizations people volunteer for are humanitarian organizations, characterized by doing work in human rights, and for minorities and migrants (Meijeren et al., 2022). Here, volunteers focus on helping newcomers through their integration process in the host country, assisting in learning the language, obtaining resources, and doing social activities (Unhcr, n.d.). With the displacement of refugees during times of migration crises "(…) it was mainly volunteers and civil and societal organizations that engaged in receiving, welcoming and taking care of new arrivals" (Pries, 2019, p. 2). EU member states struggled working out policies regarding accommodation of refugees showed 'non-responsibility'. By filling the gaps, volunteers have been important for integration processes, by helping refugees to acclimatize to their new country.

In the Netherlands, several organizations try to tackle social problems like integration, as does Academie van de Stad. This innovative, socially entrepreneurial organization in Utrecht stands for creating livable cities with actively engaged residents (Academie van de Stad, n.d.a). It tackles different social challenges, giving students a key role in developing the city through societal projects. Academie connects education with key urban stakeholders. The project of interest is 'JongGras Sportbuddy's', where students help refugees integrate through sports (Academie van de Stad, n.d.b). As the share of refugees rises and the participatory society is prevalent, the pressure on civic society and its accompanying stakeholders will increase (Pries, 2019). With prospective additional newcomers signing up for projects like JongGras, Academie van de Stad is looking to involve more volunteers besides students. Therefore, it is important to get insights into 'who' those volunteers are exactly. Who is willing to guide newcomers? What are their characteristics? What are the main determinants in volunteering? These insights help create an overview of the main factors in volunteering, and how these contribute to which people volunteer for refugee oriented civil organizations.

Up till now, the bulk of research focused on domains like refugees' routes, border controls, refugee administration and integration dynamics. However, civil society, social movements and related organizations have been less researched. With this, there has been little known about 'who' volunteers for civic organizations in the humanitarian sphere. Curious, since these organizations have been dealing with incoming refugees and will continue to do so (Pries, 2019, p. 3). Therefore, this study elaborates on the current scientific understanding of which determinants explain 'who' volunteers for refugee focused organizations specifically. The study follows the notion of Wilson & Musick (1997), explaining that human, social and cultural resources, and its indicators education, social contact and religiosity determine volunteering. Through this the knowledge gap that is present in science on the specific determinants influencing volunteering is narrowed. Additionally, societal relevance is found in this research paper. The research insights create a more complete perspective on the most important factors in the likelihood for individuals to volunteer for refugees. These insights help determine where to put focus when finding and acquiring prospective volunteers, which is beneficial for the integration and

acclimatization process of newcomers in the Netherlands. Hence, the first question this paper tries to answer go as follows:

Q1: To what extent is there a positive effect of education, social contact frequency and religiosity on the likelihood to volunteer for refugee focused organizations?

Furthermore, this study expands on the effects of gender, as gender difference can have significant implications on who volunteers. Rates and types of volunteering vary between the genders, as women tend to engage more frequently in volunteering activities compared to men (Taniguchi, 2006). Research suggests that social norms, expectations and gender roles contribute to these disparities (Elder & Clipp, 1989; Penner, 2002). The differences result from gendered societal expectations and roles, in which women are associated more with caregiving and nurturing (Penners, 2002; Wilson, 2000), while men associate less with these expectations. There have been few studies examining the effect of gender on the different determinants in volunteering. As it can be useful for Academie van de Stad to know the gender difference in volunteering, the following explanatory question will be answered:

Q2: To what extent does gender influence the effect of religion, education and social contact on volunteering for refugee focused organizations?

Insights into these research questions can help Academie van de Stad, and related other civil or societal entities, in reaching and attracting fitted volunteers in the future. It could have a positive implication for how the organizational policy could be adjusted and complemented. Therefore, the policy related question is:

Q3: How can the insights into determinants to volunteer for refugee focused organizations be utilized in the acquisition of volunteers, to handle future refugee streams?

2. Theory

Previous research findings believed that doing voluntary activities positively contributes to resources people gain from them. However, scholars have reversed this mechanism recently. Wilson and Musick (1997) show the importance of a resource-based approach, indicating that human capital, social capital and cultural capital are important resources for people to effectively volunteer in civil organizations. They revealed multiple capital-indicators that influence people's participation. This theory chapter explains the effect of the most prominent indicators on the likelihood to volunteer, through applying human capital theory, social capital theory and cultural capital theory. *Level of education*, *social contact frequency* and *religiosity* are the main indicators, as these seem of most importance according to the literature (Wilson and Musick, 1997). Moreover, these indicators seem of most value for Academie van de Stad to apply into future policy. Based on these theoretical frameworks, three hypotheses are formulated. The conceptual model can be found in Figure 1.

2.1 The main effects of education, social contact and religiosity

The first indicator is an important aspect of human capital theory. Following Gary Becker (1967), human capital encompasses someone's productive skills, which can be utilized to generate economic benefits like earnings (Weiss, 2015). People gain human capital through education and training, through which they invest in additional knowledge and skills for prospective financial benefits. In essence, human capital resources entail the core qualification and requirements people need to make work more productive (Meijeren et al., 2022). It increases their abilities, efficiency, task participation and performance level (Son, 2010). Human capital thus entails someone's individual qualities, which in turn imply who is more able or willing to do voluntary work, and who is not (Son & Wilson, 2012).

2.1.1 Education as predictor for volunteering

A characteristic of human capital is the *level of education.* It has been used as one of the most important indicators to measure human capital and additionally has been the best fitted 'asset' for doing voluntary work (McPherson & Rotolo, 1996; Huang, van den Brink & Groot, 2009). As Gesthuizen and Scheepers (2010) describe, higher educated people tend to more voluntary work compared to lower educated people. Firstly, higher educated individuals have a higher cognitive competence, insinuating having the skills needed to execute voluntary work, like autonomy, flexibility and leadership (Gesthuizen & Scheepers, 2010). Additionally, higher educated individuals obtain a higher social status due to their greater labor position. Because of the higher degree and status, higher educated people experience more feelings of obligation 'give' towards others (Brown, 2005). Finally, higher educated people seem more aware of social problems and current affairs in society, with additional motivations to solve them (Musick & Wilson, 2007; Gesthuizen & Scheepers, 2010). Other researchers found that education enables people to enhance and stimulate their civic competences, values and their social networking

skills (Oesterle et al., 2004; Brown, 2005), which stimulates the feeling of 'giving'. Besides, higher educated people tend to favor solidarity focused activities (Maggini, 2018). All these aspects and activities are also reflected in humanitarian and refugees focused voluntary work.

The process of educational expansion makes it interesting to reevaluate the effect of education. The distribution of educational attainment among the population is immensely different from a few decades ago. A growing share of the total population receives education, and the average level of education is still rising (Van Ingen & Dekker, 2011). This makes the general population higher educated. With the greater share of higher educated people and higher education indicating voluntary participation, it is expected that the effect of educational level increases as well. Therefore it is expected that *(H1) high education of individuals has a positive effect on volunteering for refugee focused organizations.*

2.1.2 Social contact frequency affecting voluntary behavior

Besides individual assets of human capital, other indicators in volunteering are more socially oriented. An example is social capital. According to Bourdieau (1986), social capital is the aggregate of resources obtained in mutual relationships, based on membership to a certain social group. It provides people with capital they can ascribe to themselves (Bourdieau, 1986). Coleman (1988) approaches social capital as resources and benefits like knowledge and practical help, which individuals obtain from connections within their social network, like family and friend groups, and their surrounding community. Social capital explains how people are part of society and form social bonds with others in social environments (Pichler & Wallace, 2007), which generates a sense of community.

Personal relations and networks are important for generating valuable assets. For instance, a sense of community among members stimulates values and norms like trust and reciprocity, gratitude and mutual respect (Granovetter, 1985; Bourdieau, 1993; Coleman, 1988). Interactions between community members enhance these values and norms, encouraging each other to do socially good (Putnam, 2000). In a sense, frequent social interactions stimulate people's subjectively felt obligations to do good for others' welfare (Bourdieau, 1983), with expectations to really act upon it as well. Also Coleman and Granovetter acknowledge the importance of social influence through interactions within social networks, through which people create norms, habits and customs that they follow automatically.

A first indicator of social capital and resources is *social contact frequency* of informal social interactions. Strong social connections stimulate information flows, general trust and sense of belonging can (Granovetter, 1973), which increases the odds of doing voluntary work (Wilson & Musick, 1997). Brown & Ferris (2007) found that people with more frequent contact with friends and family tend to volunteer more. Firstly, this correlation exists because frequency of contact embodies strength of ties (Granovetter, 1973). Regular interactions create more opportunities to exchange information, which in turn strengthens people's emotional bonds (McPherson et. al., 1992). When frequently engaging with people, you are also more likely to be exposed to information on volunteer- related activities, increasing

the potential to get inspired to participate in these actions. Secondly, social ties generate trust in others which contributes to doing voluntary work (Pichler & Wallace, 2007). Wilson (2000) found that with frequent contact with friends and relatives happens, people's trust increases (Wilson, 2000). Trust indicates higher levels of altruistic spirit and universalistic perspectives among individuals, encouraging them to invest time in others (Fukuyama, 1995; Brady et al., 1999). Additionally, trust and belonging forthcoming from consistent interactions foster the willingness to contribute to others' wellbeing. It contributes to the promotion of social behavior, which can be found in volunteering as well. With this information we expect that (*H2*) *the frequency of social contact with others has a positive effect on volunteering for humanitarian organizations.*

2.1.3 Religiosity affecting in voluntary participation

The latter indicator relates to cultural capital. Wilson and Musick (1997) link voluntary work to ethical work, for which cultural capital is required. They extend on Bourdieau's cognitive components of cultural capital by addressing the moral component. They emphasize that cultural capital, besides generic musical and cultural tastes, also embodies values like honesty, truthfulness, fairness and doing good, to fair treatment of other individuals. According to Wilson and Musick (1997), people hold on to tastes and values that contribute to the common good, to being a good citizen for society. Religion is an example of an institution in which people partly live by values and practices for the common good.

Religiosity and religious practices are found to determine who volunteers (Van Ingen & Dekker, 2010). They state that church members do more voluntary work for others opposed to non-church members. Religion provides them a rational framework on how to look at other humans, stimulating an identity beyond the individual (Bekkers, & Schuyt, 2008). This rationale consists of altruistic and caring values, in which helping others is part of the religious social practices and institutions. Subsequently religious people tend to display higher levels of civic engagement and caring activities, compared to the non-religious (Bekkers, & Schuyt, 2008). Additionally, as the religious tend to be more in contact with other religions, they embed themselves in religious networks which reinforces altruistic values. Belonging to a religious community enlarges people's social networks (Bekkers & Schuyt, 2008), increasing the likelihood to get influenced by others to do voluntary work, as members more easily swayed to involve themselves in voluntary activities. This makes them more likely to engage in projects for the collective good (Van Ingen &Dekker, 2010). Furthermore, frequent church-goers show even more affinity with volunteering. Level of church attendance and frequency of religious practices both seem to positively affect the participation in voluntary organizations (Van Ingen & Dekker, 2011). Wilson and Musick (1997) therefore propose that the frequency of religious practices makes people more willing to do voluntary work now and in the future, opposed to the non-religious.

In more recent times, the effect of religion on volunteering could have changed due to secularization. Religious denomination and church attendance have declined in The Netherlands over

the last years. In 2021, 58 percent of people aged above 15 did not belong to a religious group, whereas in 2010 this was only 45 percent (CBSa, 2022). Looking at all age groups, around 50 percent had a religious denomination. However, since 2018 the majority of the Dutch population is non-religious (Van den Einden, 2022). Van den Einden (2022) states that The Netherlands has been a European front-runner in terms of secularization. This reduction in group size of religious people could imply changing effects of religiosity on the likelihood to volunteer. However, Wilson (2008) states the people still involved in religion are the most dedicated ones. This dedication could make them be more aligned with religious values like caring and giving, implying a stable effect on volunteering. Therefore, the effect of frequency of church attendance or other religious activities on volunteering for refugee focused organizations continues to be strong. With religion as a strong indicator for volunteering, and expected dedication among the more loyal church goers, it is expected that *(H3) the level of religiosity has a positive effect on volunteering for refugee focused organizations.*

2.2 The moderating effect of gender

Studies find that women are more generous donating charity and volunteering their time to people in need (Piper & Schnepf, 2008; Taniguchi, 2006; Wymer, 2011). Women pursue more social and caring related life perspectives, stimulating them to put more time and effort into volunteering, as compared to men. Men seem to prioritize work and career over volunteering, as they perceive themselves as the bread-winners (Wilson, 2000). Additionally, volunteering is seen as more feminine, creating boundaries for men to engage in it (Penner, 2002). Males and females are differently socialized through society, in social contexts like education, religion and direct social contact. The socialization process could imply disparities between gender on the three predictors. Socialization theory and social learning substantiate the differences.

2.2.1 Socialization and social learning mechanisms

Before linking gender to the effects of the three predictors on volunteering, the concept of socialization is explained first. George Herbert Mead (1934) was the first researcher to concretize socialization theory. According to him, socialization underlines interaction as significant asset in the development of 'the self'. *Socialization theory* explains how people are not born with a set of social norms, values, beliefs and behaviors, but learn and internalize these through social interactions in their environment (Mead, 1934; Macionis, 2017). It highlights the communication and interaction processes between people within society which stimulate social behaviors, norms and values. Social interactions shape how individuals perceive themselves, and their role in society. Socialization encompasses how individuals internalize the attitudes, values, and expectations society puts on them (Mead, 1934). Social agents like family members, parents, teachers and peers play an important role in shaping one's identity. From birth, children are socialized by their direct circle of parents and family (primary socialization) (Berger &

Luckermann, 1966). And throughout the lifespan, people are socialized by different social contexts they engage in, like their friend's circle, education and religion (Secondary socialization). The 'social agents' transmit knowledge, values and social norms towards the individual. Reinforcement and feedback on these norms makes individuals learn, internalize and conform to these standards (Macionis, 2017). Simultaneously, the internalized norms and roles tell them what to believe and how to behave. In the end, socialization shapes what people actually believe in, and how they behave accordingly.

Part of socialization processes in the *gendered socialization*. Henslin (2010) argues that capturing differences in gender roles is influential within socialization. Gender socialization is the idea that people learn behavior, values, attitudes and roles through their assigned sex (Henslin, 2010; Eagly et al., 2000). Likewise, gendered socialization starts from childhood and proceeds through life, through interactions with family, peers, educational and religious settings. Gender socialization shapes what is supposed to be for men and what is more for women, through which both genders internalize this role specific knowledge (Henslin, 2010; Berger & Luckermann, 1966). Through interactions with others these societal expectations on gender spread between people, shaping how to behave according to those gender roles (Eagly et. al., 2000). Parents and peers might encourage boys/men to engage in more career-focused and autonomous behavior, while encouraging girls/women to be nurturing and community-oriented (Lorber et. al., 1981; Eagly & Crowley, 1986). This socialization makes people internalize the gender specific 'rules of the game', which influences how they behave accordingly.

An important aspect within socialization is social learning. Albert Bandura (1977) underlines how observation and imitation are vital in acquiring behaviors, attitudes and beliefs. Social learning theory posits that people observe other actions and subsequently mimic and learn those behaviors. This accentuates that people not only learn from personal actions, but also learn from their social environment, by looking at how others are treated when showing certain behavior (Schreiber & Valle, 2013; Bandura & Walters, 1963). Bandura connects the theory to cognitive mechanisms: People first gain attention from others' behaviors, then store this into their brains, before reproducing the behavior they think positively affects them (Bandura, 1977). Here, social agents are important, in that people learn behavior from peers as role models, to obtain beliefs and attitudes.

These processes of socialization and social learning of how people obtain gendered beliefs and behaviors could explain gender differences in education, social contact frequency and religiosity.

The interaction between education and gender

Socialization processes can create gendered expectations, which could influence people's engagement in volunteering activities (Wilson & Musick, 1999; Li, 2018). As socialization occurs in social environments, it could explain gender differences in the relationship between educational level and volunteering for refugee organizations. As Mead (1934) and Berger & Luckermann (1966) highlight education as an important social context for socialization processes, gender differences can be assumed here as well.

For 23 years, women have been overrepresented in higher educational levels compared to men. According to most recent measures (2021-2022), women represented 54% percent at university level (WO) and 53% at higher professional educational level (HBO) (CBS, 2023). As higher educated people are more likely to volunteer, these data imply increased odds for females. Additionally, socialization can have an effect on the relationship between education and volunteering. As individuals are exposed to gender expectations, this influences their aspirations. Men pursue more STEM related careers (science, technology, engineering and mathematics), while females pursue careers in social, humanities and educational fields (Hannover & Kessels, 2004). As females are already more socialized in nurturing and caring (Eccles, 1994), their chosen studies could strengthen this process. Through these social studies women are more exposed to promotion of social behaviors, which is key for increasing likelihood to volunteer for humanitarian causes (Meijeren et al., 2022). Through female gender roles, females are socialized to pursue socially-related studies where socialization and social learning reinforces attached social values among peers. It is expected that *(H4) women that are higher educated participate more frequently in volunteering for refugee focussed organizations, as compared to men.*
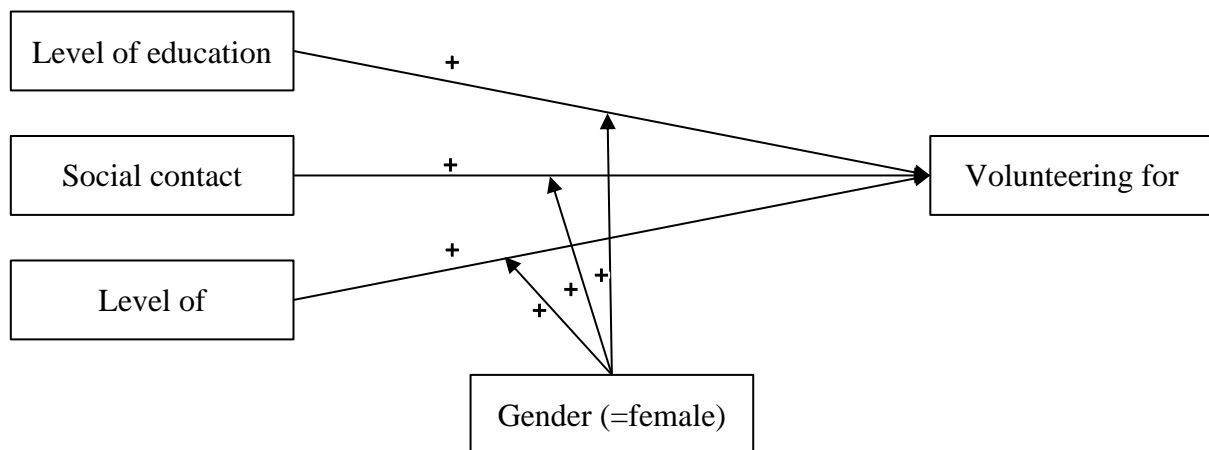
The interaction between social contact frequency and gender

As aforementioned, socialization and social learning processes influence how the genders male and female behave differently according to social norms, values and attitudes they obtain. Peer interactions play a role in strengthening gender norms and expectations, as both children and adolescents often try to conform to peer group standards (Eccles, 1999). A study examining friendship patterns among adults found that females maintain more same-sex friends compared to males (Antonucci & Akiyama, 1987). Additionally, females tend to have more frequent contact with their own gender group. The findings were consistent across age, suggesting that female same-sex friendships and frequency of contact persist through their lifespan. As social learning takes place through social interactions and interpretations (Vygotsky, 1962), interactions between women reinforce gendered values, norms and roles. Eagly & Crowly (1986) found that the female gender role fosters 'helping' which is altruistic, nurturing and caring, whereas the male role encourages 'helping' practical and bold is. With females having more frequent contact between themselves, altruism, nurturing and caring could be reinforced. As volunteering for refugees specifically is altruistic in nature, this could explain how their perception of engaging in voluntary related activities is shaped positively due to the gender interactions. They could agree for these values and behaviors to be important in life, as truth to act upon. It is thus expected that *(H5) women with more frequent social contact also participate more frequently in volunteering for refugee focused organizations, as compared to men.*

The interaction between religiosity and gender

Berger & Luckerman (1966) explained how people are socialized through secondary socialization and enter different social contexts, creating social norms and beliefs upon which they behave accordingly. As practices and actions are influenced by socialization and social learning processes, males and females tend to practice gender according to the norms and values in their gender group (Martin, 2003). One of those social groups of influence Berger and Luckerman highlight is religion. Gender is constructed in social contexts like education earlier, but Berger and Luckerman also highlight the influence of gender in religion (Lorber, 1994; Berger and Luckerman (1966). In this, socialization and social learning mechanisms indicate corresponding ways of thinking and behaving between females and religious people. Both groups have overarching values like altruism, compassion and community orientation, opposed to males and non-religious individuals (Bekker & Schuyt, 2008). As females in general have internalized gender roles like caregiving and nurturing for others, this aligns with the religious perspectives which encourages communal and caregiving roles as well. As religious people involve in their religious community, through social learning these gender specific roles are being reinforced. As being female and being religious both encompass actions, norms and values in line with what volunteering for refugees entails, it is therefore expected that *(H6) religious women participate more frequently in volunteering for refugee focused organization, as compared to men.*

Fig. 1.1: Conceptual model with the key concept of this research

3. Methods

3.1 Data

To test the hypotheses on the relation between education, social contact frequency and religiosity with volunteering for refugee organizations, and the moderation gender, data were derived from the Longitudinal Internet Studies for Social Sciences (LISS). The open-access dataset is representative of the Dutch population with true probability based-samples of households drawn from the population. Self-registration is impossible, guaranteeing representativeness (Centerdata, 2022.). The LISS consists of 5.000 households (7.500 individuals), aged 16 years and older. Panel members monthly complete online questionnaires on work, education, income, political views, values and personality, updating their information at regular time intervals. Pre-validated measurement instruments like instruments from the European Social Survey guarantees high quality data, capable of monitoring social living conditions and life courses of panel members. These represent social changes among the Dutch population (Scherpenzeel, 2009). Members without internet receive a computer with internet to incorporate non-internet users, enhancing the representativeness. Yearly, the panel retains 90% of its members and refreshment samples executed. The panel comprises various 'modules', of which Health, Religion & Ethnicity, Social integration and Background variables were used in this study. The models have high response rates between 83% and 85%. After merging, adjusting and eliminating missing values, the final N was 4073.

3.2 Variables

Dependent variable

The dependent variable is volunteering. The LISS panel asked respondents for what type of organization they actively volunteered, by asking *"Can you indicate, for each of the following listed organizations, what applies to you at this moment or has applied to you over the past 12 months"*, for refugees. Since answer categories contained environmental, leisure, interest and other organizations (besides refugee organizations), these were selected out. Afterwards, the dependent variable *volunteering* was constructed, with 0='not involved in volunteering' and 1='involved in volunteering for refugee organizations.' Out of 4073 respondents, 73 answered 'yes'. Respondents leaving the question unanswered were labeled as missings and excluded from the dataset.

Independent variables

The first indicator is *level of education*. The LISS measured this through the question *"What is your level of education in CBS (Statistics Netherlands) categories?"*. Respondents could answer 1) primary school, 2) intermediate secondary education, 3) higher secondary education, 4) intermediate vocational education, 5) higher vocational education and 6) university. Since this study focuses on differences between lower and higher educated, level of education was computed. Level 1 to 4 are seen as low education, while 5 and 6 are perceived as high (Pleijers & De Vries, 2021). However, education was

computed with 3, 5 and 6 as higher education, as students with higher secondary education also fall in the scope of higher applied education and university. Thus, categories 1, 2, 4 are lower educated (=0), while 3, 5 and 6 are higher educated (=1).

The second indicator is *social contact frequency* (informal social contact). This was constructed with three items of the LISS-survey: *"How often do you spend an evening with family"*, *"How often do you spend an evening with someone from the neighborhood"*, and *"How often do you spend an evening with friends outside your neighborhood"*. The scale of items provided a medium strong reliability (Cronbach's alpha = .630), indicating a good scale to measure social contact frequency. To interpret the answers the right way, the answers were reversed and recoded in 0) never, 1) about once a year, 2) a number of times a year, 3) about once a month, 4) a few times per month, 5) once or twice a week, and 6) almost every day. The answers labeled as 'don't know' or 'not applicable' were labeled missing, thus excluded from the analysis. .

The third indicator is *religiosity*. As earlier mentioned religiosity represents not only being a church goer and having a religious denomination, but it embodies the frequency of doing religious activities. In the LISS dataset, the 'attendance at religious gathering' was measured through the question: "Aside from special occasions such as weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious gatherings nowadays?". Again, answers were reversed and recoded to construct the variable religiosity to interpret it correctly. It now consists of 0) never, 1) once or a few times a year, 2) at least once a month, 3) once a week, 4) more than once a week, and 5) everyday. The constructed variable contained missing values, which were excluded from the study for the final dataset.

Moderator

Gender was measured by asking respondents whether they were male (=0) or female (=1). To measure its effect, the variable 'sex' was used instead of gender. The latter consisted of the labels 1=male, 2=female, 3=intersex, 4=non-binary, 5=transgender, 6=in a different way, 7=I don't know, 8=I prefer not to say. Since the difference in self-identified gender for the main effects out of this study's scope, the variable 'sex' was used (1=male, 2= female, 3=other). It is recoded into 0=male and 1= female, with 'other' being labeled as missing value and subtracted from the dataset.

Controls

The literature on voluntarism finds multiple factors among individuals influencing the likelihood to volunteer. To correct for these confounding factors - for their effect on the direct relations - the following prominent control variables are included in this research.

Age seems to affect the likelihood to volunteer. Younger people give more priority to careers and studying (Blacks & Kovacs, 1999; Clary & Schneider, 1999), while older individuals give more importance to being socially involved (Greenslade & White, 2005, Okun & Schultz). The older people

are, the more time they devote to altruistic motives (Black & Jirovic, 1999), which might affect the results. Age was measured by asking people their age.

Income is an influencing factor too. Income seems to 'qualify' individuals for doing voluntary work (Smith, 1994). The decision to volunteer is affected by income, with higher incomes investing more money and time in volunteering, compared to lower incomes (Gomez and Gunderson, 2003). Higher incomes have more resources to spend, and more flexible jobs for managing voluntary actions (Son & Wilson, 2012). Income is measured by asking *'what is your personal net income?',* where people note their yearly net income. Categories 'don't want to mention' and 'don't know' were assigned as missing and subtracted.

Subjective health affects volunteering, as good health is a resource and bad health constraints people (Gesthuizen & Scheepers, 2010). Being able, or considering voluntary work, partly depends on an individual's health (Smith, 1975). Accordingly, if someone rates their own health positively, this also positively influences their probability to volunteer. Subjective health is measured in the LISS by asking *"how would you describe your health, generally speaking?",* and is constructed with categories 0) poor, 1) moderate, 2) good, 3) very good and 4) excellent.

Next is *Marital Status*. Married people tend to volunteer more frequently than their non-married counterparts (Nesbit, 2012), but it varies in stages. Voluntary participation decreases when married, but tends to increase when couples establish their lives and have children (Stoker & Jennings, 1995; Rotolo & Wilson, 2006). Therefore marital status is controlled for. LISS respondents noted their civil status, and the variable was constructed with 0=never married, 1=divorced/separated and 2=married.

Cultural background contains influence, as studies find that natives do more voluntary work opposed to migrant backgrounds (Aleksynska, 2011; Carabain & Bekkers, 2011). People with migrant backgrounds tend to volunteer more in religious spheres, but overall, natives are overrepresented due to the individual resources they possess. This variable consisted of 0 being Dutch background and 101 to 104 being first and second generation, western and nonwestern migration background. I was recoded as 0=Migrant background and 1=Dutch native.

Last, *Primary occupation* influences volunteering behavior. Although studies find that occupied people are less likely to volunteer (Van Ingen & Dekker, 2011), most studies find a positive relation between being occupied and volunteering (Taniguchi, 2006; Wilson, 2000; Wilson & Musick, 1997). The LISS constructed primary occupation with 14 categories. For this, it was reconstructed into 0=no occupation and 1=occupation.

3.3 Analysis strategy

For this research, a binary logistic regression with three moderations was performed with IBM SPSS version 28. This method is the best strategy when working with categorical dependent variables with two nominal or ordinal categories. To test the hypotheses, the logistic regression was executed in 5 different models. Table 2 shows the analysis of the first two models. Model 1 tested the direct relations

between the independent variable education, social contact frequency and religiosity, while model 2 executed the same analyses including the control age, income, subjective health, marital status, cultural background and occupation and the moderator gender.

The latter three models contain the interaction effects and represent the full models. Model 3 focuses on the interaction effect of gender and education, on the relation with volunteering, including the main effect of education, the controls, the moderator gender and the interaction effect education*gender. Model 4 does the same for the interaction of social contacts*gender, while model 7 represents the interaction of religiosity*gender.

3.4 Assumptions check

To ensure quality and reliability of the Binary Logistic Regression, a few assumptions were tested. First, the presence of a dichotomous dependent variable was validated, with volunteering being a categorical variable with 0=no and 1=yes. Secondly, the independent variables education, Social contact frequency and religiosity were tested on correlinearity through the Variance Inflation Factors (VIF) and Tolerance. All variables showed a VIF around 1 (10=problematic) and a Tolerance of (0.1 is critical), which indicates no robust collinearity between the variables. Third, the prevalence of outliers was checked through Mahalanobis distance. After creating the Mahalanobis variable, a probability variable was computed using the Chi square function, providing the probability of each case being an outlier (outlier = Chi square below .01). Six cases were labeled as outliers, and their effect was checked by doing logistic regression with and without outliers. Only the effect of social contact slightly changed (from .657 to .662, indicating a minor change), upon which it was decided not to remove any outliers from the dataset.

Results

The effects of the three main predictors on volunteering and their interactions with gender were tested with logistic regression, as just explained. The results are presented as odds ratios with a p-value of .05* significant relations, 01* for strong relationships and .001* for very strong relations. It should be mentioned that the reader should be cautious when interpreting the outcomes. Logistic regression provides odds of the effects, meaning that causal effects cannot be fully drawn from the analyses. Effects thus indicate relations and influences.

Table 1. Descriptives of the included dependent variable, predictors, moderator and control variables.

	N	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Volunteering a)	4073	0	1	.02	1.07
Education b)	4073	0	1	.53	.50
Social contact c)	4073	0	18	7.00	1.12
Religiosity d)	4073	0	5	.57	1.01
Gender e)	4073	0	1	.59	.49
Age	4073	16	96	56	17.57
Subjective health	4073	0	4	2.07	.77
Cultural background	4073	0	1	.83	.37
Marital Status	4073	0	2	1.27	.85
Income	4073	0	226398	2060.49	1188.53
Primary occupation	4073	0	1	.48	.50

Notes: Few high incomes were outliers. No significant effect changes after deleting outliers, therefore still in the analysis. Same for age. Reference categories: a) not volunteering for refugee organizations. b) low education. c) never. d) never attending religious gatherings. e) male.

In table 1, all descriptives of the included variables in the logistic regression analysis are presented. After merging the separate LISS datasets containing the predictors, the dependent variable, the controls and the moderator, the final dataset consisted of 4073 respondents. Noticing the mean of .59 on gender, this indicates women are overrepresented in this study compared to men. With 1 being higher education, the number of high and low educated respondents in the final dataset is almost equal, which is demonstrated by the mean .53. Additionally, table 1 shows that respondents report below average frequency of social contact with family and friends within or outside the neighborhood (mean=7.00). Looking at the mean of .51 on religiosity (going from 0 to 5), most respondents do not seem to attend religious gatherings frequently.

Table 2 presents the findings of the binary logistic regression models examining the relation between the three independent variables education, social contact frequency and religiosity and the likelihood of volunteering for refugee focused organizations. The first model is the baseline model, only including the main effects of the three predictors, while model 2 shows the results when accounting for the control variables and the moderator.

Table 2. Logistic regressions on the three independent variables, and the regression with all three variables, controls and moderator included.

	Model 1	Model 2
Independents		
Education a)	3.048*** (.280)	3.639*** (.286)
Social contact b)	1.006 (.035)	1.027 (.035)
Religiosity c)	1.412*** (.088)	1.391*** (.092)
Controls		
Age		1.011 (.009)
Subjective health		.816 (.165)
Cultural background d)		.710
Marital Status		
Never married		Ref.
Separated/divorced		.946 (.415)
Married		.937 (.338)
Income		1.000 (.000)
Primary occupation e)		.577 (.303)
Moderator		
Gender f)		2.706** (.276)
Constant	.005*** (.368)	.004*** (.801)
Pseudo R2 (Nagelkerke)	.046	.101

Notes. The table shows the Exponentiated coefficients (odds ratios). Standard errors in parentheses. Significance levels *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001
a) Reference category = low education. b) Reference category = never. c) Reference category = never attending religious gatherings. d) Reference category = migrant background. e) Reference category = no occupation.
f) Reference category = male.

Model 1 tested the relation between education and volunteering for refugee organizations. The model was significant ($X^2(3)=31.085$, p<.001), with volunteering being explained by the model with 4.6% (Nagelkerke R2). This first model indicated a positive relation between education and the odds of volunteering for refugee organizations (OR = 3.048, p < .001). Additionally, the model argued a slight

positive relation between the social contact frequency, however it does not reach significance (OR=1.006, p=.862). Finally, this first model tested the relation between religiosity and volunteering, showing a positive significant relationship (OR=1.412, p<.001).

When adding the control variables and the moderator in model 2, this model turned out significant (X^2(11)=59.931, p<.001) and is a better fit compared to the previous model (10.1%, Nagelkerke R^2). The positive effect of education on volunteering increased compared to the baseline model (OR=3.639, p<.001), meaning that higher educated people are 3.639 times more likely to volunteer for refugee organizations. Hypothesis 1 is supported, stating that the educational level of individuals has a positive effect on volunteering for refugee organizations. The effect of social contact remained non-significant (OR=1.027, p=.454), meaning a positive effect of social contact frequency on volunteering for refugee organizations is not supported (hypothesis 2). Religiosity remained positively significant compared to the baseline model (OR=1.391, p<.001), establishing support for hypothesis 3 explaining a positive effect of religiosity on volunteering for refugee organizations. The odds of doing voluntary work for refugees is 1.391 times higher for more religious people. Model 2 brought no significant effects of the control variables. Gender as moderator shows a significant positive effect. This indicates that, when accounting for the effect of the predictors, gender could influence the odds of volunteering. This will not be analyzed in depth.

The latter three models are presented in table 3, and focus on the interaction effects. Each model consists of one of the three predictors, the controls, moderator and the interaction effect with gender.

Model 3 examined whether the relation between education and volunteering is positively affected by gender (being a woman). The model itself is significant (X^2(10)=48.661, p<.001), explaining 7.2% (Nagelkerke R^2) of the variance in volunteering. However, the interaction effect of education and gender does not reach significance (OR=.686, p=593). Therefore, the findings do not support hypothesis 4, as a positive effect of being a woman on the relation between education and volunteering is not found. Education remains a significant predictor of volunteering (OR=4.860, p<.05), with higher educated people having 4.860 times the odds of doing voluntary work for refugee organizations, compared to lower educated. Gender is found to be significant, again instigating that being a woman might increase the odds of volunteering. Details on this will not be further discussed. Noteworthy is that model 3 shows primary occupations (OR=.544, p<.05) as the only significant control variable through all the models. The OR below 1 indicates a significant negative relation, meaning that being occupied decreases the chances of volunteering for refugee organizations compared to non-occupied people, when the effect of education is being accounted for.

Table 3. Logistic regressions on the three interactions with gender, which each predictor in separate models

	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Independents			
Education b)	4.860** (.633)		
Social contact c)		.986 (.064)	
Religiosity			1.242
Controls			
Age	1.009 (.010)	1.011 (.010)	1.009 (.009)
Income	1.000 (.000)	1.000 (.000)	1.000 (.000)
Subjective health	.850 (.164)	.885 (.166)	.883 (.165)
Cultural background	.716 (.291)	.643 (.291)	.682 (.249)
Marital Status			
Never married	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Separated/divorced	.969 (.414)	.888 (.413)	.848 (.411)
Married	.994 (.300)	.880 (.339)	.816 (.334)
Primary occupation	.544* (.300)	.629 (.291)	.656 (.291)
Moderator			
Gender e)	3.776** (.640)	1.495 (.622)	2.276** (.333)
Interaction			
Education * Gender	686 (.706)		
Social contacts * Gender		1.075 (.075)	
Religiosity * Gender			1.144 (.212)
Constant	.004*** (.8.29)	.014*** (.859)	.012*** (.724)
Pseudo R2 (Nagelkerke)	.072	.039	.052

Notes. The table shows the Exponentiated coefficients (odds ratios). Standard errors in parentheses. Significance levels *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.
b) Reference category = low education c) Reference category = never d) Reference category = never attending religious gatherings e) Reference category = male

The fourth model analyzed the interaction effect of gender on the relation between social contact frequency and volunteering for refugee organizations. Model significance was found ($X^2(10)=26.535$, p<.05), explaining 3.9% (Nagelkerke R^2) of the variance in volunteering. As table 3 shows, no significance is found among any of the variables. There is absence of the interaction of social contact frequency with gender (OR=1.075, p=.336), thus H5 is rejected which indicates that women with more

frequent social contact (compared to men) participate more in volunteering for refugee organizations. The main effect of social contact frequency remains non-significant (OR=.986, p=.832).

The final model tests the interaction effect of gender on the relation between religiosity on the likelihood to volunteer. This model 5 is also significant ($X^2(10)=35.266$, p<.001). Variance in volunteering is explained by 5.2% (Nagelkerke R^2). The interaction effect of religiosity with gender does not reach statistical significance (OR=1.144, p=.526). Accordingly, hypothesis 6 implying that religious women participate more frequently in volunteering for refugee organizations is not supported. Just like the previous model, all control variables show non-significance. Just like model 3, gender as moderator is found to be significant. Again, this suggests an effect of being female on volunteering, but it will not be discussed in depth.

In summary, based on the binary logistic regression the first hypothesis is supported, finding a positive relation of educational level on the likelihood to volunteer for refugee organizations. Compared to lower educated individuals, higher educated people are more prone to do volunteering activities for refugees. However, no support is found for the second hypothesis. The interaction effect of social contact frequency and gender has no influence on the relation with volunteering. The outcomes do support the third hypothesis, as a significant relation between gender and religiosity is found. More religious people are more likely to show voluntary behavior. The fourth hypothesis suggesting an interaction effect of gender and education is not supported. No gender difference in level of education can be concluded. Additionally, the results did find support for the fifth hypothesis. Gender does not interact with the relation between social contact frequency and likelihood to volunteer. Finally the interaction term of religiosity and gender is not supported either, indicating no effect of gender on the relationship. Hypothesis six is thus rejected.

5. Conclusion
5.1 Concluding statements

The voluntary sector is of great value, as civic society helps accommodate the integration of newcomers in the Netherlands. As the Netherlands receives increasing numbers of refugees, it is even more important to gain better insights into the determinants in volunteering for refugees, as findings are inconclusive. This study aimed to understand whether the determinants education, social contact frequency and religiosity influenced the likelihood to volunteer for refugee organizations. The hypotheses predicting a direct positive relation of education, social contact frequency and religiosity were based on, respectively, human, social and cultural. Gender was a moderator on these determinants, as gender discrepancy in volunteering for refugee organizations is salient. It is substantiated with socialization theory and social learning, with hypotheses expecting a positive interaction between gender and the three determinants. To test these hypotheses, Binary Logistic Regression with a sample of 4030 was executed, using a merged data set from the LISS panel 2022 with themes of Health, Religion & Ethnicity, Social integration & Leisure and Background variables.

Findings on the direct associations of education, social contact frequency and religiosity on volunteering were mixed. The positive associations of education was confirmed, meaning that being higher educated increases the odds in volunteering specifically for refugee focussed organizations. This aligns with *human capital theory*, indicating that human resources like higher cognitive competence, status and social awareness enhance people's civic competences and values (Gesthuizen & Scheepers, 2010; Brown, 2005; Musick & Wilson, 2007). As Meijeren et. al. (2022) found a general positive effect of educational level on volunteering, this also goes for refugees' organizations specifically. Higher educated people thus could be better suited for voluntary work with refugees. Simultaneously, the positive association of religiosity and volunteering was confirmed. The more religious people are - the more frequent they attend religious gatherings outside general activities like weddings - the higher their chances to be volunteering for refugee organizations. As expected, devoted church goers regularly attending religious activities and events do more voluntary work (Van Ingen & Dekker, 2011). It demonstrates the role of *cultural capital theory*, in that religious individuals more heavily hold on to values, norms and tastes dedicated to the common good, opposed to nonreligious counterparts (Wilson & Musick, 1997). Religious people embedded themselves into religious networks. The cultural capital they obtain from this reinforces their altruistic perspectives which stimulates civic engagement and caring for others (Bekkers & Schuyt, 2008; Van Ingen & Dekkers, 2011), for refugees in the case of this study.

Despite the expectations, social contact frequency has no positive influence on the odds of volunteering for refugee organizations. This is unexpected since Meijeren et. al. (2021) applied the same social contact frequency, finding positive effects for humanitarian and leisure focused organizations. The findings contradict *social capital theory* foundations, which imply that frequent social interactions

with family and friends stimulate objectively felt obligations to help others (Bourdieau, 1993). An alternative explanation could be that instead of strong bonds, weak social bonds better reflect the odds of doing refugee-related volunteering. Granovetter (1973) explains that weaker (less frequent) contacts better transmit information and knowledge. It could mean that, opposed to sense of community and trust, obtaining information and knowledge on volunteering through weak influences the odds of volunteering for refugees.

Furthermore, the results showed no gender differences on the three main effects. *Socialization* and *social learning* mechanisms explaining that people internalize gendered roles, values and behavior they learn through interactions with peers (Mead, 1934; Macionis, 2017), does not explain gender differences in education, social contact frequency and religiosity. Even though men engage more in career-focused and autonomous behavior and women are more community oriented and nurturing, there is no relation with volunteering. It suggests that socialization and social learning do not stimulate gender expectations and roles in the contexts of education, social contact and religion. Socialization 1) through socially oriented studies in education, 2) through interactions with the same-sex and 3) through contact within religious networks is not sufficient in providing females with more civil behavior compared to men (Hannover & Kessels, 2004; Bekker & Schuyt, 2008; Eagly & Crowly, 1986). Alternative explanations focus on different measurements of the resources of this study. Opposed to contact frequency, the type of social network could be of influence. Gender differences could arise from how gendered networks are built. Women's networks include more family and neighbors, while men's networks include more friends and colleagues (Norris & Engelhart, 2006; Smith, 2000). Furthermore, focussing on income as a human capital might give different outcomes. Education increases earnings and income resources, which in turn affects their contribution to volunteering (Brown & Ferris, 2007). Income as a resource is of influence in donating money and time towards others, with higher incomes pursuing self-fulfillment, which could increase the likelihood to volunteer (Wiepking & Breeze, 2011). It indicates that income could be a better fitted determinant opposed to educational level, when it comes to caring for refugees.

5.2 Discussion
This study expands on the current empirical knowledge on how obtained resources (human, social and cultural capital) determine the likelihood of volunteering, specifically contributing to extending on determinants of voluntary engagement for refugee focused organizations The results provide useful insights to further research mechanisms determining civic participation in specific sectors like integration and migration. For future research, gender could be applied as predictor. Even though females and males seem evenly involved in volunteering, gender differences in why people choose certain types of volunteering. Taniguchi (2006) for instance, investigated gender differences in employment status and found that unemployment increases volunteering among women, while it decreases the odds for men. Roles like the male-bread winner for men discourages them from

volunteering, to maintain their social status (Willot & Griffin, 1997). However, research on the role of gender in volunteering is still mixed; Some studies find positive effects for women (Freeman, 1997; Wilson & Musick, 1997), positive associations for men (Gomez and Gunderson, 2003; Fyall & Gazly, 2013) and some being inconclusive (Hook, 2003; Wilson, 2000). More knowledge is needed on 'why' volunteering varies between genders (Einolf, 2011), so gender could be investigated as a predictor with human, social and cultural capital as mediating mechanisms. Wiepking et al., (2022) did this, finding that attending religious services (cultural capital) mediated the relation between women and volunteering, and income (human capital) showing a negative mediation. Thus, it could be interesting to follow this notion. A second direction is a different operationalization of social capital. As social contact frequency has no influence on volunteering, strong social connections seem insufficient to transmit thoughts and behaviors on volunteering. Research could examine the same effects, while focusing on weak ties instead. Weak social bonds are better for transferring ideas and information (Granovetter, 1973), which might positively influence volunteering. It suggests that the type of contact matters more. A third contribution is applying qualitative research. This type of research helps with answering the 'how' and 'why', enabling to obtain deeper knowledge on the topic (Cleland, 2017). It provides better understanding of personal experiences, phenomena and its contexts. Through this, disparities in motivations for males and females to volunteer for refugee focused organizations could be discovered. It could provide insights on differences between the genders looking at the contexts of educational level, social contact frequency and religiosity. As gender is a complex construct and the effect of determinants on volunteering are inconclusive (Fyall & Gazly, 2013), qualitative research helps differentiate constructs and motives to gain a more detailed explanation on why people choose to volunteer.

Strengths and limitations

A first strength of this research is its contribution to solving a contemporary social problem. In times with rising influxes of refugees and asylum processes facing challenges in housing and integration of refugees, support from civil society will be even more important going forward. Subsequently, this study provides additional knowledge on the determinants of who is more likely to showcase civic engagement with refugees. By applying mechanisms on the effects of human, social and cultural resources it expands the literature beyond general volunteering. Through this, the study tested whether mechanisms that generally affect voluntary behavior also have an effect when testing for specific themes like integration. Another strength of this study is the use of the LISS panel data. As the respondents are very diverse and represent a representative sample of the population, the used data better reflect the characteristics of the whole population. This is a good basis for getting better external validity for the research.

Surely, there are also a few limitations in this study. The first limitation is the rather small sample of the used dataset. From the 4073 respondents that were involved in the final dataset, only 73 people answered

to 'volunteering for refugee organizations.' Such a small sample size reduces the statistical power of analytical models, as it reduces the odds of finding true effects. Therefore, readers should be much more cautious with generalizing outcomes of this study to the whole population. This makes the external validity of the results less evident. In line with this, the small sample increases the chances of type II errors, or also called false negatives. In the context of this study, it implies that it failed to reject the null-hypothesis while this is actually false in reality. It means that the study could have failed to find an effect when actually there is one. Therefore, the non-effects of the interaction of gender with the three predictors could be significant when generalizing to the whole population. This could be checked through doing the same study with a bigger sample size, to increase its power.

5.3 Policy recommendations

Despite mixed results, and significant relations should be approached cautiously as they imply relational effects rather than causality, some finding translated into policy answering the question: *"How can the insights into determinants in volunteering for refugee focused organizations help be utilized in the acquisition of volunteers, to handle future refugee streams?".* When looking at how to motivate and engage people into volunteering for refugees, policies should take into account the level of education as an important aspect.

Academie van de Stad

Create more awareness on volunteering

Academie van de Stad as a non-profit organization employs students to make societal impact through social projects. At 'JongGras Sportbuddy's' students help refugees acclimatize in Utrecht through sports. In acquiring students, Academie van de Stad collaborates yearly with educational institutions at higher applied and university level, to create awareness for the cause. The first policy recommendation for Academie van de Stad is therefore to incorporate awareness on volunteering. Academie van de Stad currently reaches students via vacancies on school platforms, intern coordinators at Social work, Applied psychology and Social Legal Services, pitches, and study associations. Firstly, Academie should connect these actions more extensively to volunteers. As the organization already has connections to the honors programs of Utrecht University and Hogeschool Utrecht (applied sciences), these could be utilized. Currently, Academie shares vacancies with Honor. It is recommended to prioritize doing pitches to create awareness among honors students. Pitches at internationals classes of ROC and Ithaka school to attract refugees turned out tremendously. Doing a minimum of two pitches at the beginning and half of the honors program makes the volunteer trajectory visible, and creates awareness for the integration theme As Honors-students seek extracurricular activities, making JongGras more visible here increases the odds to find volunteers.

As lower educated are less likely to volunteer, Academie van de Stad should expand their acquisition to the intermediation vocational level (MBO). Academie could incorporate a pitch at

MBOUtrecht, Eurocollege, ROC and Capabel during 'week van vrijwilliger'. This week highlights the importance of civil society and is a fitting occasion to bring the importance to the light and incorporate Academie van de Stad into the narrative. With this, Academie reached a new group of volunteers and closed the volunteer-gap between higher and lower education.

A second recommendation for Academie van de Stad is to expand this study. The organization runs projects in which students do their bachelors' or master's thesis on specific topics. As qualitative research is a good follow-up method, Academie van de Stad could create a qualitative research project for the municipality of Utrecht on volunteering. The research could extend, besides other aspects, on the findings on education and religion, to find underlying motives and mechanisms on why people volunteer. Through this, Academie van de Stad gets more in-depth insight in who to approach as a volunteer, but additionally the knowledge helps the municipality of Utrecht to better tailor awareness creation and acquisition on potential volunteering for refugees.

Municipality of Utrecht

Create visibility and awareness at lower educational level van de Stad

Additionally, the results also insinuate policy advice for Dutch municipalities. As volunteer rates are low and organizations in many sectors partly rely on volunteers, municipalities could play a role in creating awareness on the topic. As research shows the volunteering-gap between the higher and lower educated, it is recommended to collaborate with the intermediate vocational level. Municipality should create campaigns tailored to MBOUtrecht, Eurocollege, ROC and Capabel schools, consisting of print media and lectures on the importance of volunteering for refugees (and other causes) and pitches and presentations at these schools. It is suggested to educate the students on the option of volunteering while linking it to desired outcomes for them (Brunsting et. al., 2013). As the value-belief model implies, individuals only change their behavior if they believe actions bring them beneficial outcomes (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). Besides, deploying peers that volunteer into these pitches works, as people learn thoughts and behaviors from peers (Bandura, 1977). Educating students at lower educational level on volunteering could motivate these students to do voluntary work now or in the future.

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