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VOLUNTEERING AND DEMOCRATIZATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: A STRUCTURAL AND CULTURAL ANALYSIS

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DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
College and Arts and Sciences
at the University of Kentucky

By
Sara Compion
Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Thomas Janoski, Professor of Sociology
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ABSTRACT

VOLUNTEERING AND DEMOCRATIZATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: A STRUCTURAL AND CULTURAL ANALYSIS

This dissertation examines the practices and social constructions of volunteering in Southern Africa. Grounded in structural and cultural theory, I focus on volunteering as the product, rather than the raw material, of political processes. My approach stresses the volunteers' perspectives, yet centers on critiques of dominance. In doing so, I destabilize the view of volunteering as inherently pro-social behavior, or as intrinsically characteristic of deepening democratic systems.

Combining evidence from Afrobarometer surveys and twelve months of ethnographic fieldwork in South Africa and Zambia I show how meanings and practices, not just resources and capital, shape the socially constructed nature of volunteering given specific historic, economic and political conjunctures. The findings reveal that contemporary practices of volunteering in Southern Africa are a consequence of poverty, paternalistic exchange relationships, and state-civil society partnerships undergirded by foreign development aid.

The dissertation is structured around four empirical points. The first concerns who volunteers. I identify characteristics of Africans who are most likely to actively belong to voluntary groups, and pinpoint the role of foreign development aid and poverty in shaping the volunteer landscape. The second highlights the positive connection between civic culture and active voluntary group membership in Africa, but I argue that this association does not inherently translate into greater democratic gains for a country. The third emphasizes "why" people volunteer. I document the exchange nature of volunteering, revealing its practical function for maintaining social cohesion and augmenting social capital, while simultaneously entrenching social hierarchies and paternalistic inequalities. The fourth point offers a theory linking three orientations to volunteering with activities in three different types of civil society. These view can be "allegiant," "opportunistic," or "challenging" and steer people toward volunteer activities that match their inclinations to enhance, confront, or preserve given social systems.

Throughout this dissertation I illustrate how volunteerism aids residents of complex, diverse societies to define new social relations, craft compatible identities, and make meaning of social change. I present an effort in doing a sociology of volunteerism *from* Africa, rather simply *in* Africa, which increases the generalizability of existing theories of volunteerism to post-colonial, developing country contexts.

KEYWORDS: Volunteering; Civil Society; Southern Africa; Critical Theory; Ethnography; Multilevel Analysis.

Sara R Compion

21 April 2016

Volunteering and Democratization in Southern Africa

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21 April 2016

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
CSO	Civil Society Organization
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNI	Gross National Income
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ILO	International Labour Organisation
LPI	Lived Poverty Index
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
NGOCC	Non-Governmental Organisation Coordinating Committee
NPO	Nonprofit (not-for-profit) Organization
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OLS	Ordinary Least Squares
OVC	Orphaned and Vulnerable Children/Child
PEPFAR	The United States President's Emergency Plan For AIDS Relief
PWAS	Public Welfare Assistance Scheme
SADC	Southern African Development Community
TAC	Treatment Action Campaign
TB	Tuberculosis
VCT	Voluntary Counseling and Testing
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UNZA	University of Zambia
WHO	World Health Organization

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1 INTRODUCTION

Photo of Stanbic Bank advertising NGO accounts that declare to be "helping those who help," next to an image of people who are identified as volunteers.

Lusaka Zambia, 2014

Across Southern Africa, political leaders have recently expressed the need for citizens to embrace the spirit of collectivism through active volunteering. This call is articulated as socially responsible giving, civic activism and community stewardship that broadens participation in governance, promotes more equitable outcomes for people, and deepens democracy. Volunteers can be found primarily in the burgeoning development sector, a consequence of public sector outsourcing. As new governments struggle with rising public demand for services, they have gradually shifted to reliance upon and partnerships

with nonprofit and nongovernmental organizations for service delivery (Mbembe 2000, Patel 2012, United Nations Development Programme 2002, Wilkinson-Maposa and Fowler 2009). Volunteers are also visible in youth service programs—initiated by various private, corporate, religious and government entities—that have mushroomed in the region. These programs are intended to build the character of youth and help them develop essential workplace skills (Dickhudt and VOSESA 2011, Graham 2009, Patel and Wilson 2004, Perold and Graham 2014). Another popular avenue for volunteering is national service days, such as *umuganda* in Rwanda or *Mandela Day* in South Africa where people are expected, though not forced, to set aside time to clean the commons, care for the disadvantaged and generally help the community (CIVICUS 2011).

Conventional scholarship in Africa tends to locate these diverse forms of volunteerism in broader studies of collective culture, philanthropy, and corporate social responsibility or development practice without making volunteering the primary focus of investigation. This approach ignores the important contribution to be made by studying volunteerism as an indicator of the success or failure of state-society relations. It also overlooks how the organizational arrangement and practices of volunteerism in Southern Africa are tied to neoliberalism, government outsourcing, development aid, and different types of civil society. Moreover, existing theories of volunteerism, which are derived mostly from North American and Western European frameworks, fail to locate the definitional constructions of volunteering in historical perspective. This disregards the power dynamic involved in assigning firm, universal definitions to volunteering and to the variety of ways those definitions are interpreted or appropriated by different individuals, groups and organizations.

More recently, numerous scholars have called for research that puts volunteering at the center of inquiry and that adopts a process, structural or cultural oriented view of voluntary behavior and organization in order to reach beyond typical neo-Toquevillean approaches to volunteering, such as "being asked" or "being community oriented" (Janoski 2010, Lichterman and Eliasoph 2014). While research into the individual characteristics of volunteers offers broad, aggregated explanations, it is time to (1) extend the scope of this work to include the unique African country contexts, (2) move beyond a study of effects to focus on how volunteering is woven into the globalizing civil sphere, and the consequences thereof, and (3) begin to critique the identity politics surrounding the notions of a "true volunteer."

In this dissertation I use a critical structural and cultural approach to show what volunteering means in the particular historical, political and economic conjunctures of contemporary Southern Africa. I draw together existing structural and cultural theories in order to help bridge the artificial divide between volunteering and activism by adding a critical cultural perspective using Southern African case studies. My objective is to show that the patterns and practices of volunteerism in this region of the world are not necessarily indicators of deepening democratic systems or of more inclusive civic spheres. While this may be the case in some circumstances, volunteerism can also serve to reinforce paternalistic attitudes and deepen social inequalities because it is implicitly interwoven into national neoliberal experiments in welfare development. This objective entails pulling from a rather diverse set of volunteerism literature that blends together micro and macro social approaches. Moreover, it requires a thoughtful and open engagement with how volunteering is defined and conceptualized by different agents.

Throughout the dissertation, issues of defining volunteering are exposed again and again as persistent threads of tension. There is little definitional coherence regarding the concept of volunteering (Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth 1999, Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy 2010, Meijs et al. 2003). More often than not, the varying definitions of volunteering are characterized as much by what is excluded as included. As a result, I use a broad understanding of volunteering that includes *informal activity,* like helping others outside the immediate kinship group who need it, *formal activity* in groups or voluntary associations that is unpaid or remunerated less than the value of the labor, and *civic activism* that incorporates participation in social movements and community affairs. This definition excludes voting, giving money to a cause, and signing petitions or "clicktivism" (Internet-based click-support for issue or cause). Almost all volunteering definitions come under scrutiny at some point in time, and that may include this as well.

How volunteering is defined is central to how it is studied across groups. For instance, restricted definitions used in cross-sectional survey research are useful for capturing finite forms of volunteering or group involvement, but they also filter out the vast alternative volunteering customs that characterize specific contexts and communities. A second site of tension concerns the "identity politics" of volunteers: "the top-down processes whereby various political, economic and other entities attempt to mold collective identities" (Hill and Wilson 2003:2). As I hope to show, the imperfect ways that powerful actors like the state, nongovernmental organizations and intellectuals define "true" volunteering does not always dovetail neatly with the ways in which ordinary Southern Africans define their experience and practice of volunteering.

1.1 WHY STUDY VOLUNTEERISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA?

The idea for this dissertation subject matter began to take shape in 2006 in a tuberculosis (TB) clinic of Cape Town, South Africa, that I was researching. At the time, an epidemiologist was explaining the admissions process and treatment therapy to me, and then he told me about the TB volunteers. What he told me conjured up images in my mind of altruistic citizens who willingly assisted outpatients to access and take their medication on a daily basis. I was curious. South Africa has one of the world's highest TB burdens. It also has high unemployment, hovering at around 25 percent. Was there really an army of especially good-willed people ready to voluntarily help the sick? If so, who were they and how did they come to be doing this work? I welled up with pride in the seeming generosity of my fellow countrymen. Sadly, I soon learned that this particular social phenomenon is not the outcome of exceptional collective altruism (Kironde and Klaasen 2002). Rather, it is the messy product that results when unemployment and foreign aid meet privatized health care and neoliberal development projects (Compion 2007, Packard 1989).

A few weeks later I met with the executive manager at a nonprofit organization called TB Care (now renamed TB/HIV Care) to discuss the use of TB volunteers. Over lunch she explained that South Africa's young, new government "needs volunteers" and citizen groups to "partner" in service provision. Tuberculosis care volunteers exist because government requires their free/cheap labor in order to meet World Health Organization (WHO) delivery standards and to access affordable drugs. The WHO requires the adoption of a tuberculosis protocol using a directly observed short course treatment regimen called DOTS. This protocol mandates that all new tuberculosis

patients receive the same medicinal therapy and be treated as outpatients, which alleviates high clinic burdens. Someone must observe the patient taking his or her medication every day for about six months.

Consequently, to comply with these standards there are now hundreds of small, localized nonprofit organizations like TB Care across the country that train teams of volunteers to provide this DOTS service. Most of the volunteers come from disadvantaged socioeconomic backgrounds and receive a very small but helpful stipend to do their work—ranging from about $80 to $200 per month. In this way, tuberculosis treatment is outsourced and the burden of care is placed directly on the shoulders of semi-skilled volunteers and nonprofit managers. The organizations get financial aid and support from the government and from large international donors (like PEPFAR, USAID and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation).

The reliance upon volunteers to provide welfare services is not confined to Southern Africa, it is part of a global shift emphasizing the marketization of civil society and its role in initiating social change and development (Salamon 1993). It also reflects a disturbingly uncritical trend that presents volunteering as inherently good for society. Former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan was one of the first to publicly articulate this philosophy. In his 28 November 2001 speech launching the *International Year of Volunteers* Annan (2001) stated that "at the heart of volunteerism are the ideals of service and solidarity and the belief that together we can make the world better." Soon, UN agencies and development think tanks were readily touting the "vast potential of volunteerism" as the missing ingredient or unlocked *asset* waiting be "released for the advancement of human development" (CIVICUS 2008, United Nations 2000).

This singular interpretation of volunteerism's benefits extends beyond public policy pundits to the Academy. A large body of scholarship approaches civic action as something originating from the bottom up, and uncritically interprets volunteering as responsible, pro-social behavior. Scholars of this orientation stress the importance of volunteers in shaping societal development and advancing democracy because volunteers can be organized and managed to serve social, public, or political objectives (De Tocqueville 1838, Dekker and Halman 2003b, Putnam, Leonardi and Nanetti 1993, Putnam 2000, Skocpol 2003, Smith 1975). Others suggest that pro-social volunteering promotes community participation and social cohesion, generates social capital, and supports political well-being (Curtis, Baer and Grabb 2001, Hustinx, Handy and Cnaan 2010, Luria, Cnaan and Boehm 2014, Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995). Moreover, scholars have long explored the relationship between volunteering, civic engagement and democracy in North American and Western European contexts—usually in terms of how political power and resources are mobilized—but this association in Africa is largely overlooked. Herein lies the first problem in the current body of voluntarism scholarship.

Volunteerism is a core structural feature of all modern societies, and yet African contexts are routinely excluded or underrepresented in research. Existing theories of volunteering are thus developed devoid of an African perspective. More in-depth research is needed in Africa to investigate the interface between volunteering, civil society and democratization. Without alternative evidence the West becomes the standard against which the rest of the world is indexed. An African perspective might critique the assumption that volunteering is intrinsically socially constructive, pro-democratic and economically sound practice for developing nations. Survey data and quantitative studies

in Africa are needed to help advance the predictive power of volunteering studies. The advantage of quantitative studies is the ability to pay attention to the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables. At the same time, in-depth, comparative qualitative inquiry is needed to help forefront issues of power and inequality as critical dimensions of analysis, and thus enable a stronger grasp of the political essence of civic agency in Africa (Fowler 2010:55).

The next problem in scholarship of volunteering concerns the lack of credible regional or comparative research from within Africa. Highly localized studies of volunteering in Africa tend to prevail and usually focus only on a specific volunteer population in one sector, such as female HIV caregivers doing home-based health care or farmers in a rural burial society (see for instance, Akintola 2006, Baker 1988, Brown 1982, Krugell 2010, Lund 2010, Mahilall 2006, Malema, Malaka and Mothiba 2010, Malevu 1985). In these studies, the highly specific contexts obscure any broader patterns and practices of volunteering. When definitive similarities or differences by region or country fail to emerge, restricting the development of more versatile theory.

As far as I can tell, only three cross-country studies in Africa have been conducted (Caprara et al. 2012, CIVICUS 2011, Patel et al. 2007). Despite some empirical limitations, these studies provide important initial insights into the configurations of civic volunteering on the continent. One of these was a five-nation study of service and volunteering in Southern Africa that relied on limited information from only one small focus group in each country and a descriptive document review (Patel et al. 2007). Another was based on combined survey and qualitative data covering eight very different countries from across the continent to explore involvement in civil

society organizations (CIVICUS 2011). Unfortunately, these studies offer little theoretical explanation regarding the causes shaping the arrangements of volunteering.

From this brief background emerge two glaring gaps in our knowledge of volunteering. African contexts are frequently excluded or underrepresented in volunteering research. This typically restricts existing theories to economically advanced, welfare-strong, democratic and stable national contexts and their citizens. An understanding of volunteerism among people and states that do not fit this mold can serve to broaden, strengthen or even contradict these theories. Next, the study of volunteerism in Africa lacks a credible regional or comparative perspective that highlights specific arrangements, trends, driving mechanisms and social consequences of volunteerism that shape collective existence. Studies that address these gaps are sorely needed to help offer a way forward for future theory building from within Africa.

Research questions

The purpose of this study is to begin to address these two gaps in the volunteerism scholarship. I do so by posing two core research questions. The first question asks, rather broadly, who are the African volunteers? The question is descriptive and aimed at exploring the *who* of volunteerism. It touches on themes concerning definitions, resources and capital, identities and attitudes, and connections to democratic practices. It also raises important concerns about deploying definitions of volunteering formed outside of Africa versus using those crafted from within. The second core question asks how Africans make meaning of their volunteering and the practical implication of this for civil society. This question tackles the *why* of volunteerism. Here I touch primarily on the

thematic issues of identity, values, motives, and the public sphere. I break these research questions down into more specific sub-questions in each chapter of the manuscript.

Employing a mixed-methods approach, I draw on Afrobarometer survey data and twelve months of fieldwork in South Africa and Zambia to answer these questions about volunteerism in Southern Africa. On the one hand, multilevel statistical analysis of the survey data showcases the aggregate profile and background characteristics of active voluntary association members across twenty sub-Saharan countries. It reveals that while human capital and civic culture are essential ingredients in formal voluntary sector involvement, economic capital is not. On the other hand, ethnographic case studies in the cities of Pretoria and Lusaka unpack how cultural repertoires, values and motives shape and inform volunteering practices that support social cohesion, but also reify unequal social relations and inequalities.

For the most part, I stay away from moralizing tendencies to describe volunteering as "good" or "bad" and focus instead on the types of people that volunteer, interactions between volunteers and the target population, the volunteer contexts, and the cultural and practical meanings attached to volunteering. Doing so evaluates how everyday practice is dynamically woven into the evolving fabric of civil society.

1.2 THEORETICAL APPROACH

This study is grounded in the theoretical orientations of structural and critical cultural sociology. While each chapter contains its own detailed theory section, I provide here an overview of the central theoretical foundations undergirding the core research questions and analytical interpretations used.

Any student of volunteerism has to wade through the mire of multiple theoretical and conceptual models surrounding this subject matter. Few integrated theories have emerged, reflecting the general lack of consensus on what a theory of volunteering should be (Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy 2010). Whereas differences in the conceptual preferences across disciplines are to be expected, perspectives from within disciplines can also vary. For example, within sociology some scholars may view the act of volunteering as a primary expression of core human values—such as concern for others, generosity and altruism—because it is usually unpaid work, done without force or compulsion that requires personal expenditure of effort (e.g. Haski-Leventhal 2009, Wuthnow 2012). For others, it represents the essence of social responsibility or a spirit of communitarianism because the accumulated consequences of volunteering are publicly beneficial (Freeman 1997, Petriwskyj and Warburton 2007, Putnam 2000, Smith 1993). From either perspective, volunteering fundamentally presents identity, expresses community belonging (Goffman 1959), and serves as a socially integrating interaction (Collins 2004). Generally, sociological perspectives view volunteering as a social phenomenon involving patterns of relationships and interactions among individuals, groups, and associations or organizations (Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy 2010).

My interest in the systematic aspects of volunteering lies in the classical questions concerning social solidarity, social order, and degrees of integration (e.g. Durkheim 1893). Sociologists are typically interested in the ways in which society holds together. For instance, Marx and Engels (1967) looked to the underlying means of production in forming a cohesive social structure. Unlike Marx, Weber (1895, 1904) understood structured social action to be the consequence of a shared ethic among a group of people.

In this vein the collectively oriented nature of volunteering can represent an essential and unique kind of social tie that binds members of a society together, and thus is of particular interest to sociologists. Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010) suggest that volunteerism interactions are distinct from other ascribed relations (e.g. kinship or religion), formal networks (e.g. workplace) or abstract systems of enforced solidarity (e.g. the welfare state, national service, cultural prescriptive altruism). Accordingly, sociological works focus on both the structural and cultural aspects of volunteerism.

Social structure theory: Individual resources versus institutional capacity

A preoccupation with the individual act of volunteering has pushed structural sociologists to primarily focus on the *who* and *why* of volunteers—i.e. the social profile of volunteers (Musick and Wilson 2008). For instance, from an individual resources perspective, volunteering is productive work that requires individual human capital, collective work needing social capital, and ethically guided work requiring cultural capital (Wilson and Musick 1999). This view acknowledges that volunteering is not only the outcome of different forms of capital but can also increase human, social and cultural capital at the personal and organizational level (Cutler and Danigelis 1993, Edwards and McCarthy 2004, Musick and Wilson 2008). The central argument in resource theory suggests that volunteering is generally undertaken by sections of the population with higher socioeconomic status because they possess the social capital to do so (Putnam 1995, Wilson and Musick 1998). Beyond socioeconomic status, certain people possess time, money and a particular civic capital that facilitates their involvement in voluntary work compared to others (Brady, Verba and Schlozman 1995).

Although the ability to volunteer might depend on personal resources or characteristics, the decision to volunteer is thought to be an expression of identity. It creates a “feeling of being linked to those who will benefit from one’s labor” (Musick, Wilson and Bynum Jr. 2000:1540). Social networks also matter because people volunteer in part as a result of their ties to other people, and of being asked (Janoski 2010). Being asked plays a vital role in increasing the chances that an individual will volunteer and, to some degree, this is connected to socioeconomic status—higher status people generally have more social contacts and are more integrated (Wilson and Musick 1998).

The degree of social integration affects the likelihood that a person will be asked to volunteer and usually depends on both the individual and the community context. Take for example, religious communities, which are often strong networks of social relations. Active involvement in the social life of a religious congregation multiplies the opportunities to be exposed to others who are already engaged in volunteer work (Lam 2002, Lam 2006, Ruiter and De Graaf 2006, Wilson and Janoski 1995). Religion is also an important source of values of benevolence. Most religions "encourage altruistic values and behavior," and emphasize love for others, doing good works, solidarity, and care for the less fortunate (Fischer and Schaffer 1993:60).

Structural theories are interested in the interplay between normative pressures to volunteer and its perceived value as altruistic behavior, while also considering that individuals are embedded into social groups to varying degrees. Social pressure to volunteer or to give help and care to others depends on levels of integration and connectedness. The closer the ties between the actors, the more likely they are to help each other in times of need, i.e. strong social bonding capital (Putnam 1995). Closeness

includes physical proximity, blood relationship, socioeconomic similarity, or identity shared in other ways, for example through associations or belonging to the same church (Wilkinson-Maposa et al. 2005). In some Southern Africa settings this closeness can imbue any so-called volunteering with an element of compulsion. For instance, Wilkinson-Maposa et al. (2005) found that in poor communities in the region, expectations to help one's neighbor are essential for survival. Helping or care work is a way to distribute essential resources and physical services in the greatest times of need. Sally Falk Moore (1986) terms this socially "prescriptive altruism"—required but not compulsory moral activity that defines a person's identity within society.

Across Southern Africa, informal giving, care and service is the most common type of volunteering. It consists of the largely localized arrangements between people within communities and it generally revolves around obligations to help, share resources, and distribute care activities (Patel et al. 2007, Perold and Graham 2014). In this region, cultural or religious notions of duty and service often imbue volunteering with an element of expectation or compulsion, and the line between compulsion and expectation is rather vague. Sociologists and anthropologists have shown that adherence to such norms of service is not contractual, but failure to comply may carry social or economic sanctions for an individual or a group (Eckstein 2001; Otnes and Beltramini 1996; Titmuss 1997).

On this basis, not only is volunteering more prominent in one group versus another because of the means, social capital, and opportunities available to individuals from that group, but also due to the role expectations attached with belonging to the group (Janoski and Wilson 1995, Janoski, Musick and Wilson 1998). This is not necessarily advantageous as it may burden certain people, like women, with obligations

to give generously and volunteer (Akintola 2008, Caprara et al. 2012, Hirschmann 1998). Critics, particularly from the developing world, have highlighted the exploitation of volunteer labor, the low quality of services offered by volunteer organizations, or the personal stress, emotional trauma, and financial strain associated with some voluntary work (Akintola 2006, Dinat, Ross and Ngubeni 2005, Staab 2009).

Structural theory can emphasize, on the one hand, the personal elements of volunteerism, such as individual characteristics and resources, attitudes, motives and level of social integration. On the other hand, it can emphasize the role of social institutions and systems of stratification in determining systematic inclusion or exclusion from volunteer participation (Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy 2010, Morrow-Howell et al. 2003, Musick, Wilson and Bynum Jr. 2000, Musick and Wilson 2008). The latter kind of research is concerned with the macro-structural determinants of volunteerism—in particular, the connection between volunteering and the modern welfare system, economic liberalization, or political structures.

De Tocqueville (1838) was one of the earliest to theorize about volunteering and its relationship to processes of democratization. He suggested that democracy in the United States was born out the equality of conditions and sovereignty of the people. People could freely associate in groups as they wished because of the decentralized administration and political centralization that separated powers (Craiutu and Jennings 2004). He saw that small groups like rotational saving clubs, hiking groups, Girl Scouts, and neighborhood watch associations are based on maintaining personal relationships and are essential for delivering “intimate services” (Alexander 1987). Yet De Tocqueville also understood that the vitality of civic life in the United States could become corrupted

if economic markets and increasing materialism were not regulated (Craiutu and Jennings 2004). Unbridled free association was not his vision of a utopian democracy.

In more recent time, the global explosion of voluntary groups and associations involved in advocacy, human rights, social development and welfare service delivery has caused a resurgence of scholarly interest in the structural causes and consequences of voluntary groups (Salamon, Sokolowski and associates 2004). The voluntary or independent sector is now a firm feature of modern capitalist society. It broadly refers to private groups and organizations, which are neither primarily commercial nor governmental, and is composed principally of large institutionalized groups, not small ephemeral ones (Alexander 1987; Salamon, Sokolowski and associates 2004).

Structuralism highlights the association between institutionalized systems of political sovereignty and distinctive patterns of civic engagement, such as volunteering (Lijphart 1999, Meyer and Jepperson 2000, Schofer and Marion 2001). For instance, in Europe volunteering flourishes in more economically stable, liberal democratic regimes where the opportunity for free association and open discussion is made possible (Anheier and Salamon 1999, Curtis, Baer and Grabb 2001, Schofer and Marion 2001), but also in societies with a collectivist culture and pro-social values and attitudes (Luria, Cnaan and Boehm 2014, Triandis 1995). One such relationship is evident in the corresponding growth of the voluntary sector and civil rights alongside the evolution of market economies in liberalizing democracies.

Interdependence theory suggests that in most emerging liberal-welfare democracies volunteer organizations have come to play a cooperative role with the state in social policy development, services provision, and legitimacy formation (Salamon and

Sokolowski 2003:77). This interdependence perspective is especially useful for analyzing state-society relations in Southern Africa because it presents a "corporatist" view of democracy where independent, non-state actors establish a collaborative relationship with government. Due to the nature of the collaboration—albeit uneasy at times—these voluntary or private entities can access political, social, human, and physical resources necessary to mobilize citizens and potentially recruit volunteers and members (Salamon and Sokolowski 2003, Skocpol 2003, Zald and McCarthy 1987). Thus, the key to the success of volunteering, civic activity, or grassroots movements lies in the availability of government support. However, critics suggest that this public-private interdependence is also indicative of how the voluntary and nonprofit sector is linked to neoliberalism and the state's retreat in providing services, which not only burdens citizens but undermines processes of transparency and accountability (Boesten, Mdee and Cleaver 2011, Ferguson 1994, Helsley and Strange 1998, Mbembe 2000, Wallace 2002).

While the voluntary sector relies on resources from the wealthy and legitimacy from the state, some argue that it can also act as a protective force in the public sphere (Fukuyama 2000, Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995). Functional civic organizations with active members and engaged volunteers are vehicles through which people can express their interests and make demands on government. They mediate between citizens' interests and that of the state, and are thus arguably important for the stability and effectiveness of democracy (De Tocqueville 1838, Fukuyama 2000, Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995).

Both micro and macro approaches offer useful perspectives on the structural factors influencing volunteerism. In Part One of this dissertation I am concerned with the

individual determinants of volunteering in sub-Saharan Africa, given certain national contexts and socioeconomic resources. For this reason I rely on a careful synthesis of the micro-resource theory and macro-structure theories discussed above. This synergy lends itself well to the construction of multilevel statistical models using datasets that combine individual and group (country) level data. It is also helpful in answering the first research question about who volunteers. In Part One, I question how similar voluntary association members in Africa are compared to those from North American and Western Europe. Structural theory helps to guide the hypotheses related to individuals' resources and socioeconomic status and active membership in these groups, as well as the impact of political and economic context on individual membership. However, I am also concerned with the practices and meanings of volunteering in Southern Africa, and for this reason I rely on cultural theories in Part Two. Cultural theory is discussed next.

Cultural theory: Meaning, identity, power

A second stream of sociological research explores the forms of volunteering and the associated value for different groups of people and social systems by focusing on the cultural perceptions of the essence and meaning of volunteering (Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth 1999, Dekker and Van den Broek 1998, Dekker and Halman 2003a, Meijs et al. 2003). This cultural approach to volunteering is rooted in the sociological question of the meaning of interaction. It begins with the view that volunteering is not simply action; it is a form of interaction, which is the primary unit of sociological analysis (Frisby 1984:61). All of social life is a composite of diverse types and forms of interactions (Bourdieu 1986, Simmel 2009). Every glance, affection, conversation, gesture and act of volunteering involves personal energy, and thus, interaction is a chain of exchanges that

together form society (Collins 2004, Simmel 2009). The collectivity of interactions also creates culture. Volunteering is cultural because it is a system of interactions.

In fact, volunteering is a type of "civic culture." Almond and Verba (1963) argue that certain values, attitudes and interactions can establish a civic culture, which works to sustain or to undermine participatory democratic institutions. It is formed by individuals' attitudes towards the political system, and the role of the self in the system. It is based on acts of communication and persuasion, on consensus and diversity, and on moderated change (Turner 1988:vii). According to Almond and Verba (1963), when the populace shares similar values and beliefs—i.e. there is shared civic culture—we can better understand the links between individual volunteering behavior and the formation of collective voluntary groups.

Social science scholarship on civic culture grew in popularity during the 1960s and 1970s. This "cultural turn" provided important insights about how values (Almond and Verba 1980, Inglehart 1977), collective identities (McCarthy and Zald 1977, Zald and McCarthy 1987), language (Lévi-Strauss 1983), "undistorted communication" (Habermas 1984) and hegemonic ideas (Forgacs 1988, Gramsci 1971) could shape socio-political action. As criticisms of cultural theory emerged, the field offered a more political and critical version of culture, questioning the role of individual agency (Giddens, Ociepka and Zujewicz 1973, Giddens 1979), cultural capital (Bourdieu 1977), and power in the production of cultural symbols and identities especially in global systems (Wallerstein 2011). Unfortunately, this critical lens has failed to infiltrate the mainstream study of volunteering and is especially absent from such research in Africa.

Instead, grounded in Enlightenment assumptions, volunteerism scholarship is dominated by the view that democracy gradually spreads with industrialization, and leads to the emergence of a civic culture and an active civil society. From this vantage point, civic culture is perceivably "linked to pluralist ideals of stable institutions within which organized pressure groups" maneuver freely, and present an "amalgam of democratic spirit and deference toward proper authorities" (Jasper 2003:119). A branch of this research posits that as societies change over time, so do values and associated behavior—moving from action shaped by collectivism towards that which is more self-determined, self-interested, and materialist (Andreoni 1990, Inglehart 2003, Menchik and Weisbrod 1987, Welzel and Inglehart 2010, Ziemek 2006). These arguments suggest that changes in civic virtues over time can be affected by factors like historical events and demographic transformations resulting, for instance, in the growth of civic culture in Germany (Baker, Dalton and Hildebrandt 1981) and Italy (Inglehart 1977, Putnam, Leonardi and Nanetti 1993), but a decline in the United States (Lipset and Schneider 1983, Putnam 2000) and Britain (Kavanagh 1980).

Much of this work packages volunteerism as a raw material of political engagement. The focus is on culture as it relates to the modern nation state—on the collective outcomes of volunteering in terms of broadening democracy and building civic capital (Guiso, Sapienza and Zingales 2010, Paxton 2002, Putnam, Leonardi and Nanetti 1993, Putnam 1995, Skocpol 2003, Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995). This theoretical orientation regards volunteerism as a cultural resource that can be mobilized in the pursuit of political ends (McCarthy and Zald 1977). Those who can volunteer do so because they possess the necessary social capital and resources, implying that non-

volunteers do not have or cannot access the same resources (Musick and Wilson 2008, Wilson and Musick 1998).

For many scholars volunteerism is thought to form in the private sphere. Inspired by Habermas's (1989) discussion of the "public sphere as the incubator of political goals, understanding and participation, considerable research has investigated the resources normal citizens use to approach politics" (Jasper 2003:128). The public sphere in this sense is an arena in modern society where political participation is enacted through speech, dialogue and communication. It is conceptually distinct from the state and the arena of market relation; presenting instead an arena of discursive relations for deliberation, debate, and negotiating truth (Habermas 1989). However, Fraser (1990) argues that an idealization of the liberal public sphere fails to recognize alternative, competing public spheres. It ignores paternalistic power relations (Jackman 1994), effectively silencing any understanding of how power, race, gender and class shape who has the responsibility/capacity/capabilities to communicate in the public sphere (Fraser 1990). It also presupposes that individuals are rationally driven to communicative discourse. A more detailed discussion of how this plays out in Africa is provided in chapters five and six.

Increasingly scholarship is adopting a more critical cultural stance to the study of volunteerism. This research is interested in volunteering as an activity that serves a particular political or cultural agenda, given contexts of inequality and difference. It focuses not only on the services provided by volunteers and the volunteer setting (i.e. organization, group, individual), but also on the interactions between volunteers, organization leaders, donors, and beneficiaries, with the understanding that these

interactions carry important meanings and consequences for broader socio-political life (e.g. Bekkers 2005, CIVICUS 2008, Eliasoph 2011, Meijs et al. 2003, Wuthnow 2012). Some of this work from Africa also challenges the power relations inherent in constructing definitions of volunteering and of philanthropy, by suggesting, for example that caring for extended kin is volunteering, or that receiving a small stipend for working with an NGO is volunteering (Everatt 2005, Everatt and Solanki 2005, Graham, Perold and Shumba 2009, Patel and Wilson 2004, Wilkinson-Maposa et al. 2005).

A *critical* cultural scholarship of volunteerism is thus centered on critiques of dominance and of politicizing social problems. It understands that individuals each frame the meanings attached to their actions (Goffman 1974). Meaning does not stem from the action or object itself, but rather it is "negotiated, contested, modified, articulated, and rearticulated" and, as such, it is continually "socially constructed, deconstructed, and reconstructed" (Benford 1997:410). Meanings enable a moral order and entrench social systems but they can change over time and with varying contexts (Wuthnow 1989). I also understand that meaning is contained in a person's cognitive frame (Snow et al. 1986), which includes discontents; normative justifications; attributions of causality; and cognitive as well as non-cognitive beliefs such as norms, values, attitudes, and goals (Williams and Benford 2000:3). Frames are the outcome of cognitive processes. They are socially, not biologically, derived. For example, one is not born with a "civic" frame—i.e. a feeling of connection with, and belonging to, one's larger community. Rather, this is a way of defining and interpreting reality that is collectively fashioned and passed on from person to person (Goffman 1974, Guiso, Sapienza and Zingales 2010, Opp 2009).

The frames, meanings and background assumptions that are embedded in culture are what individuals draw upon in order to act (Habermas 1984).

This perspective infuses our understanding of volunteering with interpretive and critical cultural dimensions that moves the field beyond the determinism of resource-based structural theories. In this way civic culture can be observed as an element of strategy and power, a potential sight of contestation rather than automatically a source of social unity (Jasper 2003). Although culture is "everywhere," it is neither a unitary whole nor a collection of subjective beliefs. Each individual has a unique set of meanings, what Habermas (1984) calls the "lifeworld," a sort of reservoir of implicitly known traditions and normative practices; a knowledge stock in which action takes place and is formed by taken for granted convictions. But, individuals can "share" a similar knowledge stock or culture (meaning, views, identities, attitudes, and values) (Jasper 2003). When they do, there is "frame alignment" that links the individuals together in collective pursuit of common goals (Goffman 1974, Snow and Benford 1992). Similar frames can motivate sets of individuals to volunteer for a particular cause or organization because their frame regarding an issue is ideologically congruent to that of the cause, or because the organization amplifies, extends, or transforms their frame to serve a collective purpose (Opp 2009, Snow and Benford 1992). Frame alignment is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for voluntary sector mobilization or collective action.

Some strongly suggest that culture is an objective reality of rituals and symbols that can be interpreted by observing social interaction—like volunteering (Wuthnow 1989). Much of culture is tactic and embodied in practices, rituals and discourse rather than explicitly and consciously held (Bourdieu 2012, Giddens 1979). These cultural

concepts can be thought of as strategic and symbolic interaction (Goffman 1955). Culture also provides a framework for viewing behavior, like volunteering, as an expression of individual meanings and as an expression of collective meaning. For instance, when Mauss (1990) or Titmuss (1997) studied different forms of giving practices in different societies, they found that despite individual orientations to ritualized gift giving, common patterns in the giving behavior reflected truths about the relational order and broader social structure of those societies. I hope that a study of volunteerism in Southern Africa will yield similar insights.

In this way, a critical cultural approach provides a number of functional analytic tools for understanding social and political life and for exploring the connections between state and non-state institutions. It also helps overcome the criticisms and gaps in resources theory and rational choice theory, which treat the origin of preferences as exogenous to choice (Jasper 2003). For these reasons, I adopt a critical cultural approach to the study of volunteerism in Southern Africa. Such an approach guides the second research question about why people volunteer, and for framing the assumptions concerning values, motives and interpersonal dynamics of volunteering in civil society.

1.3 Organization of the dissertation

I have designed this dissertation using paired parts that take on the central topic of volunteerism but from distinctive points of view. This strategy allows separate lines of thinking to run in parallel, raising questions about different kinds of truths and how to simultaneously follow contrasting approaches to the study of volunteerism in Africa. Part One addresses the first research question, the "who" of volunteering, by focusing on the determinants of voluntary association membership in sub-Saharan Africa. Part Two

tackles the second research question, the "why" of volunteering, by delving into the functional meaning and social value of volunteering.

Unlike many dissertations, the chapters here are not styled like journal papers, nor do they follow the usual successive accumulation of ideas found in a traditional monograph. Rather, each is a stand-alone attempt (i.e. "*essay*" or "try out") to speak to the broader concerns regarding global processes, neoliberal development, and democratization surrounding the notion of volunteerism in Africa. Taking a leaf from James Ferguson's *Global Shadows: Africa in the neoliberal world order* (2006), I use the essay form as a way to move across the different analytic levels found in this research endeavor, and as a way to hop—for lack of a better term—from particular observations to more general abstractions. In this manner, I can explore the tensions between differing empirical and ontological perspectives throughout the text and subsequently suggest ways for better integrating them when studying volunteerism in Africa. My hope is that the discussions and findings will appeal to readers with theoretical interests in civil society, as well as to those with an applied modus operandi—such as volunteer organization insiders, nonprofit leaders, NGO strategists, and independent development consultancies.

The dissertation is divided into two parts. Part One jumps right into one of this topic's most hotly debated issues, namely how to define and measure volunteering at scale. This debate is particularly evident in the controversy concerning the difference between informal versus formal associational civic engagement: direct, individual and informal volunteering (more common in Africa) versus formal membership and group-based volunteering (more common in Western Europe and North America).

In chapter two, I enter this debate by showing that it is possible, within limits, to use survey research methods and statistical techniques on data from Africa to understand aspects of formal organization-based volunteering (as has already been done throughout the world), such as membership affiliation and level of involvement. I use Afrobarometer survey data and multilevel statistical models to assess the individual-level and country-level determinants of active voluntary group membership in twenty African countries. These models provide a profile of the characteristics of people who actively join and take on leadership roles in voluntary associations and community groups.

In 2008-2009, when the Afrobarometer survey was conducted, the proportion of people surveyed that were active voluntary group members was on average 26 percent, but there was great variation across the countries. Countries in the west and east of the continent had more active association members than did those in the south. Liberia and Kenya had the highest proportion of active members at 46 percent and 43 percent respectively, while Namibia had one of the lowest rates at 12 percent. Even within regions there were differences. About 24 percent of Zambians, versus only 16 percent of South Africans, were active members of voluntary associations and community groups. Included in this chapter is a discussion of the types of data used, data gathering strategy, analysis techniques and limitations to this kind of study, as well as a description of the research participants and the countries involved.

Chapter three is a statistical analysis of the Afrobarometer survey data. It answers two sub-questions: How is involvement in voluntary groups in Africa explained by social background (i.e. poverty, education, employment, and community life)? And, does country-level economic and democratic circumstance stimulate active voluntary group

involvement? Drawing on social capital and resource mobilization theories I lay out a predictive model for active voluntary group membership in sub-Saharan Africa, based on social background and national development context. The findings reveal that, active versus passive group membership is generally associated with greater social and cultural capital at the individual level, but not necessarily with more economic capital.

The results also show that while economic and democratic development may underpin the climate for voluntary group formation, they do not directly impact active citizen participation—as measured by voluntary group membership. Instead, it is foreign development aid that has a significant impact on this type of civic involvement, which finding adds new insights into the role of foreign aid in fostering civil society in developing countries. These results provide a systematic baseline upon which further statistical models can be established, and they challenge the applicability of resource theories of civic participation in the African context.

Chapter four extends the study of formal voluntary group membership in Africa into two complex arenas that are particularly important in contemporary emerging democracies: Civic culture and active citizenship engagement. In this chapter I ask if "joiners" of voluntary groups have a distinct civic ethos or culture that sets them apart from other citizens. Drawing on several streams of scholarship, including established theories of political participation, I test four hypotheses regarding the positive relationship between civic culture and voluntary group involvement in Africa. Civic culture includes citizens' attitudes toward democracy, voting behavior, community activism and interpersonal trust.

Using the Afrobarometer data, and building upon the baseline multilevel logistic models formed in the previous chapter, I find that being an active member in these groups (not just a member in name only) is positively and significantly related to favorable democratic attitudes, community activism, interpersonal trust, and voting. These are important aspects of a strong public sphere and civil society, and are good determinants of active voluntary group membership. The central argument of this chapter is that active voluntary group membership is positively associated with values and beliefs that foster norms of cooperation and collective participation.

Part Two is the paired partner of the previous section. It offers a complementary critical cultural approach to the same subject of volunteerism but one that is not constrained by definitional and measurement debates. Here the focus is on meaning because the subject of volunteering lends itself to an analysis of meanings. This section is designed to address the second core research question regarding how Africans make meaning of their volunteering and the practical implications of this for building integrated, cohesive societies. A qualitative perspective is ideal for adequately and meaningfully tackling this question. Qualitative work pays careful attention to the qualities of entities and to the processes and meanings that cannot be measured experimentally or by surveys (Denzin and Lincoln 2000). This entails a geographic shift in research scope and so I zoom in to focus on Southern Africa—in particular, the cities of Lusaka and Pretoria. A qualitative approach to volunteerism not only goes beyond numbers and statistics, but also forges new avenues for understanding the value of volunteerism in ordering social relations, affecting dynamics of power, and impacting

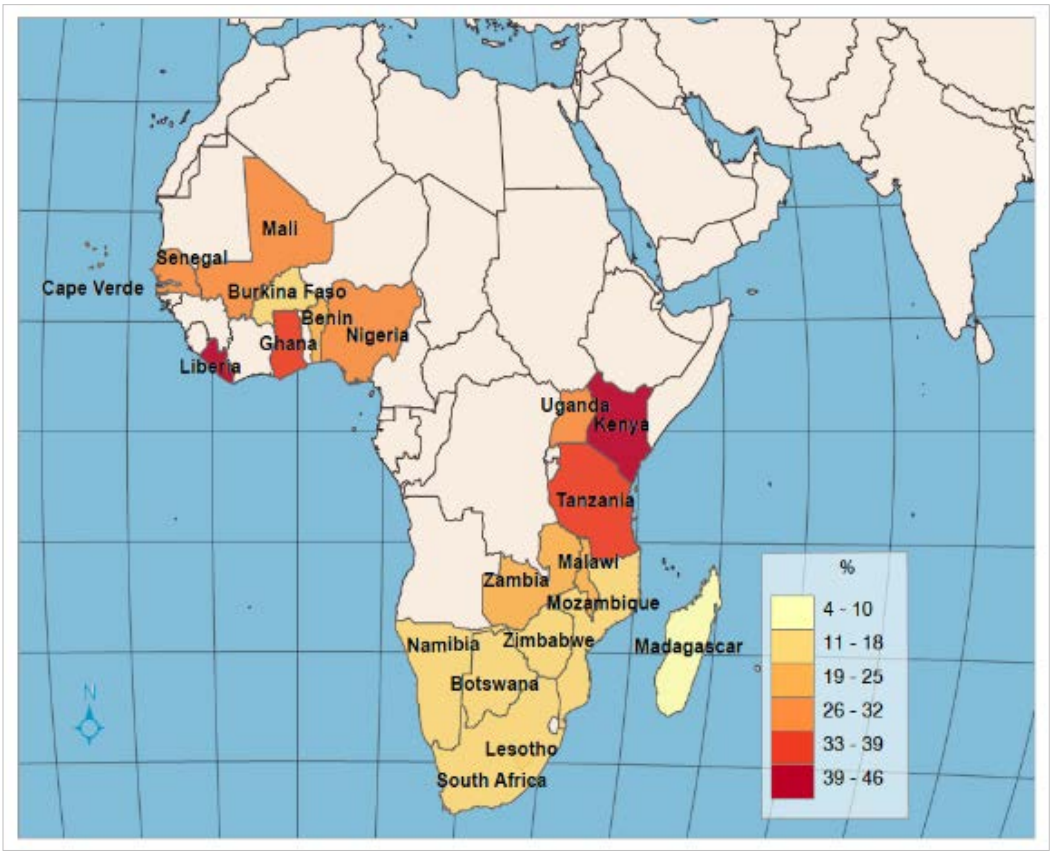
social cohesion. It stresses how experiences of volunteerism are created and given meaning by various social agents.

Chapter five offers an overview of the qualitative approach used in this study as well as a description of the case selection, study participants, research questions, and analysis techniques. While the previous chapter shows that a cross-national study of associational volunteering using quantitative tools is useful for analyzing many cases at once, this approach tends to overlook important research questions and is variable-oriented and abstractly causal (Flyvbjerg 2006). An ethnographic case-oriented approach is intrinsically historical and in chapter five I sketch out a very brief historical background to the urban and civic tapestry of Pretoria and Lusaka. This context is necessary because chapter six describes the similarities in volunteering between the two cases, whereas chapter seven highlights their differences.

Chapter six describes the practice of volunteering in these cities as a process of social exchange. The ethnographic study uncovers the unwritten rituals and rules of volunteering in Southern Africa, which parallel many of those in practices of gift giving. Tracing these rituals reveals the power of volunteering in establishing individual identity (i.e. personhood in society) and orders of relation, which, while functional for maintaining cohesion and entrenching social hierarchy, also facilitate the distribution of essential resources and care to the most vulnerable people in society. This chapter aims to go beyond pure economistic rhetoric so commonly used to explain processes of social exchange. In doing so it offers valuable insight into the processes of interpersonal exchange and the mechanisms that maintain social cohesion or domination in Southern Africa's urbanizing settings.

Chapter seven is concerned with the connection between volunteering and civil society in Southern Africa. It begins with the question of why people volunteer for particular civic associations, causes or issues in civil society. Using ethnographic data from Zambia and South Africa, I identify three volunteer orientations that reflect similarities in the combination of a person's values, motives and expectations at a given point in time. Depending on this combination people can be conceived of as more or less "opportunistic," "allegiant" and/or "challenging" toward volunteering. Given their orientation, participants gravitate toward volunteer activities in civil society that are aimed at either preserving, or enhancing, or challenging hegemonic systems of power. The result is a theory that links varying orientations to volunteering with activities and organizations in different subsets of civil society. Using this theoretical frame I conclude that there is differential voluntary sector development in South Africa relative to Zambia due to their differing historical contexts, and resulting subsets of civil society. I argue that compared to Zambia, in post-apartheid South Africa there is a more balanced representation of civil society groups and initiatives that can more effectively demand accountability, transparency, inclusive participation, and respect for the rule of law, which are conducive to attracting a wider range of individuals who are differentially oriented towards volunteering.

PART ONE: INDIVIDUAL RESOURCES AND NATIONAL CONTEXT AS DETERMINANTS OF VOLUNTARY GROUP INVOLVEMENT IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA



Map of active volunteer group membership in twenty African countries, 2008. Darker colors indicate a higher percentage of active group members in the population. Made using Afrobarometer Survey Round 4 data

The first question in this study pertains to the social profile of African volunteers. Social scientists typically address this question using quantitative methods and survey data. The availability of the European and World Values surveys, the Johns Hopkins comparative nonprofit sector project, and the Gallup Polls has provided researchers with better evidence with which to analyze and compare the structural features that shape patterns of

voluntary association participation across a range of diverse countries. Mostly these surveys capture formal group volunteering that is rather ambiguously defined.

As an example, Table 2-1 shows how five different surveys attempt to measure volunteering in Africa. With the exception of the Johns Hopkins Survey, they all measure formal voluntary association involvement. Informal, indirect volunteering and other types of giving are excluded. The Afrobarometer asks respondents only about membership involvement in religious groups and/or voluntary associations or community groups (Afrobarometer 2010a). The World Values Survey captures membership involvement in ten different types of associations: sports or recreation; art, music or education; labor union; religious; political party; environment; professional; humanitarian or charity; consumer; any other (World Values Survey 2009). The Gallup Poll records adults volunteering time to an organization in the previous month (Charities Aid Foundation 2010). CIVICUS (2011) records the percent of adults that are actively involved in civil society organizations, although it never explains what questions respondents were asked to answer. The Johns Hopkins Center for Civil Society Studies measures volunteering time, rather than organizational membership (Salamon, Sokolowski and associates 2004).

What these different surveys show is that there is no uniform way to measure volunteering in this way. Even when they claim to measure the "same" type of action, the results can be very different. Take a look at the Afrobarometer and World Values Surveys' results for Uganda or South Africa. These surveys capture similar styles of volunteering activity, but yield vastly different findings for these two countries—ranging anywhere from 9 to 51 percent in South Africa and 21 to 53 percent in Uganda. Table 2-1

shows that the average percentage of associational volunteers varies per country because of the different survey measurement styles used.

Nonetheless, survey data, like that provided by the Afrobarometer, can offer helpful empirical information to address the general shortfall of quantitative evidence from Africa about voluntary association involvement. It supplies reliable cross-national comparable evidence concerning membership in secular and religious voluntary associations and community groups for twenty African countries south of the Sahara, which opens up possibilities to add an African perspective to the discussion on voluntary sector engagement. It is for this reason that I use this survey data in this dissertation. However, this data comes with numerous limitations, the least of which is the definition of "voluntary group member"—all of which are discussed later on in this chapter.

This study of volunteering and voluntary association membership in African countries begins here in Part One with a quantitative statistical element that is followed in Part Two by an ethnographic study in South Africa and Zambia. The mixed-method design allows for linking people's everyday experience of volunteering to the national civic background. Data collection and analysis spanned one and a half years, broken down into two research phases: phase A) Statistical analysis of the Afrobarometer survey data; and phase B) Ethnographic fieldwork and qualitative analysis. In this chapter I outline the data and measures, collection techniques, and methodological approaches used in the first research phase. I also provide a brief overview of the descriptive characteristics of the survey participants and the twenty countries studied, and discuss the limitations to this part of the study.

Analyses in chapters three and four will quantitatively examine the impact of individual-level characteristics and country-level features on voluntary association membership. In chapter three I concentrate on the effects of resources associated with individual socioeconomic background, community integration and religious importance on voluntary group membership. I also test for the assumed benefits of living in a country with greater political and civil freedoms and economic wealth. In chapter four I am interested in the civic characteristics of voluntary group members. The data and variables used in these analyses are described in detail here below. The specific hypotheses and resulting findings are discussed in the subsequent chapters.

2.1 SURVEY DATA

Data for this quantitative analysis is from Round four (2008-9) of the Afrobarometer surveys, covering twenty countries in the west, east and south of sub-Saharan Africa.[1] Survey data can be obtained freely from the Afrobarometer website. Afrobarometer uses national probability samples of randomly selected representative cross-sections of all citizens eighteen years and older. Among samples of between 1,200 or 2,400 cases per country the data allows for inferences to national adult populations with a margin of sampling error no more than ± 2.5 percent, with a 95 percent confidence level (Afrobarometer 2014). A clustered, stratified, multi-stage, area probability sample design is used. A weighting factor at the primary sampling unit accounts for individual selection probability. This weighting factor is included in all analyses and applied when calculating national-level statistics for any given country. The variable adjusts the

[1] These countries include Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

distribution of each country sample to take account of over or under samples with respect to region, gender, urban-rural distribution, or other factors (Afrobarometer 2010b:61).

An across country weight adjusts all country samples to the same size, *n*=1,200, and is included in all logistic analysis or when calculating statistics for country comparisons. Weights are combined into a single weighting factor for the multilevel models. Detailed methodology and datasets are publicly accessible for download and use from the Afrobarometer website, with sample weights available upon request.

Dependent variables

Afrobarometer survey respondents were questioned about their community involvement and whether they belonged to or attend any voluntary organizations or community groups. Figure 2-1 shows a snapshot of the survey question. First respondents were asked about involvement in *a religious organization* and then about involvement in any *other voluntary organization or community group.* Survey respondents could answer in the following ways: 3=yes (organizational leader), 2=yes (active member), 1=yes (inactive member), or 0=no (nonmember). The variable is used as in multinomial regression models. I also re-coded the responses into a dichotomous variable, where 1=yes (active member or leader), and 0=no (inactive member or not a member). This dichotomous variable is used in logistic regression models where the dependent variable concerns membership in either a religious organization or membership in a secular voluntary association or community group. Active membership coded in this way provides a useful, although not perfect, proxy measure for associational volunteering. For this dissertation, the focus concerns active membership in secular voluntary associations or community groups, although information on religious groups is also included.

Independent variables: Individual-level measures

Person-level independent variables are grouped into three categories representing social background, religious importance, and civic culture.

Social background

Previous research shows that voluntary group participation is related to an individual's social background, including age, sex, race, education level, employment status, and living arrangement such as urban/rural residence, income, marriage and number of children. My analysis includes these variables at the individual level—all except the latter two, which the Afrobarometer survey did not capture.

Age is measured in years and divided by ten. A squared term for age is also included because the relationship between age and volunteering is globally found to be curvilinear (Curtis, Grabb and Baer 1992). Participant's sex (female=1, male=0), race (black=1, nonblack=0) and geographic location (urban=1, rural=0) are included as binary variables. The survey does not explicitly define the urban or rural criteria. Level of education is coded into five dummies: "primary education only," "completed high school," "completed tertiary-level education" and "no education" as the reference group. Employment status is categorized into four dummy variables: "employed full time," "employed part time," "unemployed and looking for work" and "unemployed and not looking," which is the reference group.

Afrobarometer does not measure income directly, but Director Michael Bratton (2006) argues that in African contexts it is better to rely on a measure of relative lived poverty. This lived poverty index (LPI) incorporates both subjective and objective indicators of poverty, such as lack of income, shelter, or food. It is derived from a set of

five questions that assess how frequently people go without basic necessities in a year (Bratton 2006, Mattes, Bratton and Davids 2003). An LPI score is the combined and averaged responses for each individual, ranging from 0=no lived poverty to 4=constant absence of all basic necessities (Bratton 2009).

Religious importance

A large body of literature documents the positive relationship between religiosity and voluntary association, and the need to control for this in predictive models of membership in religious and secular associations (Cnaan, Kasternakis and Wineburg 1993, Dollahite, Marks and Goodman 2004, Lam 2002, Lam 2006, Ruiter and De Graaf 2006, Ruiter and De Graaf 2010). The religiosity variable is constructed from responses to the survey question "How important is religion in your life?" Religious importance is measured on a 4-point scale ranging from 0=not at all important to 4=very important.

Civic culture

Following Halman's (2003) advice, participants' *democratic attitudes* were obtained from combining the answers to two sets of questions in the Afrobarometer survey that measure opinions on democracy as a system of government. The first set of nine questions asked respondents to indicate their level of agreement to ways of implementing democratic governance. The items included, choosing leaders through regular and open elections; having multiparty governance; ensuring that parliament holds the president accountable for spending taxpayers' money; allowing opposition parties to criticize government policies and actions; accepting a free and critical press; having the president be accountable to parliament; limiting presidential runs to two terms; and holding the president under the law. The second set of three questions asked respondents

about their level of agreement with democracy, with one-man rule, and with military rule as a better form of governance. In total, twelve questions were combined into a continuous variable, scaled from 1 to 5, where 1 indicates "not in favor of democracy" and 5 indicates "very much in favor of democracy."

Citizenship action was measured as voting and social activism. If a person had voted in past elections their responses were recorded in a binary variable where 1="voted before," and 0="never voted before." Respondents were also asked about "actions that people sometimes take as citizens" such as attending a community meeting, getting together with others to raise awareness of an issue, and attending a demonstration or protest march. These three actions were combined into a continuous variable called "activism" with 5 indicating the highest likelihood of having taken at least one of these actions over the course of the previous year, and 1 being the least likely to have done so.

Interpersonal trust is measured in a continuous variable that combines and averages responses to three questions pertaining to generalized trust in other people. Averaging these scores results in a scale ranging from 0 to 3, where 3 indicates greatest level of trust (Lavallée, Razafindrakoto and Roubaud 2008).

Note: In chapter three, these civic measures are also used as dependent variables in multilevel OLS and logistic regression models.

Independent variables: Country-level measures

In addition to the individual-level predictors, I also searched for the impact of country-level economic and political development on voluntary group membership. In the following paragraphs I describe these measures.

Economic development is measured as GDP per capita for each country, calculated in US dollars as of 2008. GDP per capita is a country's gross domestic product divided by midyear population. GDP is the "sum of gross value added by all resident producers in the economy plus any product taxes and minus any subsidies not included in the value of the products" (World Bank 2008b). Data are in current US dollars and used in units of one million in regression models to ease interpretation.

A further economic measure is the amount of foreign aid received by each country in 2008, measured in US dollars as a percent of Gross National Income (GNI). This World Bank Development Index consists of loan disbursements "made on concessional terms (net of repayments of principal) and grants by official agencies of the members of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC), by multilateral institutions, and by non-DAC countries to promote economic development and welfare in countries and territories in the DAC list of ODA recipients" (World Bank 2008a). Data are used in units of one million in regression models to ease interpretation.

Given the arguments by Putnam (2000) and Skocpol (2003) that democracies provide the political and social infrastructure in which volunteer organizations can thrive, I include a variable measuring level of democratic freedom in a country. The Freedom House Gastil index measures civil liberties and political rights (i.e. democratic freedoms) on a 25-point checklist. *Political Rights* and *Civil Liberties* are coded on a 7-point scale with low scores indicating a high degree of freedom. To improve interpretations, Ruiter and De Graaf (2006:199) suggest summing the political and civil scores and reversing the scale, resulting in a variable ranging from 2 to 14, where a higher score is an indicator of greater democracy and freedoms. For my sample, the combined and reversed Gastil Index

(Freedom House 2013) resulted in a variable ranging in scale from 2 to 12. The Freedom in the World report provides 2008 scores for most sampled countries except Zambia and Zimbabwe, in whose case 2009 scores were used.

A control for size of country population in 2008 is also included. Data come from the United Nations Development Program databank (United Nations Development Programme 2010). Cape Verde has the smallest population at less than half a million people (484,651) with Nigeria topping the group at 151 million people.

2.2 Analytic strategy

For all statistical models presented in this study, the total number of participants examined is included. Before performing any analyses, I examined the relationships between model predictor variables to ensure that high levels of correlation were not present because highly correlated predictors can result in multicollinearity, biasing regression estimates and masking significant effects (Allison 2012). Small correlations between all the variables of interest, and variance inflation factors below a threshold of 3 suggest no problems with multicollinearity. Lived poverty, religious importance, democratic attitude, activism, and trust are centered on the grand mean.

Multilevel multinomial logistic and multilevel logistic modeling

Since I hypothesize individual and country level effects on volunteering I employ multilevel regression analyses, using the statistical program Stata version 14 (Kreft and De Leeuw 1998). Multilevel models account for the predicted outcome at the individual level (i.e. probability of being an active member in a voluntary association versus not being a member, or being an inactive member) using explanatory variables at both the individual and country level, as well as interactions between these levels (Hamilton 2013,

Kreft and De Leeuw 1998). Level one contains person measures, and level two are country measures.

Data are clustered by country, so I assume that people from the same country would have similar responses to each other, thus violating one of the basic assumptions of independence in ordinary least squares regression that responses are uncorrelated. Multilevel equations deal with this violation by not assuming that observations are uncorrelated, allowing for the examination of within-country variance, and by also accommodating unbalanced data. Furthermore, the constant of the person-level equation can be modeled as a function of country-level properties, thus facilitating more complex interpretation and aiding in richer, more compelling evidence regarding the collective impact of individual and country variables (Gelman and Hill 2006). Thus, multilevel logistic regression is the most appropriate modeling strategy for these data. Multinomial logistic regression is also appropriate, as discussed below. My dependent variable is predicted with groups of related independent variables. This approach shows how groups of related measures operate independently and within the context of a full model, which includes all independent variables (Snijders 2011).

Random intercept models[2] are used to explain why context across countries matters. This is a compromise between completely pooling the data to get population averages—effectively ignoring clustering—and approaches with no pooling, which discounts between-cluster variation (Bickel 2007, Gelman and Hill 2006, Snijders 2011). Random intercept regression partially pools estimates of cluster means, and allows for random intercepts. In the models tested, variation is primarily within countries, justifying

[2] Random intercept models are performed with Stata's *xtlogit* commands, or, in the case of multinomial regressions, the *gsem* commands.

the use of random effects models (ICC<0.50). A Hausman test between fixed and random effects models indicates that the models yield similar results (P>0.05) and that either can be used (Long and Freeze 2006).

Multilevel multinomial modeling is used when the dependent variable consists of nominal categories. A multilevel multinomial model can be thought of as simultaneously estimating binary logistic regressions for all comparison groups in reference to a base category (the chosen, preferred comparison group). The equations are estimated simultaneously, but an approximation to the multinomial logit is obtained by estimating a series of binary logit models on subsets of the data (Long and Freeze 2006).

Consider response variable *y* which takes values 1, 2, ….., *c*.

Now define the *response probabilities* for each category *k* as:

$\Pr(y = k) = \pi_k$

Where $\pi_1 + \pi_2 + \cdots \pi_c = 1$.

One of the response categories is selected as the reference. Then fit the log-odds of being in one of the remaining categories rather than the reference category. As such, a multinomial approach begins by considering models for a single linear regression, then the model for the contrast between category *k* and the reference category for individual *i* in group *j*, where $i=1_j…..n_k$.

The model can be expressed as:

$$\text{Odds}_{(y_i = s\ vs.\ y_i = r|x_{ij})}$$

$$ln\ \frac{\Pr(y_i = s|x_{ij})}{\Pr(y_i = r|x_{ij})}$$

$$= ln\left[\frac{\left\{\frac{\exp\left(\beta_1^{[s]}+\beta_2^{[s]}x_{ij}\right)}{\sum_{c=1}^{s}\exp\left(\beta_1^{[s]}+\beta_2^{[s]}x_{ij}\right)}\right\}}{\left\{\frac{\exp\left(\beta_1^{[r]}+\beta_2^{[r]}x_{ij}\right)}{\sum_{c=1}^{s}\exp\left(\beta_1^{[s]}+\beta_2^{[s]}x_{ij}\right)}\right\}}\right] \quad \text{for equations} = 1 \text{ to } K$$

$$= ln\left[\exp\left\{\left(\beta_1^{[s]} - \beta_1^{[r]}\right) + \left(\beta_2^{[s]} - \beta_2^{[r]}\right)x_i\right\}\right] \text{ Where } \beta_1^{[r]} \text{ and } \beta_2^{[r]} = 0$$

The log odds of an outcome compared to itself are always 0 and so the effect of any independent variables must also be 0. In general, with *K* alternatives, only *J*-1 binary logits need to be estimated. Thus,

$$= ln\left[\exp\beta_1^{[s]} + \beta_2^{[s]}x_i\right]$$

The left-hand side of the equation is commonly referred to as the log-odds of being in category 1 rather than category 0, even though it is really modeling the ratio of two probabilities. This makes straightforward interpretation of the results for logistic and multinomial regressions rather challenging. These *j* equations can be solved to compute the odds ratio or predicted probabilities, which are far easier to interpret (Snijders 2011).

The probability equation is:

$$\frac{\Pr\left(y_i = s|x_{ij}\right)}{\Pr\left(y_i = 1|x_{ij}\right)}$$

for (s=2, 3, 4) in a baseline category logit model with four categories.

Odds can be expressed as the ratio of probabilities of events, or odds ratio. A one unit increase in the covariate x_i from some value α to α+1 corresponds to the odds ratio (OR) for category *s* versus the base outcome *r* (Rabe-Hesketh and Skrondal 2008).

$$OR_{s:r} \equiv \frac{Odds(y_i = s\ vs.\ y_i = r | x_{ij} = \alpha + 1)}{Odds(y_i = s\ vs.\ y_i = r | x_{ij} = \alpha)}$$
$$= \frac{\exp\left(\beta_1^{[s]} + \beta_2^{[s]}(\alpha + 1)\right)}{\exp\left(\beta_1^{[s]} + \beta_2^{[s]}\alpha\right)}$$
$$= \exp\left(\beta_2^{[s]}\right).$$

2.3 LIMITATIONS TO THE STATISTICAL STUDY

As is the case in all research projects, this study faced a number of limitations regarding the survey data and availability of development data for these twenty countries. Use of the Afrobarometer Round four survey data posed four limitations concerning the countries sampled, the number of non-black people surveyed, the dependent variable used, and the presence of missing data.

First, the Round four Afrobarometer survey sampled twenty sub-Saharan African countries, but these are by no means representative of any one region. Caution should also be taken before generalizing findings to the population of the whole African continent. The small *n* (twenty) at "level two" implies that any tests involving country-level factors will be of extremely low power and may even have biased standard errors. Some scholars have argued for a minimum level two *n* of thirty (Snijders and Bosker 1994, Snijders 2011). Bickel (2007) suggests that twenty cases at level two are adequate but goes on to express concerns for models with as many as fifty cases. Despite these apprehensions, all experts agree that it is better to cluster data using hierarchical

regression techniques rather than simply ignoring the clustering. For this reason, researchers have conducted similar cross-national studies using level two samples of between twelve and thirty cases, validating my use of twenty countries (see for example Lam 2006, Mattes and Bratton 2007, Parboteeah, Cullen and Lrong 2004).

Second, in some of the countries surveyed the sample of non-blacks (Whites, Asians, Mixed-Race, Others) was extremely small or zero, leading to "small cell" problems in the statistical analyses. Including the sampling weights in analyses helped correct for this somewhat, but the resulting statistical estimates for race in the models tested in this study should be interpreted with restraint.

Third, the survey asked only about one type of associational volunteering—belonging to or taking part in a voluntary organization or community group. This most likely only captured formalized volunteering activities and ignored the informal volunteer activities that people do on a once-off or occasional basis, or the individual volunteers who do their service work outside the framework of any group. Also, many people volunteer for civic associations without being members. This later type of volunteering is not captured by the Afrobarometer survey. Measuring active membership provides a useful, although not perfect, measure of voluntary associational involvement. To counteract this limitation, the ethnographic research component was added. By conducting interviews with informal and once-off volunteers in Zambia and South Africa I was able to capture some examples of non-associational volunteering.

Fourth, in order to compare models with each other the analysis was conducted on complete cases only, reducing the total sample size from 27,713 to 26,105 individual cases. The percentage of dropped cases averaged 4 percent of the total sample and ranged

across countries from 2 percent in Mali and Namibia to no more than 12 percent in Madagascar. The missing data were all at the individual and not country level. For Little's (Li 2013) diagnostic the null hypothesis is data "missing completely at random" (MCAR). The results give a $\chi 2$ distance of 1543.75 with 635 degrees of freedom and $p<0.000$, providing evidence that the data were not missing completely at random (Li 2013). However, among the given variables of interest there are 53 different patterns of missing data, with similar frequencies. Thus there were no clear missing patterns. The overall effects of these dropped cases were substantively and meaningfully small enough to justify their exclusion. Alternative corrections would mean data imputation for all 11 variables and 1,608 cases missing data, which presents other forms of biases associated with manufacturing data. Consequently, complete case analysis using the smaller sample was used, with the understanding that the omitted cases might lead to marginally but not substantively biased estimates and standard errors.

Finally, I chose to use the Gastil index of political and civil freedoms, as produced by the Freedom House, despite concerns that this measure of democracy is conservatively biased in favor of neoliberal styles of governance—such as regarding economic privatization as a marker of increasing freedoms (Bollen 1993). Bratton (1994) and others (Muller and Seligson 1994) suggest using the Gastil Index with Afrobarometer data because it provides a reliable and serviceable measure of civic freedoms appropriate for broad "cross-country comparisons of trends in liberalization, democratization, and levels of democracy" in African contexts (Bratton 1994:288). Two alternative measures of democracy that I could have used were the *Bertelsmann Stiftung's Transformation Index* (BTI) and the *Polity IV scores*. They had problems of their own including missing data

for the sampled countries and a negative but statistically non-significant correlation with the number of associational volunteers in a country, which contradicts all the literature and thus raises questions about the results.

2.4 DESCRIPTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS

Before examining the relationships between voluntary association membership and its potential determinants, I describe the Afrobarometer survey sample. A more detailed description is available in Appendix 1. Table 2-2 below shows the descriptive statistics of survey respondents in 2008.

Social background

Sampled people are on average thirty-six years old. Half the sample is male, 96 percent identify as black African, and roughly 37 percent live in an urban setting. The majority of respondents have some education but at least 19 percent have no formal schooling at all, and only 11 percent have some post-high school or tertiary level education. About 66 percent are unemployed. This includes the unemployed job seekers (34 percent), and those not looking for work (i.e. retired, sick, and discouraged). On average, most respondents do not live in relative poverty and have reliable access to the basic necessities of life, scoring a mean of 1.28 on the lived poverty score (on a scale of 0 to 4, where 0 implies no poverty and 4 implies absence of basic necessities).

Religiosity

Respondents for this survey value the importance of religion in their lives. On a scale of 0 to 3, with 3 being the highest score possible, the average response was 2.75. Religion thrives in these twenty African countries, and although Christianity is the most dominant religion overall (72 percent), the religious composition differs within each

country. Figure 2-2 provides a visual breakdown of the main religious groups by country. Benin has the most even mix of religions, while Senegal and Mali are more religiously homogeneous. Overall, Liberia has the highest concentration of Protestants (82 percent), while Cape Verde has the most Catholics (74 percent). In 10 of these countries—six of which are in Southern Africa—Christians make up more than 80 percent of the population. For instance, ninety-seven percent of Basotho and Namibians identify as Christian. Islam is most prominent in Senegal (95 percent), Mali (89 percent), and Burkina Faso (59 percent). The largest percentage of non-believers is found in Botswana (28 percent). Botswana and Benin also have the highest composition (between 15 and 20 percent) of other religions, such as traditional faiths, ZCC, Judaism and Hinduism.

Civic culture

Table 2-2 also shows a description of the dimensions of civic culture used in this study. On average, about 71 percent of the sampled respondents had voted when possible before the 2008 Afrobarometer survey. They had generally favorable attitudes towards democratic systems of government, scoring a mean of 3.12 on a scale of 1 to 5, where 5 means most favorable. They are more likely to have participated in activist activities, averaging 1.62 on a scale of 0 to 4, with 4 being the greatest. They were also modestly trusting of others, averaging 1.82 on a scale of 0 to 3, where 3 signifies greater trust.

2.5 DESCRIPTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COUNTRIES SURVEYED

Table 2-3 presents the 2008 aggregate descriptive characteristics for the twenty African countries in this study. In 2008, about 24 percent of people in these countries were actively involved in voluntary groups (not including religious groups) out of an

average population of about 24 million. Figure 2-3 depicts this breakdown of active and passive membership by country in a visual way.

The countries recorded a mean GDP per capita of about 1597.68 US dollars, and foreign aid and official development assistance accounted for roughly 18.15 percent of GNI. However, financial averages are not very informative because Nigeria and South Africa had massive GDPs of over 200 billion US dollars, driven by mineral and oil exports, skewing the results when compared to countries like Malawi and Cape Verde whose GDP was only about one billion US dollars. The amount of aid disbursed and its overall percentage of a country's GNI also vary (see Figure 2-4 and Figure 2-5).

Official development aid accounts for less than 1 percent of GNI in countries like South Africa and Nigeria, but over 20 percent of GNI in other countries like Malawi and Mozambique. In an extreme case, aid to Liberia was almost double the country's GNI in 2008 as Liberia was emerging from civil war. Aid declined in subsequent years.

In terms of democratic freedoms, Freedom House records the most oppressive country in 2008 as Zimbabwe, while Burkina Faso and Cape Verde were the most civically and politically free. The average score for all twenty countries was 7.85 on a reversed scale from 1 to 12, with 12 meaning greater democratic freedoms (Figure 2-6).

Finally, among these countries, active voluntary group membership was not significantly correlated with the size of the population, GDP per capita, or level of democracy (see Table 2-4). Active membership was moderately and positively correlated with the amount of foreign development aid received as a percent of GNI ($r=0.452$, $p<0.05$). Table 2-5 displays the overall basic descriptive statistics for the given country variables, by country.

2.6 TABLES AND FIGURES

TABLE 2-1: DIFFERENT SURVEYS MEASURING VOLUNTEERING ACTIVITY IN AFRICA.

	Afrobarometer (Wave 4: 2008-2009)		World Values Survey (Wave 5: 2005-2009)		Gallup Poll (2010)	CIVICUS (2011)	Johns Hopkins (1995-2000)
	% Active voluntary org. members[+]	% Active religious org. members[++]	% Active voluntary org. members[+]	% Active religious org. members[++]	% Volunteering time to an org./month	% Active in Civil Society Org.	% Adults volunteering time
Eastern Africa							
Comoros	–	–	–	–	21	–	–
Djibouti	–	–	–	–	16	–	–
Ethiopia	–	–	70.7	29.82	13	–	–
***Kenya**	43	66.82	–	–	28	–	6
***Madagascar**	4	9.36	–	–	11	44	–
***Mozambique**	20	53.69	–	–	14	–	–
Somaliland	–	–	–	–	23	–	–
Rwanda	–	–	57.13	53	1	20	–
***Tanzania**	35	71.29	–	–	26	52	11
***Uganda**	31	51.34	–	–	22	–	23
Western Africa							
***Benin**	23	26.96	–	–	19	–	–
***Burkina Faso**	18	16.4	29.79	24.38	14	–	–
***Cape Verde**	13	23.39	–	–	–	–	–
Cote d'Ivoire	–	–	–	–	7	–	–
Cameroon	–	–	–	–	12	–	–
***Ghana**	36	70.95	58.41	72.03	31	–	–
Guinea	–	–	–	–	42	–	–
***Liberia**	46	72.6	–	–	30	70	–
Mauritania	–	–	–	–	15	–	–
Niger	–	–	–	–	11	–	–
***Nigeria**	27	58.95	–	–	28	–	–
Sierra Leone	–	–	–	–	45	–	–
***Senegal**	28	–	–	–	13	16	–
Togo	–	–	–	–	19	–	–
Southern Africa							
Angola	–	–	–	–	39	–	–
***Botswana**	17	43.32	–	–	19	–	–
***Lesotho**	29	32.14	–	–	–	–	–
***Malawi**	24	59.2	–	–	35	–	–
***Namibia**	13	30.75	–	–	17	–	–
***South Africa**	16	42.03	50.44	52.24	19	–	9
***Zambia**	25	71.3	66.87	63.1	27	80	–
***Zimbabwe**	16	59.42	–	–	19	–	–
Central Africa							
Burundi	–	–	–	–	7	–	–
C.A.R.	–	–	–	–	47	–	–
Chad	–	–	–	–	27	–	1
Rep. of Congo	–	–	–	–	18	–	1
Northern Africa							
Egypt	–	–	13.24	0.79	–	–	1
***Mali**	29	9.91	62.91	39.01	21	–	–
Morocco	–	–	21.75	1.46	–	10	4

Note: [+]Active members only. [++]Political party, trade union, or religious organizations not included. *Specific countries included in this study.

Table 2-2: Summary statistics of surveyed respondent sample.

		Mean / %	SD	Range
Volunteer group membership				
Not a Member	(nonmember)	61.17%		
Inactive Member	(nonmember)	14.53%		
Active Member	(member)	19.15%		
Leader	(member)	5.15%		
Religious group membership				
Not a Member	(nonmember)	26.03%		
Inactive Member	(nonmember)	28.67%		
Active Member	(member)	39.01%		
Leader	(member)	6.29%		
Age		36.31%	14.48	18—110
Sex				
Female		50.12%		
Male		49.88%		
Race				
Black		96.32%		
Other race (non black)		3.67%		
Geographic location				
Urban		37.06%		
Rural		2.93%		
Education level				
No formal education		19.31%		
Primary school completed		32.87%		
Secondary school completed		37.23%		
Tertiary level completed		10.59%		
Employment status				
Employed full time		18.35%		
Employed part time		15.53%		
Unemployed (not looking)		31.62%		
Unemployed (job seeker)		34.47%		
Poverty level		1.28	0.93	0—4
Importance of religion		2.74	0.67	0—3
Voted		70.58%		
Did not vote		29.42%		
Democratic attitude		3.12	0.47	0—5
Collective activism		1.62	0.93	0—4
Generalized trust in others		1.82	0.78	0—3

Note: (*n*=26,105) Weighted statistics provided. Totals may not equal one hundred due to rounding.

TABLE 2-3: AGGREGATED DESCRIPTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF 20 COUNTRIES.

	Mean / %	SD	Range
Active voluntary group members	23.95	10.77	4.00—46.00
Population (million)	23.86	33.07	0.48—151.21
GDP per capita (million USD)	1497.68	1733.79	231.45—5746.96
Development Aid % GNI (million USD)	18.15	38.82	00.43—181.19
Democracy (Gastil Index, reversed)	7.85	2.49	1.00—12.00

TABLE 2-4: CORRELATION OF COUNTRY'S ACTIVE VOLUNTARY GROUP MEMBERS AND DEVELOPMENT INDICATORS.

	1	2	3	4	5
1 Active voluntary group members	1				
2 Population	0.164	1			
3 GDP per capita	-0.393	-0.033	1		
4 Development Aid % GNI	0.452*	-0.200	-0.242	1	
5 Gastil score (reversed)	-0.055	-0.235	0.544*	-0.126	1

Note: (n=20, *p<0.05)

TABLE 2-5: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS PER COUNTRY.

Country	%Active members*	Population (Millions)	Foreign Aid as % GNI	GDP / capita
Madagascar	4	19.93	9.02	$ 471.44
Namibia	12	2.11	2.44	$ 4,183.23
Cape Verde	13	0.48	14.64	$ 3,222.37
Zimbabwe	14	12.78	14.65	$ 345.41
Botswana	16	1.93	6.87	$ 5,746.97
South Africa	**16**	48.79	0.43	$ 5,597.97
Mozambique	17	22.76	21.55	$ 434.53
Burkina Faso	18	14.66	11.99	$ 569.64
Benin	22	8.97	9.69	$ 739.26
Malawi	22	14.14	21.71	$ 302.50
Zambia	**24**	12.46	8.43	$ 1,175.35
Nigeria	27	151.21	0.67	$ 1,369.74
Lesotho	28	1.97	7.08	$ 826.81
Mali	28	13.14	11.44	$ 665.05
Senegal	28	12.24	8.01	$ 1,093.76
Uganda	30	31.78	12.71	$ 454.40
Ghana	36	23.11	4.60	$ 1,234.44
Tanzania	36	42.35	11.41	$ 503.60
Kenya	43	38.77	4.49	$ 785.73
Liberia	46	3.67	181.19	$ 231.45

*Sorted by percentage of active voluntary group members, from lowest to highest.

Let's turn to your role in the community.					
22. Now I am going to read out a list of groups that people join or attend. For each one, could you tell me whether you are an official leader, an active member, an inactive member, or not a member.					
	Official Leader	Active Member	Inactive Member	Not a Member	Don't Know (DNR)
A. A religious group (e.g., church, mosque)	3	2	1	0	9
B. Some other voluntary association or community group	3	2	1	0	9

FIGURE 2-1: AFROBAROMETER SURVEY QUESTION ON VOLUNTARY GROUP MEMBERSHIP.

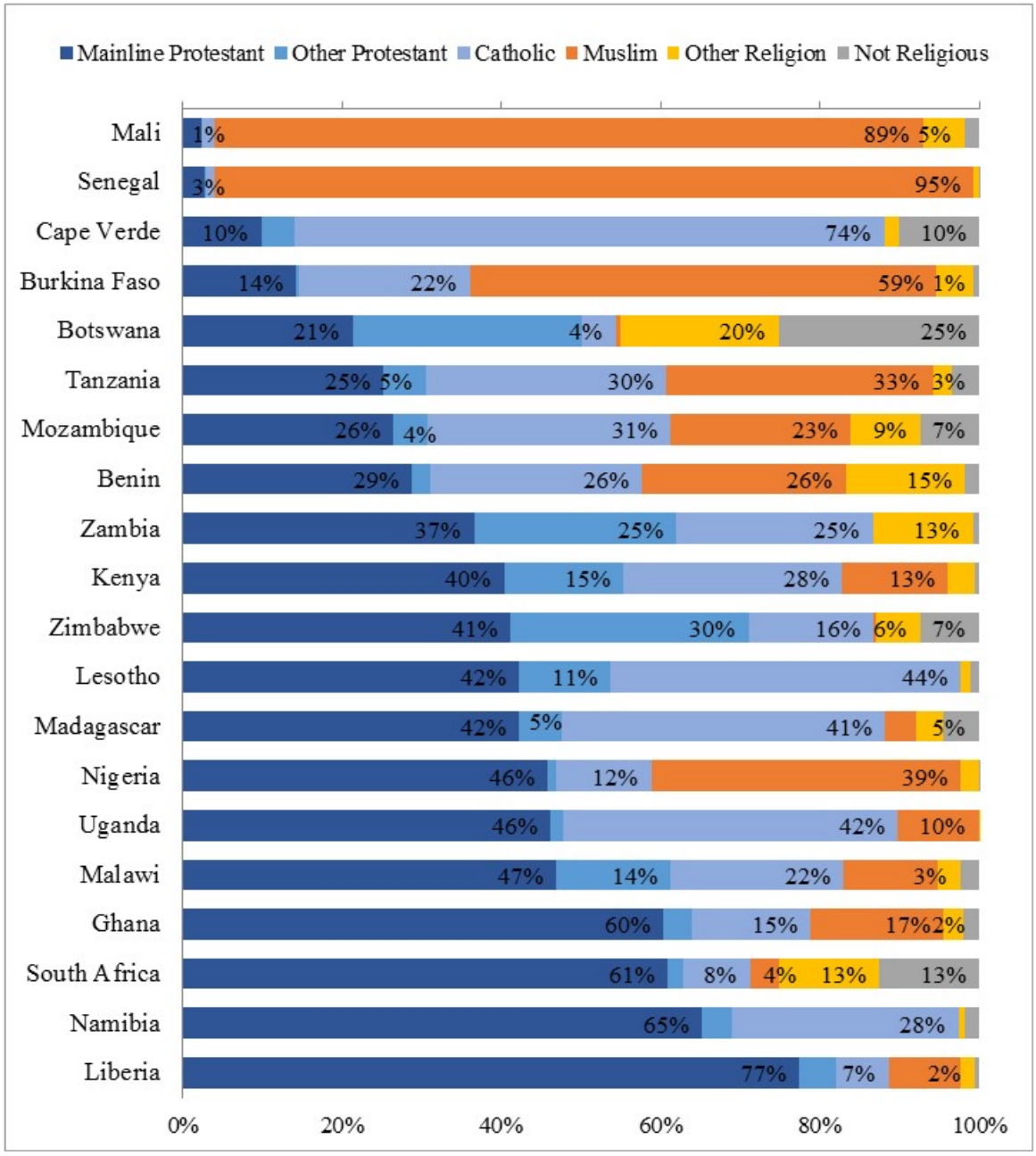


FIGURE 2-2: RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION OF SAMPLE, 20 AFRICAN COUNTRIES IN 2008.
Note: Sorted by percentage of Mainline Protestants (lowest to highest).

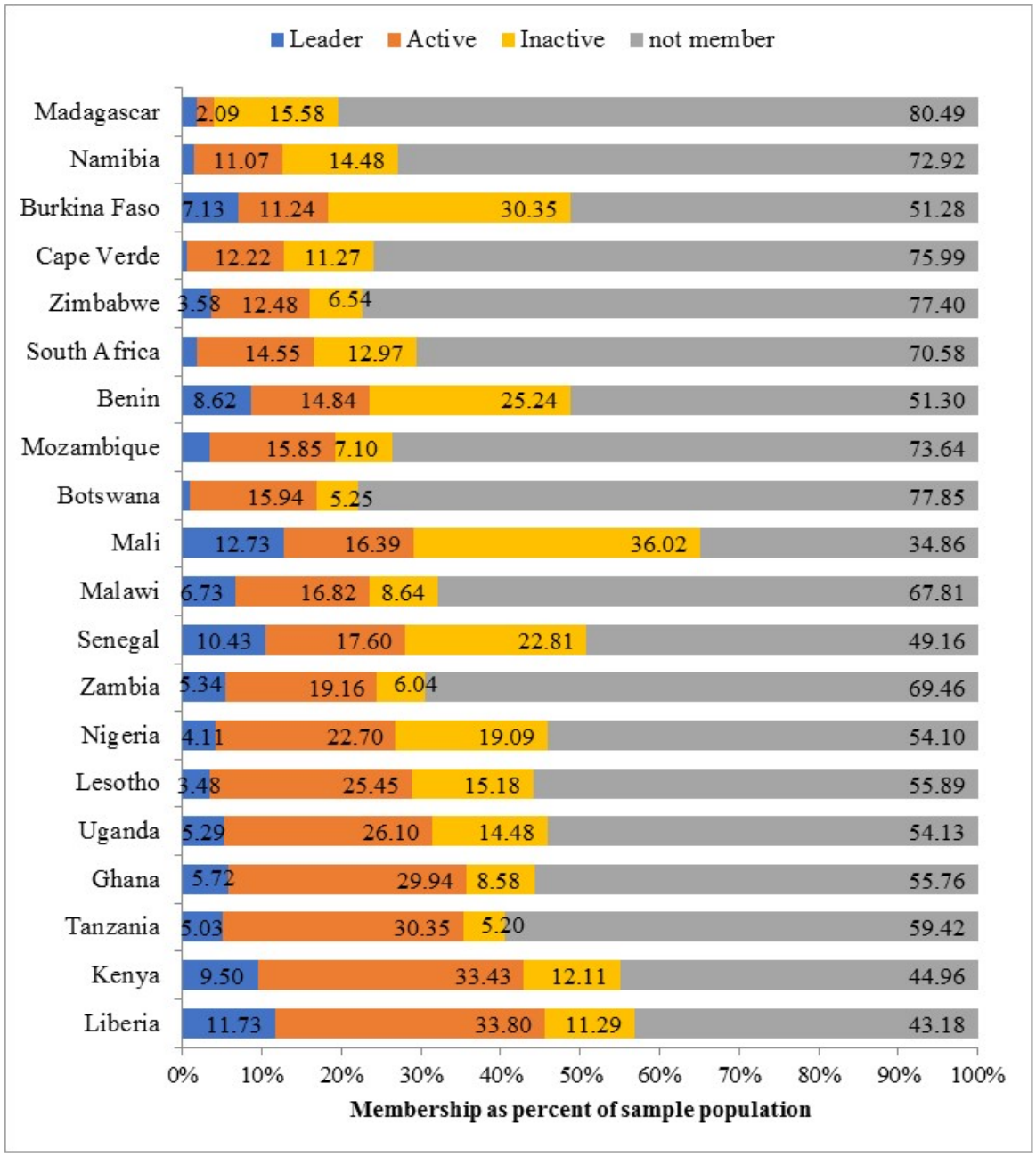


FIGURE 2-3: ACTIVE AND PASSIVE MEMBERSHIP IN SECULAR VOLUNTARY GROUPS, 20 AFRICAN COUNTRIES. Note: Sorted by percentage of active voluntary group members (lowest to highest).

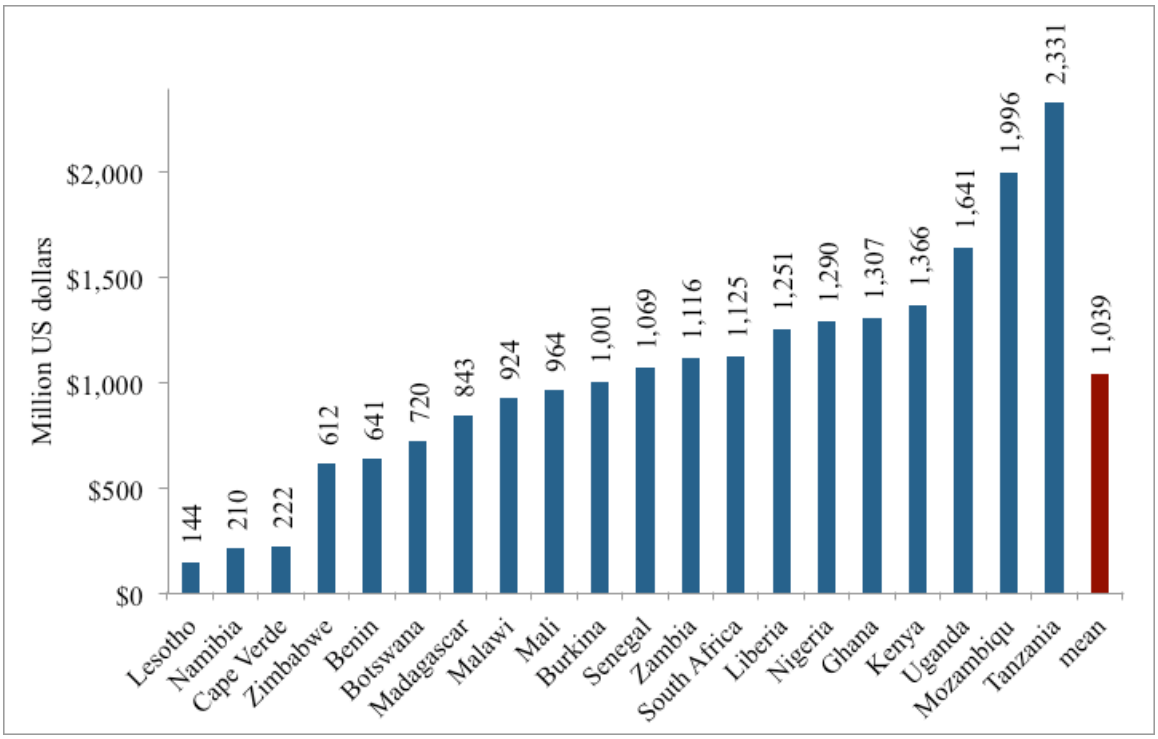


Figure 2-4: Foreign development aid received in 2008.

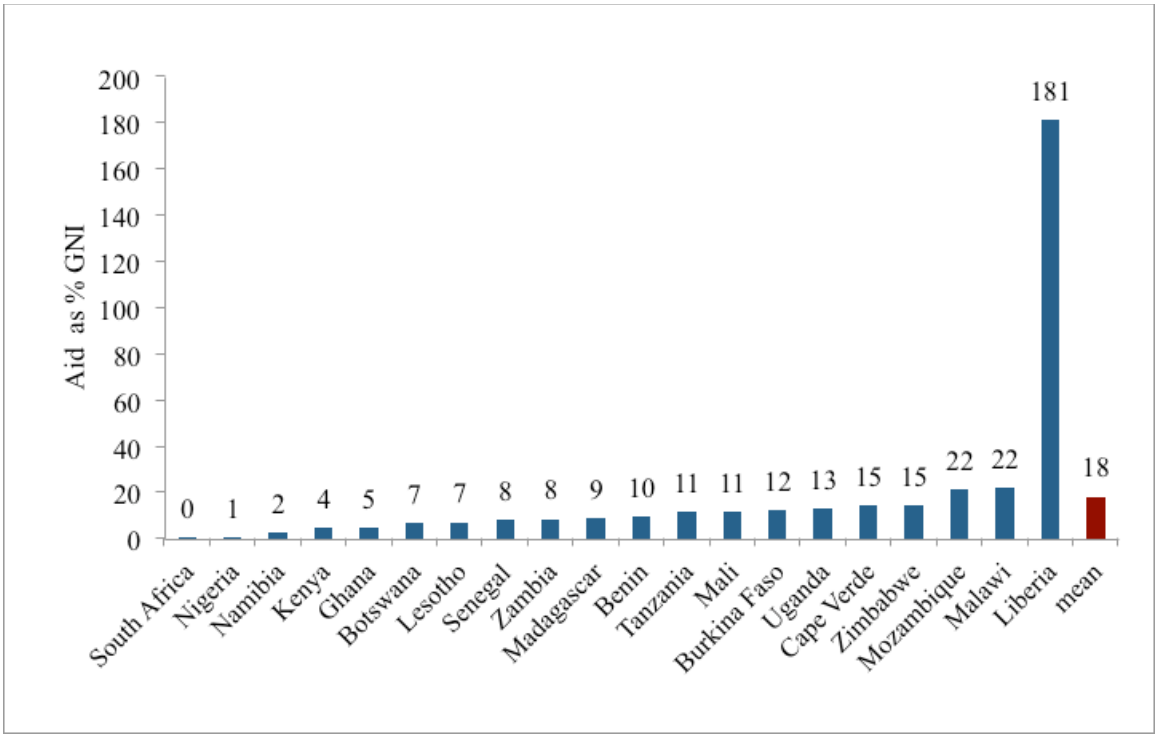


Figure 2-5: Foreign development aid as percent of gross national income.

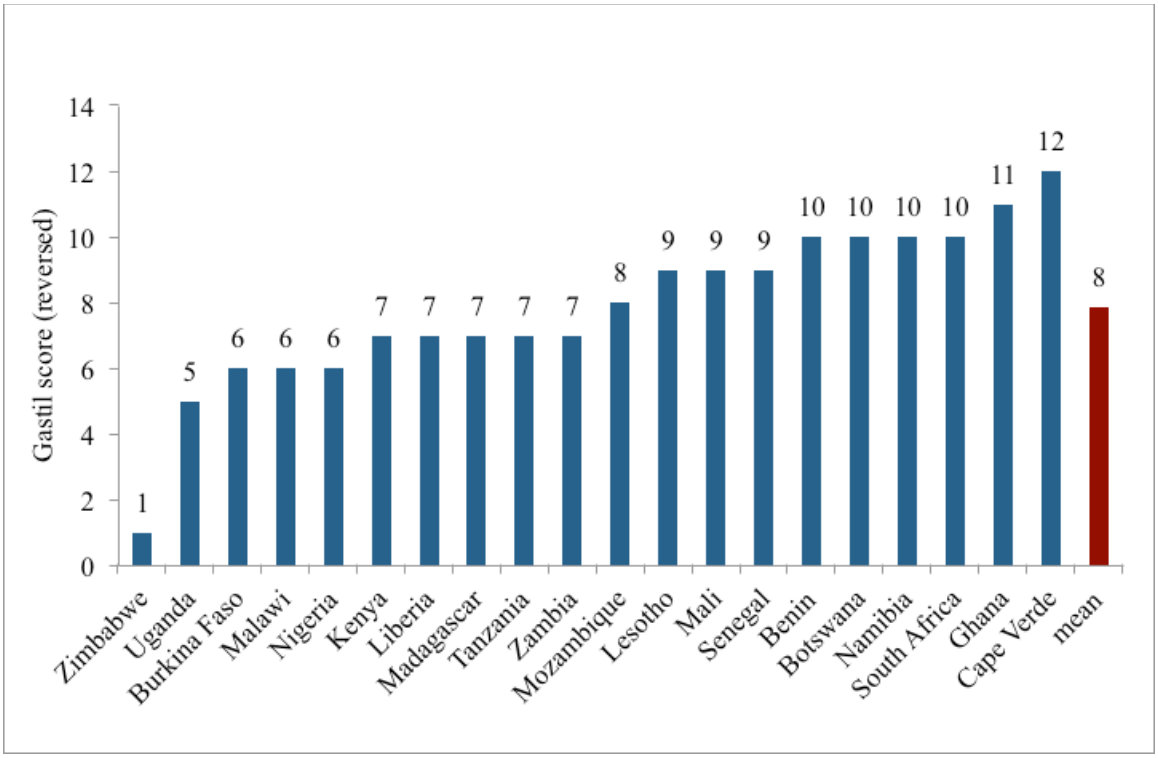


FIGURE 2-6: FREEDOM HOUSE SCORE FOR 20 AFRICAN COUNTRIES. Note: Scores are combined and reversed such that a higher score indicates greater civic and political liberties

Photo of youth enrolled in a yearlong volunteer program.
Mamelodi South Africa, 2014

In a globalizing world, voluntary groups are a noticeably popular feature of collective life (Dekker and Halman 2003b, Salamon, Sokolowski and associates 2004). Numerous theories suggest why these groups are increasing in number and why they attract members. Resource-based arguments suggest that with advancements in industrialization, economic wealth and democracy people increasingly have access to resources and social capital that free them up to participate in voluntary groups (Curtis, Baer and Grabb 2001, Musick and Wilson 2008, Paxton 2002, Putnam 2000). Others argue that in contemporary social life motivations, values, beliefs and social backgrounds instill in some individuals a collective orientation driving them to active voluntary group participation (Dekker and Van den Broek 1998, Hodgkinson 2003, Inglehart 2003, Ruiter and De Graaf 2006, Verba, Nie and Kim 1978). Political theorists propose that context matters because the

political and economic landscape of a country may be more or less conducive to free association and voluntary group formation (Curtis 1971, Heshka 1983, Skocpol 2003).

Most of these arguments are based on North American and European contexts. Yet little is known about how they fare in explaining voluntary group membership in sub-Saharan African settings, where post-colonial governments and the burgeoning nonprofit sector uniquely shape the contemporary civic landscape. The under-representation of African states restricts existing theories to economically advanced, welfare-strong, democratically freer, stable nation-state contexts. This chapter aims to add an African perspective to current debates about voluntary group membership. The focus is on who gets involved in voluntary and community groups in Africa and how it is tied to national context. Understanding this is essential for the following three reasons.

First, the form and variety of voluntary groups in Africa includes international and local, formalized and informal kinds, and the concept of "membership" in these groups does not always match that found in western countries. By far the most prevalent form consists of localized, unofficial—sometimes-temporary—arrangements between people and communities with the purpose of providing mutual aid and self-help activities (CIVICUS 2011, Perold and Graham 2014). Examples are farmer work parties, home-based care groups for the elderly, rotational savings clubs, funeral associations or various other systems of mutual aid found in resource-scarce settings. They are indigenous creations that often translate into small, poor and semi-formalized organizations, which demonstrate resilience nonetheless. In these groups, all participants are actively involved, and the idea of "membership" should be loosely interpreted.

In contrast, other groups are imports, modeled on European or Western forms. Formal sports or gardening clubs, charity and Rotary groups, professional associations, trade unions and men's and women's organizations are generally more structured, ordered and hierarchical, particularly if they are registered as a legitimate nonprofit entity with a government department or donor organization. Membership in these groups is more traditionally defined. The varieties of voluntary and community groups in Africa are not easily distinguished from each other, and many groups provide overlapping services and benefits to members. For instance, trade unions, religious groups and nonprofit service organizations are frequently all involved in delivering welfare and support services to needy households.

Second, foreign development aid that is directed toward strengthening civil society in sub-Saharan Africa has prompted the growth of an institutional sector of face-to-face nonprofit, "nongovernmental" organizations (NGOs) and voluntary groups involved particularly in advocacy, human rights, social development and welfare service delivery (CIVICUS 2011). These actors are not inherently apolitical (Fowler 2010). Counter hegemonic groups that aim to challenge the state may be constrained in their activities by conservative donor-stipulations upon which they rely. Other groups may form in partnership with government on social welfare delivery—essentially outsourcing state services and pushing their members and volunteers into free or menially paid service work (Fowler 2014, Moyo 2009, Patel and Mupedziswa 2007). Such service-oriented groups and volunteer-based nonprofits create a substantial market demand for volunteer services (USAID 2009). Moreover, these entities are structured in a

hierarchical business-type fashion that is not necessarily democratic or participatory in governance (i.e. service, not membership-driven).

Third, the overall connection between voluntary groups and democratic and economic development in sub-Saharan Africa is tenuous at best. On the one hand, voluntary associations, community groups, civic organizations and religious entities certainly played a prominent role in anti-colonial processes and subsequent democratic reform (Chazan 1992). In many instances they have remained central agents in building political opposition and fostering the essential balance of power needed in emerging democracies (Kew and Oshikoya 2014). On the other hand, these organizations are notoriously "shot through with cultural identities and political loyalties" (Kew and Oshikoya 2014:9) and may be deeply embedded in neopatrimonialism (Chabal and Daloz 1999). Active involvement in these groups may be a way for those with greater political, social, cultural and human capital to further their own interests, rather than those of the group or society in general. Here, voluntary groups are diverse in their type, size, and scope of interest, and diverse in their appeal to potential members.

The question then is who are the people actively engaged as members and leaders in voluntary associations and community groups in sub-Saharan Africa, and how do national circumstances impact their involvement? Part of the reason for excluding African states from previous analysis aimed at answering these questions has been the lack of dependable, quantifiable data regarding this topic. The Afrobarometer surveys provide reliable, comparable data for sub-Saharan countries, opening up the possibility of adding an African perspective to the discussion. The survey asks about active and passive membership in religious groups and/or voluntary associations and community groups. In

what is, to the best of my knowledge, a first attempt at quantitatively exploring voluntary group membership cross-nationally in Africa I simultaneously assess the individual-level and national-level factors that shape membership by taking advantage of the Round four Afrobarometer survey data. In order to explain variations in membership, I begin with research focused on individual-level factors that drive participation, and then draw on work devoted to explaining membership as a function of national development context.

3.1 THEORY AND HYPOTHESES

Historically the scholarship on nonprofit organizations, volunteering, civic participation, and social movements reveals that participation in voluntary groups and volunteer work for nonprofit programs are qualitatively similar (Smith 1994). They have comparable determinants because both involve giving time without coercion and with none or little remuneration, which helps to explain who joins voluntary groups (Auslander and Litwin 1988, Heshka 1983, Hodgkinson and Weitzman 1986).

Studies typically explain group membership by focusing on individual features such as demographic status, social background, values and beliefs, or resources that making joining more likely (Curtis 1971, Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy 2010, Knoke 1986, Smith 1975). From this perspective, involvement in a voluntary group is dependent upon individual resources, ability and time (Musick and Wilson 2008; Putnam 2000; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995). People can also be encouraged to participate in voluntary groups in order to receive aid, resources or access to a service. All these individual-level factors also explain the level of commitment and longevity of involvement in the group.

Within groups, members can be actively or passively involved. They can also take on leadership roles. Active members and committed leaders are vital for organizational

outcomes, and more recent work suggests that active, committed membership depends just as much upon the group's focal area and structural features like size, management and team dynamic as on the individual-level resources (Baggetta, Han and Andrews 2013, Eliasoph 2011). Level of activity depends somewhat on the group structure. In larger, vertically structured groups such as professional associations, trade unions or religious congregations, most of the workload falls to the higher-ranking members. Such structures create space for free-riding members who simply turn up to the annual general meeting, or a practice session, or an occasional lecture. They do nothing else. While voluntary groups would not survive without these members, it is the leaders and active participants who make the group function. In Africa, most voluntary groups are very small and horizontally structured. Individuals in these small groups are essentially all active participants and volunteers—either devoting time to the group or through the group for a particular cause.

The literature based on European and North American contexts suggests that political, economic and social freedoms allow people to develop pro-social attitudes and form groups and associations of their choice (Luria, Cnaan and Boehm 2014, Putnam, Leonardi and Nanetti 1993). At the national level, institutionalized patterns of political sovereignty, organization, and resources are allied to distinctive arrangements of civic engagement and associational life (Lijphart 1999, Meyer and Jepperson 2000). Government policies can legitimize, rationalize, and make possible how and in what way people can form voluntary associations or groups (Schofer and Marion 2001). In particular, economically stable, liberal democratic regimes provide the most conducive

environment for the formation of voluntary groups (Anheier and Salamon 1999, Curtis, Baer and Grabb 2001).

From a resources perspective, variations in voluntary group involvement have significant consequences for the individuals, the organizations, and the broader civil society in general (Baggetta, Han and Andrews 2013). For individuals, active membership can increase human capital in terms of hard, functional skills relevant for the workplace, or may increase social connections (Musick and Wilson 2008). At the same time it can take away time that a person spends with family and friends or on recreation, work or education (Baggetta, Han and Andrews 2013, Hirschmann 1998). For organizations, active members and leaders enhance the collective capacity, which leads to effective action and sustainability (Cutler and Danigelis 1993, Edwards and McCarthy 2004). Moreover, when active members establish close ties among themselves it results in lower volunteer turnover within the group and stronger group endurance (McPherson, Popielarz and Drobnic 1992). For civil society, especially in emerging democracies, active involvement in a voluntary group may help individuals develop their civic proficiency, which lowers barriers to political participation (Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995). Voluntary groups with active members also contribute to an open civic sphere by allowing avenues of free expression and venues for generating collective ideas.

Despite research showing that active participation is important for voluntary group outcomes, and that resources and context impact individuals' levels of participation, there is little available research about how the national context in sub-Saharan Africa shapes associational membership. Who are the Africans that actively join and take on leadership roles in voluntary associations and community groups? And how

do social background (e.g. poverty, level of education, employment, and community size), values (e.g. religiosity), and cross-national distinctions in economic development and democratic freedoms impact active membership in these voluntary groups?

In the following section I draw on several strands of literature to examine what may determine voluntary group membership in sub-Saharan Africa. This includes resource-based literature of civic participation and volunteering, which is predisposed toward describing the supply of individual; and social movement literature that addresses the impact of political structure and economic resources on associational life.

Individual-level resources and group membership

The individual-level determinants of voluntary group involvement are highly multivariate (Smith 1994). However, active membership and leadership are strongly related to a person's socio-cultural dominant statuses, such as higher education, income or occupational prestige (Baggetta, Han and Andrews 2013, Smith 1994). Dominant status is dependent upon the human, social and cultural capital associated with social background and socio-demographics (Musick and Wilson 2008, Smith 1994).

The decision to get involved with a particular voluntary group is closely tied to the frequency of requests, the need to express a particular identity, and feelings of altruism and solidarity (Musick, Wilson and Bynum Jr. 2000, Wilson and Musick 1998). In other words, different people's position, role and identity within social networks provide them with larger exposure to volunteer groups and more occasions to be asked to participate (Jacobs and Skocpol 2005, Musick and Wilson 2008). Empirical research suggests that this network-related ability to join and be actively involved in voluntary groups is related to socio-demographic features such as age, gender and race differences

because of social expectations associated with these identities (Janoski, Musick and Wilson 1998, McPherson, Popielarz and Drobnic 1992, Paxton 2002). As an example, women in the United States are more likely than men to participate in service-oriented voluntary groups because of the greater expectation placed on females to publicly exhibit helping behavior (Musick and Wilson 2008). In Europe, the abundant workers' unions and sports and recreation groups attract more men to group involvement (Janoski 1998). Older people may be more inclined to give time to social causes because they have the time and occasion to do so (Fischer and Schaffer 1993, Ruiter and De Graaf 2006). In Africa, women and retirees are frequently found in care or service-driven volunteer work, both formally with a group and as unaffiliated, individual volunteers (Akintola 2006, Brown and Ferris 2007, Caprara et al. 2012, Gilijamse 2006). Therefore, it is important to control for differences in age, race and sex when testing hypotheses regarding the determinants of voluntary group membership.

The ability to be actively involved in a voluntary group or to take on leadership roles is largely dependent on human capital—i.e. skills and abilities that serve to help run the organization (Hodgkinson 2003). In developed country contexts, individuals with more education, regular employment and higher incomes join groups more frequently because they have the means to do so and can contribute skills like leading meetings, making speeches and taking minutes (Curtis, Grabb and Baer 1992, Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995). In the United States the self employed and part time employed are especially likely to become involved with a voluntary group because of their flexible work schedules and resources, or because it allows for casual job-related networking (Wilson and Musick 1997a, Wuthnow 1998). I expect this resource-based rationale to

apply in sub-Saharan settings. Skills developed from formal education opportunities and full or part time employment will facilitate greater active involvement in voluntary groups, while poverty will decrease the ability to be involved in such groups.

Cultural capital is another resource that can facilitate participation. It includes the values, beliefs and social norms regarding group behavior that can compel or motivate a person to get involved with a voluntary group (Musick and Wilson 2008). It acts as a social relation within a system of exchange, by encapsulating all accumulated cultural knowledge that confers power and status (Bourdieu 1986). For instance, in many rural European communities, strong cultural expectations about collective participation result in more rural folk participating in voluntary groups than urbanites (Curtis et al. 2001; Wuthnow 1998). Throughout southern and eastern Africa, the idea of expected service to others is embedded in relational philosophies and articulated in different languages as "something done for others"—example *Ubuntu* in isiZulu, *tirelo* in seTswana, *Ujamaa* in Kiswahili, and *uMunthu* in Chichewa (Patel and Wilson 2004, Patel and Mupedziswa 2007, Wilkinson-Maposa et al. 2005). These philosophies frame the lifeworld in which personhood and society are contemporaneously formed and provide a social script for helping and voluntary service (Mbiti 1990, Patel et al. 2007).

Likewise, most religions encourage altruistic values and beliefs that mobilize people to religious and secular civic participation (Cnaan, Kasternakis and Wineburg 1993, Curtis 1971, Dolnicar and Randle 2007, Wilson and Janoski 1995). In general, the more important religion is to a person, the more likely they are to be civically engaged and to actively join voluntary groups (Dollahite, Marks and Goodman 2004, Kamali 2001, Lam 2002, Lam 2006, Ruiter and De Graaf 2006). Consequently, I expect that

tight-knit rural communities and strong religious values provide a social script for helping and voluntary service that will facilitate greater active involvement in a voluntary group.

The first set of hypotheses set out to test these assumptions about the relationships between socio-demographics, social background and values, and voluntary group membership in sub-Saharan Africa.

Hypotheses set 1

Compared to nonmembers and inactive members, active members and leaders of voluntary groups (secular and religious) are more likely to:

(Hypothesis 1) be rural dwellers

(Hypothesis 2) be more highly educated

(Hypothesis 3) be employed full time and part time relative to unemployed job seekers and the otherwise unemployed—i.e. pensioners, homemakers, non job seekers

(Hypothesis 4) have relatively more finances and basic material resources

(Hypothesis 5) value religion as more important in their daily life.

Macro-structural resource approaches to group membership

Up to this point the focus has been on individual determinants of active membership. Political and economic conditions and resource structures are also likely to shape, create or inhibit opportunities for participation in voluntary groups (Salamon and Sokolowski 2003). Resource mobilization perspectives suggest that the availability of government support and political infrastructure shapes the associational landscape, but the success of voluntary groups hinges on their ability to access resources essential for mobilizing participation (Rogers and Bultena 1975; Salamon and Sokolowski 2003;

Skocpol 2003; Zald and McCarthy 1987). For instance, in liberalizing democracies, strong welfare states positively impact the growth of a voluntary, nonprofit or "Third Sector" by making available financial and legislative resources that foster associational activity (Salamon and Sokolowski 2003). The argument is that the success of voluntary groups depends on an "interdependence" or cooperative partnership with the state in social policy development, services provision, and legitimacy formation (Salamon and Sokolowski 2003:77, Schofer and Marion 2001, Tilly 1978). Voluntary groups gain legitimacy and resources from the state through such partnerships, especially in welfare-orientated countries.

Most of the African governments in this study are welfare-oriented but have only a small domestic infrastructure and so rely instead on foreign aid for the development of a welfare sector. The amount of official aid distributed to the countries varies widely. In 2008, total net official development assistance to Africa from members of the OECD's Development Assistance Committee totaled twenty-six billion US dollars, most of which went to sub-Saharan Africa (Organisation for Economic Co- operation and Development 2009). Tanzania received over two billion US dollars (11 percent of GNI), while Namibia got around two hundred and twenty million US dollars (4 percent of GNI) (World Bank 2008a). Seen through an "interdependence theory" lens, the availability of government support and political infrastructure—and for Africa add foreign development aid—shapes patterns of associational behavior by increasing access to social resources that can be used to mobilize participants (Salamon, Sokolowski and associates 2004:77, Zald and McCarthy 1987). This could explain the overall positive correlation between

development aid and the average number of active voluntary group members in countries in this study ($r=0.452$, $p<0.05$).

Putnam (2000) and Skocpol (2003) argue that democracies provide the political and social infrastructure in which volunteer organizations can thrive and membership is encouraged. Previous research in industrialized democracies mostly found a positive relationship between development and associational volunteering (Curtis, Baer and Grabb 2001, Luria, Cnaan and Boehm 2014), whereas a study on contextual determinants in Latin America found a negative relationship between development and associational volunteering (Gundelach 2015). Despite regional differences on the African continent, and variations in population size, I assume that, based on the literature, economic and democratic development will promote more inclusive forms of political incorporation and make available resources that foster friendly environments for voluntary groups. This assumption prompts the following set of hypotheses regarding context and membership.

Hypotheses set 2

Compared to nonmembers and inactive members, active members and leaders of voluntary groups (secular and religious) are more likely to live in countries with:

(Hypothesis 6) a higher GDP per capita

(Hypothesis 7) higher development aid as percent of GNI

(Hypothesis 8) greater civil and political freedoms

3.2 FINDINGS

In 2008, roughly 40 percent of adults surveyed by the Afrobarometer were members of secular voluntary groups, with 25 percent being active members and/or leaders. Around 5 percent were leaders in the secular voluntary groups to which they

belonged, and 15 percent were inactive members. Membership patterns differed by country. Countries in the west and east of the continent had higher numbers of active group members than did southern countries. For instance, Liberia in the west and Kenya in the east had the highest percentage of active members in secular voluntary groups at 46 and 43 percent respectively, while Namibia in the south had one of the lowest at 12 percent. Active membership in religious groups is slightly higher at 46 percent. However, those who join religious groups are not necessarily those who also join secular groups. Only about 17 percent of all the survey respondents were active members of both religious and secular voluntary groups. Nevertheless, there is a "joiner effect" because among active voluntary group members, 71 percent had also joined religious groups and were actively involved in these organizations (see Appendix 1 for more detail).

In terms of demographic profile and social background, active voluntary group members were quite diverse and the correlations between membership and individual features were very small. Active membership is statistically significant ($p<0.05$) and positively correlated with an increase in age ($r=0.086$), having some tertiary education ($r=0.120$), being black ($r=0.178$), living in a rural area ($r=0.134$), and with importance of religion to a person ($r=0.065$). It is also statistically significant and positively correlated with full time ($r=0.036$) and part time employment ($r=0.087$), and poverty ($r=0.022$). In contrast, active membership is negatively associated with unemployment of any kind and with being female ($r= -0.107$)—see correlation Table A-1 to Table A-4 in Appendix 1.

Multilevel multinomial logistic regression of active and passive membership

Table 3-1 displays the results of a multinomial, hierarchical logistic regression (Model 1) of active membership in a secular voluntary group. This model was run first to

see if there were any differences between passive and active members and leaders. There appears to be very little regarding demographics and social background that distinguishes leaders from active-members (odds ratios “OR” are presented). Like other active members, leaders are significantly more likely to be older (OR=1.661), black (OR=1.786), and rural dwellers (OR=1.981), compared to nonmembers. Leaders, like active members, are less likely to be female (OR=0.597) and more likely to have completed some form of higher education (OR=2.305). In general, higher education is positively related to active membership and taking on leadership roles in the group, while discouraging inactive membership. Employment status per se has no uniform effect on membership style, yet greater poverty is associated with active and passive membership. Leaders and active members are significantly more likely to value the importance of religion in their daily lives (OR=1.155 and OR=1.208 respectively), all else being equal, in contrast to nonmembers and inactive members.

Country context also impacts active versus passive membership styles, but to a lesser extent than do personal characteristics. GDP per capita appears to foster membership in voluntary groups, but the effect is substantively small enough to be void. The level of democratic freedom in a country serves to increase the odds of membership by 12 to 17 percent. Development aid results in a 0.5 to 0.6 percent increased odds of someone taking up a leadership or active role in their voluntary group, and it dampens inactive membership. However, this multinomial model suffers from small cell problems, biasing estimates at the country level. The odds ratio should be interpreted prudently.

The Afrobarometer asked respondents to identify their separate involvement in two types of groups, secular and religious, but some overlap is plausible. Religious

voluntary groups mostly entail religious congregations like churches, mosques and synagogues but could include other entities with a primary religious focus, for example prayer groups that visit the sick in hospital. To identify the types of people who join secular groups I provide a similar analysis of religious group membership, and in that way identify differences and parallels.

Table 3-2 displays similar results of a multinomial, hierarchical logistic regression (Model 2) but for religious group membership. As for secular groups, active members and leaders in religious groups differ little in terms of demographics and social background. Like other active members, leaders are significantly more likely to be older (OR=1.580), black (OR=2.307), rural dwellers (OR=1.580) and to have completed some form of higher education (OR=3.370), compared to nonmembers. Leaders, like active members, are less likely to be female (OR=0.597). Active members and leaders of religious groups are generally more educated than nonmembers, but not necessarily poorer or wealthier. Employment status has no effect on leadership but it does promote active membership in these groups (OR=1.101). Not unexpectedly, all members in religious groups value the importance of religion in their daily lives. As with secular group, country context also impacts active versus passive membership in religious groups. GDP per capita fosters active membership, while level of democratic freedom seems to dampen it. Development aid results in a small 0.3 to 1 percent increased odds of someone taking up a leadership or active role in their religious group.

Table 3-1 and Table 3-2 reveal two things: First, the survey does effectively distinguish between secular voluntary group and religious group members. The demographic profile of active members in these groups does differ. Therefore, I conclude

that the characteristics of people who are actively involved in secular voluntary groups are not the same as those of people involved in religious voluntary groups, and involvement in a secular group is not inherently driven by religious group membership as some might claim. It is thus plausible to examine secular group involvement separately from that of religious groups in Africa and to make concrete distinctions about the different types of people who join and remain actively involved in the groups.

Second, the Afrobarometer sample does not include enough leaders to warrant separating them from active members in further statistical analysis. Grouping active members and leaders together makes practical sense for theorizing about active versus passive group involvement. I do this in the following section by creating two binary dependent variables, one for active membership in a secular voluntary group versus inactive/non membership and another for active membership in a religious voluntary group versus inactive/non membership.

Multilevel logistic regression of active membership

The results of a multilevel logistic regression, which distinguishes between active and passive membership in secular (Models 3 and 4) and religious groups (Models 5 and 6) are found in Table 3-3. Model 3 depicts the baseline profile of active members in a secular group. It reveals a curvilinear effect for age whereby active membership increases with age but begins to decline after fifty years as older individuals become more sedentary and less socially active (see Figure 3-1 for a visual depiction). Women, as compared to men, have roughly 17 percent decreased odds of being active members (OR=0.831, $p<0.001$). In contrast to those of other races, black Africans are more likely to be active members (OR=1.466, $p<0.001$). And, rural residents versus urban folk have

increased odds of being active members (OR=1.604, $p<0.001$), which supports the first hypothesis. Active membership is more likely among people with higher levels of education, especially those possessing a tertiary qualification, in comparison to people without any formal education, confirming the second hypothesis (OR=2.472, $p<0.001$).

People who are employed full and part time are on average more likely to be active members, versus unemployed job seekers. The otherwise unemployed are the least likely to be active members, even less likely than the job-seeking unemployed (OR=0.902, $p<0.05$). Contrary to what was anticipated in the fourth hypothesis, Africans who are relatively more resource-deprived are more likely to be active members (OR=1.048, $p<0.05$). An in terms of values, the more a person considers religion to be important in their life the more likely they are to actively belong to a secular volunteer group (OR=1.167, $p<0.001$), which supports the fifth hypothesis.

Figure 3-2 visually portrays the discrete change in predicted probability of active group membership. On average, the probability of being a voluntary group member is about 3 percentage points lower for females than males, 6 percentage points higher for blacks than people of another race, and 8 percentage points higher for rural dwellers compared to urbanites. Similarly, the same probability is between 7 and 18 percentage points higher among the educated, in comparison to those without formal education. About 25 percent of unemployed job seekers are predicted to be group members. In contrast to these job seekers, people who are employed full or part time are only about 2 to 3 percentage points more likely to be members, while the otherwise unemployed are roughly 2 percentage points less likely. Greater relative poverty increases membership by

only about 1 percentage point. Greater religious importance is associated with an increase of about 3 percentage points in the probability of being a voluntary group member.

Moving to the macro-level (again see Table 3-3) when a country's population size, income from foreign development aid as percent of GNI, GDP per capita, and level of democratic freedom are factored into Model 4, all other individual effects remain fairly unchanged. In a null model, 11 percent of the proportion of total variance in the membership odds was due to differences between countries (ICC=0.114). Overall, the contextual impact on group membership is small but not unusual for such a study. Although the proportion of variation in membership odds attributable to cross-country differences is modest this is nevertheless an addition to our understanding of how the voluntary sector might be cultivated in developing countries and is related to development aid and foreign funding. The diversity of people within countries is greater than the diversity between countries. Controlling for population size, GDP per capita and level of democratic freedom have no noteworthy impact on individuals' involvement in secular voluntary groups, providing no support for hypotheses six and eight. The effect of development aid is marginal at best and statistically significant with only 90 percent confidence. For every one percent increase in aid per country's GNI there is a corresponding 0.07 percent increase in a person's odds of being a member in a secular voluntary group (OR=1.007, $p<0.10$), partially supporting the seventh hypothesis.

For comparative purposes, Table 3-3 also shows the results of a similar analysis for religious group membership (Models 5 and 6). Comparable to what is found in secular groups, Model 6 shows that active religious group members tend to be older and black (OR=1.215, $p<0.05$). In support of the first and second hypotheses, rural dwellers

(OR=1.156, p<0.001) and those with some education are more likely to join religious groups. In particular, having a higher education degree is associated with a 203 percent increase in the odds of being actively involved in a religious group, compared to having no education. As expected in the fifth hypothesis, people who regard religion as important are also more likely to be actively involved (OR=1.909, p<0.001). However, in contrast to secular group membership, active members in religious groups are more likely to be female (OR=1.226, p<0.001), perhaps suggesting that women favor involvement in religious organizations versus other types of groups or that social and gender norms are more amenable to women joining religious groups versus secular ones. Level of poverty and employment status make no impact on involvement in religious groups, neither does country's population size, economic circumstance or level of democratic freedom; thus there is no support for the third, fourth, sixth, seventh and eighth hypotheses.

3.3 DISCUSSION

Research from African contexts has much to offer the growing literature on voluntary involvement and associational life. Although in-depth information on the number and types of groups people join, the style of volunteer and service work people undertake, and the macro-contextual environment facilitating or constraining such engagement is still needed, this study raises three points of special interest concerning voluntary group involvement in sub-Saharan Africa. First, voluntary groups attract the poor and resource-deprived. Second, development aid is associated with positive membership outcomes for voluntary group involvement. And third, voluntary groups seem to be more accessible to men, the middle aged, the educated and the employed (i.e. the socially more advantaged). Possible reasons for these findings are discussed below.

In sub-Saharan Africa the characteristics of active member are largely similar to those found in advanced capitalist societies, with the rather striking exception that poverty is positively related to active membership. Like other associational volunteers in the world, African members of secular groups tend to possess more social capital. They are more educated, employed, middle aged, male, religiously inclined and linked to communal networks such as those often found in rural settings. However, unlike their European or North American counterparts, African voluntary group members are not necessarily more financially well off than nonmembers. In fact, they are more resource deprived. One explanation for this finding is that in poor communities, philanthropy and collective cooperation is way of life for survival purposes. Wilkinson-Maposa et al. (2005) found that membership in rotational savings clubs, funeral groups and community self-help associations is critical for survival and social progress in poor communities because it helps to distribute basic, essential resources. Philanthropic acts and self-help groups foster reciprocity and establish orders of relations between members of the community, thus inculcating a culture of giving and service—solidifying social solidarity. For this reason, voluntary group membership may be higher among poorer Africans.

In addition, the poor and unemployed may be inclined to join voluntary groups and small nonprofits that rely on volunteers because they are the target population. Community groups and nonprofits often recruit poor into service/development work because it is thought to generate project buy-in or ownership. Participants may remain active as members in the group especially if they gain something in return—e.g. physical aid, a financial stipend, social support, emotional attachment. In developing countries,

small stipends do enhance incentives for joining groups, and they entice the economically poor into voluntary service (Morrow-Howell, Hong and Tang 2009, Wilson 2007).

Unemployed job seekers in developing contexts are also motivated to participate in voluntary group activity in order to augment their job prospects, or to access financial resources (Frey and Goette 1999, Ziemek 2006). Active group membership can offer some unemployed people meaningful, productive participation in social life, a sense of belonging, or an alternative avenue for self-accomplishment (MacDonald 1996). It can provide a line of (re)entry into the formal job market (Caprara et al. 2012, Dickhudt and VOSESA 2011, Volunteer and Service Enquiry Southern Africa 2006). Members learn functional workplace skills and behavior, build up resumes, buttress their self-esteem (MacDonald 1996), and establish bridging connections that extend their social contacts and improve job-seeking prospects (Granovetter 1973, Putnam 2000).

The impact of foreign aid on the voluntary sector, at least as that is measured by voluntary group membership, is also noteworthy. While aid increases the propensity of people to actively join secular voluntary groups, the consequences of how aid shapes their choice of group remain to be determined. Future research could critically unpack the procedural mechanisms of this relationship in more detail and develop theory on how interactions in foreign aid and state policy mobilize African citizens to civic action. Active membership is not necessarily an indication of increasing civil rights or freedoms, rather it may be linked to systems of reciprocity generated by the availability of development aid funds.

Development aid funding is demand and need-driven and usually earmarked to specific priority issues or sectors. For instance, more than ten years ago the United States

President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief injected over six billion US dollars into combating HIV/AIDS in twelve African countries (Duber et al. 2010, PEPFAR 2012). Due to this targeted funding and legislative support, the number of voluntary groups and nonprofits focused on HIV and AIDS grew exponentially, drawing many potential members and volunteers away from groups focused on other issues or causes (CIVICUS 2011). A positive spinoff of the competitive funding environment was that voluntary groups and nonprofits began to improve their organizational capacity, formalize their operations, and structure their volunteer involvement. The result was that aid indirectly facilitated the movement of people into more formal voluntary associations and nonprofit community groups – especially if volunteers were attracted to the group by the lure of financial stipends (CIVICUS 2011). A negative spinoff is that targeted aid funding establishes opportunities for development of these organizations in certain sectors above others, example HIV above tuberculosis care (e.g. Mahilall 2006; Moyo 2009).

Finally, the results show interesting aspects about who are not likely to be actively involved in voluntary groups. Women, youth and unemployed job seekers are generally underrepresented. Group leaders seeking to recruit new members can maximize their efforts by focusing on those most likely to participate, but if they desire a more open and equitable civil society they also need to invest greater effort, resources, and strategies in recruiting females, youth and the unemployed. Certainly, voluntary groups especially for women do exist and are recognized as important for the dissemination of development aid (Udvardy 1998), but clearly more needs to be done to get women involved in associations if civil society is to be fully representative.

3.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter adds African evidence to the scholarship on voluntary group membership. Drawing on structural resources theory, I hypothesized that socioeconomic background and social context advantage some people in terms of increasing their social capital, which is a positive factor leading to active involvement in voluntary groups. Evidence from these countries supports this overall idea, and I find that African volunteer group members are more educated, employed, middle-aged, male, religiously inclined. However, poor people also join these groups and remain actively involved, in part because many voluntary group initiatives are formed by, and targeted, at the poor. I also hypothesized that membership style might differ in economically stronger and in more politically open country contexts. Possibly due to the small number of countries surveyed, the findings do not support this hypothesis, but do reveal that development aid has an important impact in facilitating active group membership.

Future research on voluntary associations and civic engagement in Africa should look beyond individual access to capital, or the "who" of voluntarism, and explore the institutional changes within third sector organizations that result from government's openness to development aid. Analyses of macro political and economic shifts, changes at the organizational level, and the resulting effects on civic engagement will require cross-national longitudinal survey data and a historical-comparative approach. This combination will allow for an untangling of the individual-level and macro-level influences of resources/capital (cultural, human, social, and economic) on the patterns of voluntary group participation within and across nations.

3.5 TABLES AND FIGURES

TABLE 3-1: MULTILEVEL, MULTINOMIAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION OF MEMBERSHIP IN A SECULAR VOLUNTARY GROUP.

Model 1	**Inactive member**		**Active member**		**Leader**	
Individual level	**OR**	**(se)**	**OR**	**(se)**	**OR**	**(se)**
Age	1.102***	(0.021)	1.271***	(0.022)	1.661***	(0.054)
Age squared	0.933***	(0.008)	0.941***	(0.007)	0.857***	(0.012)
Sex (female=1)	0.962	(0.039)	0.898**	(0.033)	0.597***	(0.038)
Race (black=1)	1.029	(0.113)	1.600***	(0.176)	1.786**	(0.458)
Geographic location (rural=1)	1.360***	(0.061)	1.603***	(0.065)	1.981***	(0.145)
Education						
No formal education (ref.)	–	–	–	–	–	–
Completed primary school	0.544***	(0.029)	1.284***	(0.068)	0.880	(0.073)
Completed secondary school	0.606***	(0.036)	1.526***	(0.089)	1.211**	(0.112)
Completed higher education	0.993	(0.084)	2.339***	(0.182)	2.305***	(0.285)
Employment						
Unemployed job seeker (ref.)	–	–	–	–	–	–
Unemployed, not looking	1.076	(0.053)	0.885**	(0.041)	0.952	(0.075)
Part time employed	1.018	(0.064)	1.079	(0.060)	0.990	(0.096)
Full time employed	0.824**	(0.054)	1.080	(0.058)	1.073	(0.099)
Lived poverty level	1.145***	(0.026)	1.069**	(0.022)	1.140***	(0.039)
Importance of religion	0.996	(0.031)	1.208***	(0.039)	1.155**	(0.067)
Country level						
Population size (logged)	1.005***	(0.001)	1.006***	(0.001)	1.004**	(0.001)
Development Aid % GNI	0.949	(0.001)	1.006***	(0.000)	1.005***	(0.001)
GDP per capita	1.000***	(0.000)	1.000***	(0.000)	1.000***	(0.000)
Gastil score (reversed)	1.144***	(0.013)	1.120***	(0.011)	1.173***	(0.020)
Constant	0.111***	(0.021)	0.028***	(0.005)	0.011***	(0.004)

Note: Observations n=26,105 country n=20. ***p<0.000, **p<0.01, *p<0.05, +p≤0.05 (two-tailed tests). Lived poverty and religious importance are grand mean centered. Development Aid as percent of GNI and GDP per capita are in USD millions. The results are presented in odds ratios (OR), with scores greater than 0 indicating a positive effect, and scores below 0 indicating a negative effect. The standard errors appear in parentheses.

TABLE 3-2: MULTILEVEL, MULTINOMIAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION OF MEMBERSHIP IN A RELIGIOUS VOLUNTARY GROUP.

Model 2	**Inactive member**		**Active member**		**Leader**	
Individual level	**OR**	**(se)**	**OR**	**(se)**	**OR**	**(se)**
Age	1.047**	(0.018)	1.164***	(0.020)	1.580***	(0.048)
Age squared	0.975***	(0.007)	0.987+	(0.007)	0.932***	(0.011)
Sex (female=1)	1.170***	(0.044)	1.448***	(0.053)	0.897*	(0.056)
Race (black=1)	1.359**	(0.126)	1.641***	(0.148)	2.307***	(0.494)
Geographic location (rural=1)	1.047**	(0.018)	1.164***	(0.020)	1.580***	(0.048)
Education						
No formal education (ref.)	–	–	–	–	–	–
Completed primary school	0.936	(0.047)	2.017***	(0.105)	1.708***	(0.146)
Completed secondary school	1.079	(0.061)	2.404***	(0.139)	2.210***	(0.211)
Completed higher education	1.208**	(0.101)	2.857***	(0.232)	3.370***	(0.432)
Employment						
Unemployed job seeker (ref.)	–	–	–	–	–	–
Unemployed, not looking	1.013	(0.047)	0.913**	(0.042)	1.025	(0.079)
Part time employed	1.088	(0.064)	1.017	(0.058)	0.968	(0.095)
Full time employed	0.965	(0.057)	1.101*	(0.061)	1.021	(0.095)
Lived poverty level	1.030	(0.022)	0.959**	(0.020)	0.999	(0.035)
Importance of religion	1.595***	(0.043)	2.330***	(0.074)	2.221***	(0.149)
Country level						
Population size (logged)	0.999	(0.001)	1.007***	(0.001)	1.004***	(0.001)
Development Aid % GNI	1.003***	(0.001)	1.010***	(0.001)	1.010***	(0.001)
GDP per capita	1.000	(0.000)	1.000***	(0.000)	1.000**	(0.000)
Gastil score (reversed)	0.936***	(0.009)	0.894***	(0.009)	0.909***	(0.014)
Constant	0.340***	(0.058)	0.060***	(0.011)	0.010***	(0.004)

Note: Observations n= 26,105 country n=20. ***p<0.000, **p<0.01, *p<0.05, +p≤0.05 (two-tailed tests). Lived poverty and religious importance are grand mean centered. Development Aid as percent of GNI and GDP per capita are in USD millions. The results are presented in odds ratios (OR), with scores greater than 0 indicating a positive effect, and scores below 0 indicating a negative effect. The standard errors appear in parentheses.

TABLE 3-3: MULTILEVEL LOGISTIC REGRESSION OF ACTIVE MEMBERSHIP IN A VOLUNTARY GROUP.

	Secular Group				Religious Group			
	Model 3		**Model 4**		**Model 5**		**Model 6**	
Individual level	**OR**	**(se)**	**OR**	**(se)**	**OR**	**(se)**	**OR**	**(se)**
Age	1.326**	(0.021)	1.326***	(0.021)	1.222**	(0.018)	1.222**	(0.018)
Age squared	0.936**	(0.006)	0.936***	(0.006)	0.980**	(0.006)	0.980**	(0.006)
Sex (female=1)	0.831**	(0.028)	0.831***	(0.028)	1.226**	(0.038)	1.226**	(0.038)
Race (black=1)	1.466**	(0.161)	1.465***	(0.160)	1.215**	(0.105)	1.215**	(0.105)
Geographic location (rural=1)	1.587**	(0.060)	1.587***	(0.060)	1.156**	(0.039)	1.156**	(0.039)
Education								
No formal education (ref.)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Completed primary school	1.475**	(0.076)	1.476***	(0.076)	1.301**	(0.063)	1.302**	(0.063)
Completed secondary school	1.813**	(0.101)	1.815***	(0.101)	1.621**	(0.084)	1.621**	(0.084)
Completed higher education	2.472**	(0.178)	2.475***	(0.178)	2.030**	(0.141)	2.030**	(0.141)
Employment								
Unemployed job seeker (ref.)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Unemployed, not looking	0.902**	(0.039)	0.902**	(0.039)	0.979	(0.039)	0.979	(0.039)
Part time employed	1.111**	(0.057)	1.110**	(0.057)	0.989	(0.048)	0.989	(0.048)
Full time employed	1.188**	(0.059)	1.188**	(0.059)	1.034	(0.049)	1.034	(0.049)
Lived poverty level	1.048**	(0.020)	1.049**	(0.020)	1.010	(0.018)	1.010	(0.018)
Importance of religion	1.170**	(0.034)	1.169***	(0.034)	1.909**	(0.055)	1.909**	(0.055)
Country level								
Population (logged)	–	–	1.006	(0.005)	–	–	1.011	(0.009)
Development Aid % GNI	–	–	1.007+	(0.004)	–	–	1.009	(0.006)
GDP per capita	–	–	1.000	(0.000)	–	–	1.000	(0.000)
Gastil score (reversed)	–	–	1.107	(0.073)	–	–	0.926	(0.096)
Constant	0.018**	-0.024	0.051***	-0.028	0.383**	(0.098)	0.420	(0.357)
rho	0.125		0.0889		0.236		0.197	
sigma_u	0.685		0.566		1.007		0.897	
chi2c	1181		698.1		3643		2839	

Note: Observations n= 26,105 country n=20. ***p<0.000, **p<0.01, *p<0.05, +p≤0.05 (two-tailed tests). Lived poverty and religious importance are grand mean centered. Development Aid as percent of GNI and GDP per capita are in USD millions. The results are in odds ratios, with standard errors in parentheses.

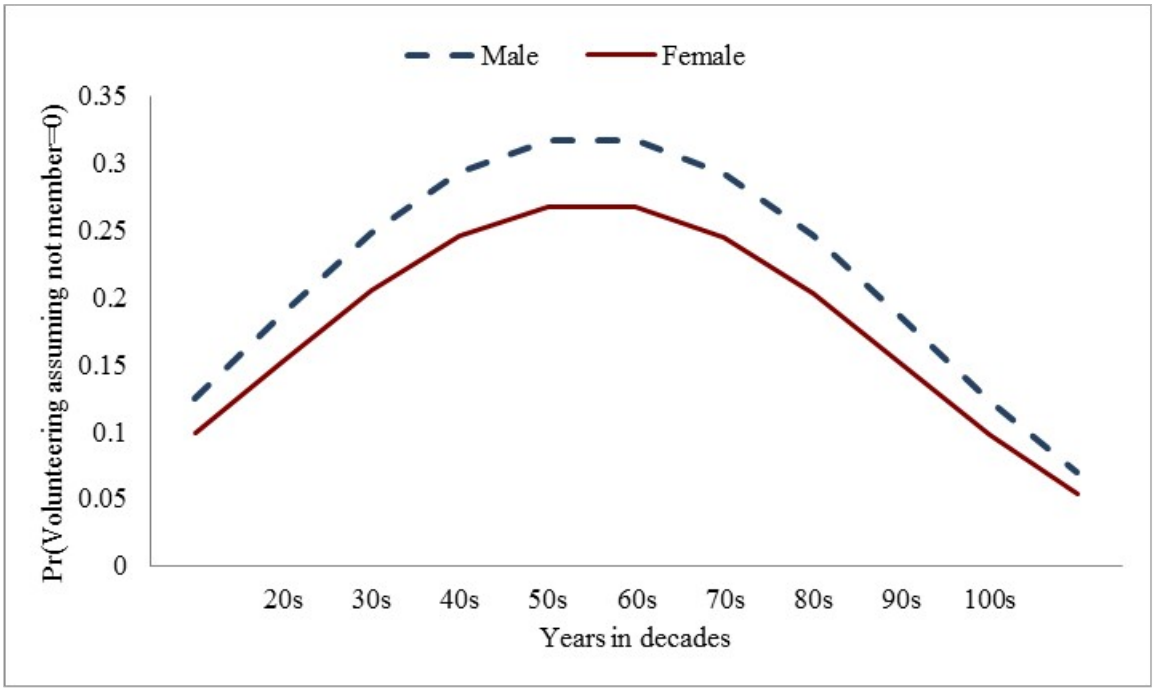


FIGURE 3-1: PREDICTED PROBABILITY OF ACTIVE MEMBERSHIP IN A SECULAR VOLUNTARY GROUP. Results based on regression Model 3.

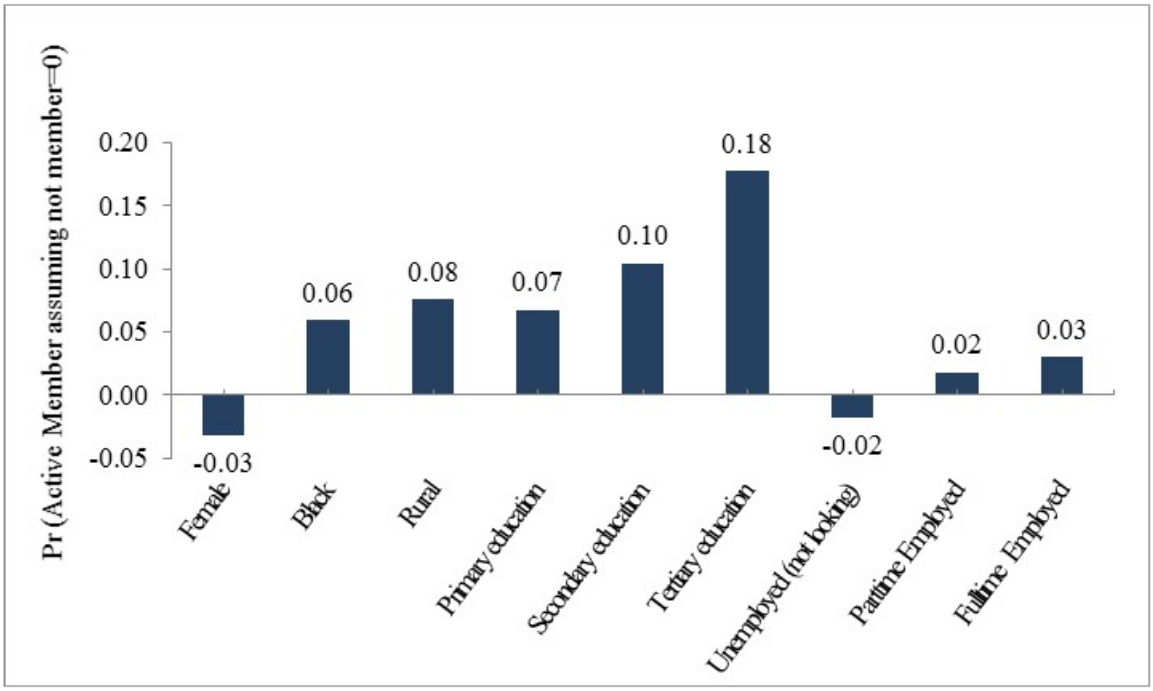


FIGURE 3-2: DISCRETE CHANGE IN THE PREDICTED PROBABILITY OF ACTIVE MEMBERSHIP IN A SECULAR VOLUNTARY GROUP. Results based on regression Model 3.

4 VOLUNTARY GROUP MEMBERSHIP AND CIVIC CULTURE

"The best volunteerism is the magogo living in the township. People, they just come and dump all the unwanted kids with her. And she's looking after 16 kids on her pension, and she's getting no accolades for it. She's getting nothing. The gogo that's looking after the AIDS patients and she's got no hospice status, that's a true volunteer"

Debbie, Interviewed July 2014 in Pretoria

Photo of gogo volunteers who care for orphaned and vulnerable children. Ixopo, South Africa, 2009.

Scholars have long posited that involvement in civil society organizations—including voluntary groups—is essential to the advancement of national democratic systems. This research treats volunteering and voluntary group membership as a resource for expanding democratic capacity. What is not yet clear is whether people join such groups because they already possess a particular civic ethos, or if they learn pro-civic values from being involved in the group. It is a chicken and egg conundrum. What comes first?

On the one hand, some suggest that by participating in voluntary groups members learn and develop political competence (Almond and Verba 1963), and knowledge about alternative forms of activism that may be used to challenge the state (Putnam, Leonardi and Nanetti 1993, Skocpol 2003). The group involvement also reportedly strengthens collective values that fuel social solidarity (Dekker and Halman 2003a). Such positive benefits are more common in heterogeneous groups. In homogenous groups, there is a risk of ideological clustering, which breeds intolerance, parochialism, and ethnocentrism (Lichterman and Eliasoph 2014, McPherson and Smith-Lovin 1987).

Others contend that people who join voluntary groups already have a civic ethos, an internalized "civic culture"—i.e. attitudes, values and behavioral norms—that drives them to join groups in the first place (Dekker and Halman 2003a:180, Dekker and Halman 2003b:180, Halman 2003:180, Hodgkinson 2003:180, Inglehart 2003:180, Meijs et al. 2003:180, Reed and Selbee 2003:180, Ruiter and De Graaf 2006:180, Salamon and Sokolowski 2003:180). In comparative studies of industrialized democracies, Reed and Selbee (2003) found that associational volunteers do have a distinct civic ethos and value collectivism. Active involvement in civic voluntary groups is closely related to individual motives, resources and social networks, but also to possessing a particular civic ethos (Reed and Selbee 2003), civic culture (Almond and Verba 1963) or civic capital (Guiso and Pinotti 2011). This civic culture is defined as the community-oriented actions, beliefs, and shared values about communal life that help society overcome the free rider problem in the pursuit of socially valuable objectives (Guiso, Sapienza and Zingales 2010). For instance, people who join voluntary groups are generally more law-abiding, less ethnocentric, and pro-democratic (Ellingsen et al. 2013, Reed and Selbee 2003:102).

In addition, Halman (2003:195) produced evidence that democratic societies foster a particular civic culture among citizens, which then motivates them to active involvement in voluntary organizations. However, the emergence of such a civic culture is predicated upon the development of democratic systems of governance that value checks and balances from different sources within society. And these checks and balances are contingent on a free public sphere and on counter-positioned civil society organizations. So the civic culture exists because the voluntary groups exist.

Most research on the relationship between civic culture and democratization is limited to developed, industrialized, economically strong countries where voluntary associations paralleled the emergence of democratic governance (Ayer, Claasen and Alpín-Lardíes 2010, Kew and Oshikoya 2014). In sub-Saharan Africa this issue is somewhat unexplored. Given the different historical contexts, does the connection between "civic culture" and voluntary group involvement also exist in sub-Saharan African settings?

Sub-Saharan Africans have experienced waves of colonization and separate development, and citizens have not had an evolutionary history of increasing rights, or of trust in state institutions. National systems of democratic governance did not develop in the same way as they did in Western Europe and North American countries. Ambivalent citizenship-subject relations mark sovereign nationhood, and democratic values coexist alongside traditional patrimonial ones (Mamdani 1996). With post-colonial independence came a gradual adoption of democratic principles in state governance that were necessary for the development of a free civil society in the region (Chazan 1992). Yet the overall

efficacy of civil society organizations in Africa to help deepen democratic systems and to consolidate political liberalization remains questionable.

Despite the fact that many communities in Africa had traditional forms of democratic practice before independence, most national systems of democratic government emerged only after anti-colonial revolution, usually spurred on by indigenous counter hegemonic civil society groups. While such groups were a strong force in civil society in the past, in the contemporary setting civil society is dominated by religious and service sector entities. In addition, many sub-Saharan economies have become dependent for stability and growth upon powerful extractive institutions and industries (Acemoglu and Robinson 2012) and foreign development aid (Moyo 2009). These sectors (i.e. private capital and nonprofits) are influential agents shaping the form and modes of civic engagement (Fatton 1995, Fowler 2014).

The question then is, in these contexts do African voluntary group members possess a particular collective, civic culture? In other words, can variations in voluntary group involvement be explained as a function of pro-democratic attitudes, generalized trust, and civic behavior—such as community activism and voting? The next question is, does voluntary group membership translate into civic action that creates the civic culture? Without time series data it is not possible to fully explore the assumed causal process by which civic culture leads people to join voluntary groups, and then by which membership in these groups stimulates further civic action and subsequently civic culture. But it is possible, within limits, to attempt to answer these questions to test five hypotheses regarding the positive association between civic culture and active voluntary group involvement in Africa. I explore this issue empirically using the 2008 Afrobarometer

data, and build upon the baseline multilevel logistic regression models formed in the previous chapter. I also draw on several streams of scholarship, including established theories of political participation and social movements.

Findings from the multilevel logistic models show that possessing a civic culture and having established social capital are strong, positive determinates of association membership. In other words, variations in voting choice, community activism and interpersonal trust are positively related to membership in some voluntary groups. Individual's preference for democracy has no impact on their involvement in these groups. Next, using logistic and OLS regression I find that people who are active members in these groups (not just members in name only) do have more pro-democratic attitudes, are more involved in community activism, have higher levels of interpersonal trust, and are more likely to vote when compared to non-members. These attitudes, values and behaviors are indicative of a particular civic culture—i.e. a way of thinking and doing, which are important aspects of a strong public sphere and civil society. In other words, active membership does translate into active citizenship and greater civic culture.

4.1 THEORY AND HYPOTHESES

Democratic political systems depend on active citizens, who build wide networks of integration and of association, for their consolidation. Citizens can participate in society in a variety of ways, from simply voting in elections to being a member of voluntary civil society groups, or from activism and campaigning to protesting (Dekker and Halman 2003b:181). In emerging democracies, participation in the formal political sphere empowers citizens and is a vital part of democratic governance (Chingwete and Lester 2015, Putnam, Leonardi and Nanetti 1993). Active citizens, civil society

organizations, and voluntary groups can legitimate the state's authority, hold government accountable, and broaden decision-making processes. Civil society groups act as buffers between citizens' interests and those of the powerful state, which is important for the stability and effectiveness of any democracy (De Tocqueville 1838, Fukuyama 2000).

In democratic political systems, civil society—a sphere distinct from the state and private realms—is functionally critical for managing the social relations between the state and its citizens (Alexander 2006, Almond and Verba 1963, Chingwete and Lester 2015, Flemming 2000, Habermas 1984). Civil society organizations, including voluntary groups, are classrooms for democracy that act as agents of pro-democratic socialization. They foster tolerance of diversity and an appreciation for democratic systems of governance—e.g. voting, having a governance board of member-elected officials, adherence to a constitution, etc. (De Tocqueville and Putnam). Within the formal structure of a civil society group, citizens "learn by doing" the civic skills and habits including collaboration, negotiation, shared goals, feelings of responsibility, and trust.

Working with other citizens, contacting officials, taking part in elections, identifying with political parties, and so forth "inculcate normative loyalty to the democratic regime" as well as other positive pro-social traits vital to democracy, such as "internal efficacy and cognitive engagement with politics" (Mattes 2007:17). Consequently, people who are involved in voluntary groups are usually more politically active, informed about politics, in favor of democratic styles of governance (Almond and Verba 1963), and engaged in democratic behaviors such as voting and community affairs (Putnam, Leonardi and Nanetti 1993). As I will show later on in this chapter, the Afrobarometer data confirms that among sub-Saharan Africans a positive attitude toward

democracy, voting, community activism and greater interpersonal trust are associated with active participation in voluntary groups.

Voluntary group membership is only one form of civic participation in post-colonial democracies. Studies show that in general Africans have a rich awareness of political freedoms and are interested in public affairs (Bratton 2012a, Bratton 2012b, Chingwete and Lester 2015, Mattes and Bratton 2007). However, this is not easily translated into an actualization of these freedoms through civic engagement and political participation (Chingwete and Lester 2015). This is because ambivalent citizenship-subject relations often mark life in African nation-states, and not all people have equal freedom to associate as they wish, despite legislation otherwise (Mamdani 1996, Ramphele 2001). Citizen participation in these states should be thought of as web-like, composed of many social and political organizations and informal networks that stem from a legacy of colonial rule and fragmented authority (Dia 1996, Migdal 1988). This fractured authority precipitates struggles for social control between official state entities and the less formal spheres of influence, such as local chiefs, landowners, moneylenders, and traditional or community groups (Chingwete and Lester 2015, Mamdani 1996). Citizens select their mode of participation depending on the nature of the issue involved and as a result, may be involved in different avenues of civic life simultaneously (Ekeh 1975, Ekeh 1992, Mamdani 1996).

According to the Afrobarometer data, in 2008 the most favored modes of civic participation among the surveyed participants included voting, contacting a local councilor, attending community meetings, and joining voluntary groups or community associations. On average voting rates were quite high (80 percent average: Zambia the

lowest at 59 percent, Benin the highest at 91 percent). The proportion of respondents who had contact with their local councilor concerning issues in their community was much higher (25 percent) than that of those who had any contact with their appointed Minister of Parliament or government representative (roughly 13 percent), suggesting that people may feel more comfortable contacting local officials. Similarly, at least 65 percent reported attending community meetings and 55 percent reported joining with others to raise issues, while popular protest was less common at 13 percent. Roughly 44 percent engaged actively in voluntary religious groups, and about 24 percent joined secular voluntary associations or community groups (Gyimah-Boadi and Armah Attoh 2009). Although, involvement in civic activities and voluntary groups is important for building and maintaining democratic societies, this does not imply that people who are engaged in voluntary activities are more democratic, more trusting, or more have a more civic inclination than people who are not.

The Afrobarometer survey data also reveal that in 2008 about 70 percent Africans favored democratic forms of government. In contrast, between 73 and 79 percent rejected one-party rule, military rule and strongman rule. But the majority (60 percent) viewed government as more like a parent than an employee, and their own role as children rather than bosses (Gyimah-Boadi and Armah Attoh 2009). Almost two out of three people were interested in politics (64 percent), and discussed politics with friends and family on a regular basis (68 percent), but interest in politics did not translate into political knowledge (Gyimah-Boadi and Armah Attoh 2009). In other words, Africans do not have clear-cut attitudes towards democracy.

Moreover, evidence suggests that civic participation has less to do with people's views on democracy, and more to do with having a particularly strong sense of belonging in their community (Reed and Selbee 2003). Civically engaged individuals have a heightened sense of social responsibility, care more about others, and value helping the needy (Reed and Selbee 2003:102). Some studies show that women in particular, who are embedded in their communities (i.e. where there is strong bonding capital), choose to make political statements by getting involved in community groups and local activism rather than voting or taking up political causes (Martin, Hanson and Fontaine 2007, Nene 1982). Community embeddedness and small acts of social networking may not always be sufficient to create direct political change, but "they foster the social relationships that may enable future political action or organization" (Martin et al. 2007:79).

How then does attitude toward democracy impact the likelihood of being actively involved in a voluntary group? Does the assumption that active group members are more likely to be pro-democratic hold true in the African context? The first hypothesis in this chapter tests this assumption.

(Hypothesis 9): Compared to nonmembers and inactive members, active members and leaders of voluntary groups are more likely to have a more favorable attitude towards democracy.

Next, can we assume that Africans who are strongly embedded in their communities will participate more in civic life—in multiple modes and for a variety of issues? Social movement literature posits that people who are involved in multiple avenues of social life are more likely to be asked to join voluntary groups. Their active involvement exposes them to larger social networks and to more occasions to be asked

and more opportunities to get involved in civic groups. Being asked is a key determinant of voluntary sector participation (Janoski, Musick and Wilson 1998, Wilson 2000).

I assume that active voluntary group members in Africa are engaged community members who participate in their nation's well-being by voting and taking an active stance in the affairs of their community by participating in protests, attending community meetings, and being in contact with their elected political representative. Because they are involved in other aspects of social life, they will have more opportunities and thus greater chance of being actively involved in voluntary groups. This assumption underpins the following two hypotheses.

Compared to nonmembers and inactive members, active members and leaders of voluntary groups (secular and religious) are more likely to:

(Hypothesis 10) vote in municipal and presidential elections.

(Hypothesis 11) take part in activism concerning the affairs of their community.

Trust is another individual-level civic feature that is known to facilitate collective participation. Robert Putnam (2000) is the strongest proponent for this claim in the close connection between generalized social trust and civic engagement. In "Bowling Alone" he states that "civic engagement and trust are mutually reinforcing" and that the causal arrows between the two are "as tangled as well-tossed spaghetti" (Putnam 2000:137). Several studies confirm that voluntary group members are generally more trusting persons than nonmembers, and that trusting folk are more cooperative and communally inclined (Baggetta, Han and Andrews 2013, Bekkers 2012, Brady, Verba and Schlozman 1995, Brehm and Rahn 1997, Musick and Wilson 2008).

However, there is little evidence to support the notion that volunteering or active involvement in voluntary groups actually increases trust (Bekkers 2012). It is not voluntary action that causes people to be more trusting (Bekkers 2012). Instead, some people are simply more trusting in general. Uslaner (2002) calls them "trusters." Trust is a particularly pro-social attribute, acquired over time through social networks and socialization processes (Guiso, Sapienza and Zingales 2010). Trust beliefs are persistent throughout the lifecourse and across generations (Bekkers 2012), and can be accumulated over generations (Guiso, Sapienza and Zingales 2010).

This trusting nature plays a valuable role in recruitment. Most people are first recruited into a voluntary group by their friends or family who are existing members (Bowman 2004, Janoski and Wilson 1995, Musick and Wilson 2008). The individuals who generally respond in the affirmative when asked to participate trust their friends or family members (Bekkers 2012). Trusting people have confidence in others, even if they don't know them personally, and find cooperation with other trusting people easy (Uslaner 2002). As a result, "high trusters are more likely to get involved and remain involved in voluntary associations than low trusters" (Bekkers 2012:227). In other words, they self-select into voluntary groups. I expect that, like their counterparts throughout the world, Africans in these twenty countries who are more trusting of others are more likely to be active group members.

Hypothesis 12: Compared to nonmembers and inactive members, active members and leaders of voluntary groups (secular and religious) are more trusting of others in general.

As in the regression models for secular and religious voluntary group membership of the previous chapter, I continue to control for the country's level of economic and political development and population size. This is because the extent to which various Africans are actively involved in voluntary groups depends on the opportunities and resources available at the national level for free association (Parboteeah, Cullen and Lrong 2004). Opportunities and resources for social action are deeply interwoven with political and economic circumstances (Dekker and Halman 2003a, Halman 2003). Any gains in civil and political freedoms create environments that are conducive to voluntary organizations and collectives because they provide the structural opportunity for free association and discussion (Anheier and Salamon 1999, Curtis, Baer and Grabb 2001, Musick and Wilson 2008:244). This pro-democratic social infrastructure facilitates the formation of voluntary groups, associations and organizations that are not necessarily political or religious in nature. It enables people to take part in social life and to "express their preferences and satisfy their needs" (Halman 2003:183). State policies, political institutions, governance systems, level of government control in civic life, and even cultural frames can legitimize, rationalize, and make possible how and in what way associational life takes place (Parboteeah, Cullen and Lrong 2004, Skocpol 2003).

Finally, to test the assumption that not only does civic culture lead to active involvement in voluntary groups, but also that voluntary group membership translates into positive civic culture, I make one final hypothesis.

Hypothesis 13: Attributes of civic culture (i.e. a pro-democratic attitude, greater involvement in community activism, higher levels of interpersonal trust, and

higher likelihood of voting) are positively related to active voluntary group membership.

4.2 FINDINGS

To determine if active members are pro-civic or have a civic culture, so to speak, I run the following multilevel logistic regression models, which build upon those in the previous chapter. Table 4-1 displays the multilevel logistic models testing the impact of democratic attitude, voting, activism and trust (i.e. civic culture) on active membership in secular and religious voluntary groups. The addition of these variables in the regression models does little to alter the influence of age, geographic location, education and religiosity on active membership in secular or religious groups that were revealed in the previous chapter.

Model 6 shows that in spite of their civic culture, active members in these groups still tend to be older (OR=1.193, $p<0.001$), rural dwellers (OR=1.363, $p<0.001$), with higher education (OR=2.046, $p<0.001$), and they are people who value the importance of religion in their daily lives (OR=1.115, $p<0.001$). The full time employed, compared to unemployed job seekers, have about 19 percent increased odds of being actively involved in their voluntary group (OR=1.189, $p<0.001$). Including civic culture into the model washes out the influence of race, gender, employment and poverty on membership style. In other words, the observed membership differences in groups that are due to race, gender, employment and poverty are no longer visible when considering civic culture.

In the same way, accounting for civic culture hardly changes the impact of age, gender, education, and religiosity on religious group involvement. Model 7 shows that when controlling for civic culture, active members in religious groups are older still

(OR=1.146, p<0.001), female (OR=1.352, p<0.001), have formal education, and are people who regard religion as very important in their lives (OR=1.885, p<0.001). Once accounting for a person's civic culture, the previously observed differences in the race of religious group participants are no longer visible.

In terms of the relationship between membership and civic culture the results are mixed. Active members in both secular and religious groups do not necessarily have more favorable attitudes towards democratic systems of government than do nonmembers, and thus hypothesis nine is rejected. Voting is associated with an 18 percent increase in the odds of being an active member in a secular voluntary group (OR=1.184, p<0.001) and a 13 percent increase in the odds of being a member in religious groups (OR=1.128, p<0.05), supporting hypothesis ten. Confirming hypothesis eleven, collective activism increases the likelihood that a person will be an active member in both secular voluntary groups (OR=2.701, p<0.001) and religious groups (OR=1.547, p<0.001). And lastly, the more trusting an individual, the more likely s/he is to be actively involved as a member in a secular voluntary group (OR=1.091, p<0.001), but trust has no impact on religious group involvement, providing only partial support for the final hypothesis. However, Africans are generally rather trusting. On a scale of 0 to 3, where 3 indicates the highest level of trust, the average was 1.81 for this sample.

I have argued that in sub-Saharan Africa voluntary group membership and civic culture go hand in hand. Table 4-2 contains one multilevel logistic and three multilevel ordinary least squares (OLS) regression models showcasing the impact of active membership in secular voluntary groups on four aspects of civic culture: Democratic attitude, voting, activism and interpersonal trust while controlling for personal

demographics and social background. A logistic model shows that the odds of voting increase with active group membership by 45 percent (OR=1.448, $p<0.001$). An OLS regression shows that active membership in a secular voluntary group has a favorable impact on democratic attitude, on community activism and on generalized trust. Being an active member is associated with a small 0.013 increase in favorable attitude toward democracy, on a scale of 0 to 5 ($p<0.05$). It also has a positive impact on other forms of community engagement in that membership increases the likelihood of participating in activist activities by a factor of 0.693 above the mean on a 0 to 4 scale, where 3 indicates "more likely" ($p<0.001$). Active members are more trusting of other than are non/inactive members, being at least 0.085 more trusting above average, on a scale of 0 to 3 ($p<0.001$). These results from reveal that political activity and pro-civic attitudes are clearly associated with active membership in voluntary groups.

4.3 Discussion

The findings above highlight two important dimensions of voluntary group involvement in sub-Saharan Africa. On the one hand, active voluntary group involvement is tied to civic culture and is a reflection of ingrained community-orientation at the personal level. In the African context, citizens who are actively engaged in the voluntary sector are more democratic and have a more civic culture overall. People with a well-developed civic culture are more likely to join voluntary groups. Thus people in voluntary groups generally have a stronger civic culture and this translates into them being more likely to vote, participate in community activism, favoring democracy and trusting other. However, this does not mean that the benefits of membership for individuals necessarily translate into more democratic societies. There is simply not

enough evidence, nor the right kind of time series panel data to verify this. Future researchers and Afrobarometer surveys will do well to continue collecting the same data over time in Africa so as to facilitate this kind of analyses. The results also show that joining a voluntary group has more to do with individuals' characteristics and internalized sense of civic culture, than with the national level of economic of democratic advancement. The findings have two implications.

First, motivations for joining a voluntary group vary from person to person, but the Africans who join do so because they are generally more concerned and invested citizens in their community. They possess a greater civic culture. This is valuable. Some regard the lack of civic culture as the missing ingredient explaining the persistence of economic under-development (Guiso, Sapienza and Zingales 2010). For Putnam (2000) and Skocpol (2003) diminishing civic culture has resulted in a decline of democratic and civic life in the United States. Low levels of civic culture stifle access to democratic benefits for the non-elite and marginalized in society (Guiso and Pinotti 2011). Civic culture includes the pro-social, communal values and beliefs that persist over time, and are transmitted inter-generationally through various processes of socialization. Although it is durable, like social capital, civic culture takes time to accumulate; but unlike social capital it does not diminish in value and it has positive economic payoffs (Guiso, Sapienza and Zingales 2010). It enables a society to overcome the free-rider problem and pursue collective objectives that benefit all (Guiso, Sapienza and Zingales 2010).

Second, in these African countries, the results show that voluntary group involvement is not a direct consequence of democratic gains at the national level. One may also argue that it is also not an avenue for furthering democratic values and beliefs at

the individual level. Therefore, given the data at hand, theories claiming that democratic systems are important for voluntary sector growth and development cannot be corroborated in the African context. In these countries political freedoms and political interest do not necessarily translate into formal participatory citizenship/democracy (Chingwete and Lester 2015). Advancement of national democratic systems has a long intertwined relationship with the voluntary sector and an emergence of civic culture. The literature on civil society and political engagement suggests strong links between democracy and voluntary sector involvement. For instance, Halman makes the case that "Volunteers are assumed to be democratic citizens, while societies in which people are active in voluntary organizations are assumed to be more democratic" (Halman 2003:195). This is not necessarily the case in sub-Saharan Africa. While large majorities of Africans are interested in public affairs and express their views this does not lead to widespread formal political participation (Bratton 2012b, Mattes and Bratton 2007).

In these contexts civic engagement and political participation are expressed in nuanced ways, and civil society does not always embody the peaceful harmony of associational pluralism. Instead it is often a conflict-ridden "realm of collective solidarities generated by processes of class formation, ethnic inventions and religious revelations" (Fatton 1995:73). Many people who do engage actively in communal life do so informally, in seemingly non-political ways (CIVICUS 2011, Wilkinson-Maposa et al. 2005). Notions of helping others, service work for the communal good, and "free association" are framed within the complexities of political, cultural and familial webs (Mamdani 1996, Ramphele 2001). Furthermore, group membership may, for some, be an alternative to potentially riskier political action. Therefore, any act of "volunteering must

be understood as an instance of people's participation, and as a source, whether realised or latent, of civic activism towards improving societies" (CIVICUS 2011).

The practices of citizenship and civic engagement remain important issues because they entail more than the simple extension of formal rights and privileges to previously disenfranchised populations. They require an active and collective engagement with the histories of difference and division, which have defined the nature of the continent's political identity (McEwan 2000). Understanding who and what type of citizen—or person desiring citizenship—is likely to be civically engaged is thus essential. Studies on the involvement in voluntary groups are one way to advance this knowledge.

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, using the Afrobarometer data I quantitatively explored the relationship between civic culture and voluntary group involvement, given differing political and economic contexts. I assumed that active voluntary group members are more civically orientated, and that subsequently volunteer groups are well positioned to act as agents of further civic socialization. While it was not possible to fully test this assumption, given the lack of time series data, I was able to confirm that, in general, democratic attitude, voting, activism and interpersonal trust are positively associated with being actively involved in secular voluntary groups. This positive association is seen in two ways: First, active members exhibit some of these characteristics more than inactive or non-members. Second, people who favor democracy, are inclined to vote, take part in community activism, and who are more trusting are also more likely to be people who are members of secular voluntary groups.

Future research is needed to investigate if civic culture is learned before people join voluntary groups or if it primarily emerges from participation in such groups. Researchers could explore variations in civic culture acquisition across a range of different types of social organizations, or the length of time and level of effort individuals need in voluntary groups. For practitioners, educators, organizations or advocacy leaders aiming to broaden or strengthen citizens' civic capacity, volunteer programs in formal groups may offer a socialization avenue. Furthermore, the strong association between socially acquired civic culture and collective, group engagement increases the prospects for political mobilization and the power potential of voluntary groups.

4.5 TABLES AND FIGURES

TABLE 4-1: MULTILEVEL LOGISTIC REGRESSION OF ACTIVE MEMBERSHIP IN SECULAR AND RELIGIOUS VOLUNTARY GROUPS.

	Secular group		**Religious group**	
	Model 6		**Model 7**	
Individual level	**OR**	**(se)**	**OR**	**(se)**
Age	1.193***	(0.021)	1.146***	(0.018)
Age squared	0.961***	(0.007)	0.997	(0.006)
Sex (female=1)	1.027	(0.037)	1.352***	(0.043)
Race (black=1)	1.051	(0.122)	1.038	(0.091)
Geographic location (rural=1)	1.363***	(0.055)	1.061+	(0.037)
Education				
No formal education (ref.)	–	–	–	–
Completed primary school	1.394***	(0.076)	1.247***	(0.061)
Completed secondary school	1.619***	(0.096)	1.508***	(0.080)
Completed higher education	2.046***	(0.158)	1.800***	(0.127)
Employment				
Unemployed job seeker (ref.)	–	–	–	–
Unemployed, not looking	0.993	(0.046)	1.025	(0.041)
Part time employed	1.083	(0.059)	0.968	(0.048)
Full time employed	1.189**	(0.064)	1.027	(0.049)
Lived poverty level	0.998	(0.020)	0.986	(0.018)
Importance of religion	1.115***	(0.035)	1.885***	(0.055)
Civic culture				
Voted (yes=1)	1.184***	(0.053)	1.128**	(0.042)
Democratic attitude	1.051	(0.040)	1.057	(0.036)
Activism	2.667***	(0.059)	1.535***	(0.028)
Interpersonal trust	1.091***	(0.026)	1.023	(0.021)
Country level				
Population (logged)	1.010+	(0.006)	1.013	(0.009)
Development Aid % GNI	1.009**	(0.004)	1.01	(0.006)
GDP per capita	1.000	(0.000)	1.000	(0.000)
Gastil score (reversed)	1.097	(0.080)	0.916	(0.101)
Constant	0.006***	(0.004)	0.170+	(0.154)
rho	0.106		0.215	
sigma_u	0.625		0.949	
chi2c	846.2		3007	

Note: [1]Reference group is male. Observations n=26,105 country n=20. ***p<0.000, **p<0.01, *p<0.05, +p≤0.05 (two-tailed tests). Continuous variables are grand mean centered. Development aid and GDP per capita are in USD millions. Results are presented in odds ratios, with standard errors in parentheses.

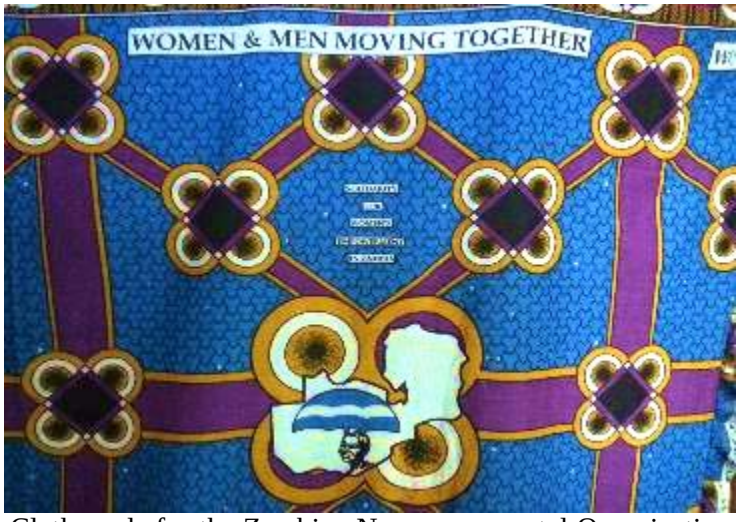
TABLE 4-2: RANDOM EFFECTS, MULTILEVEL REGRESSION OF DEMOCRATIC ATTITUDES, CIVIC ACTIVISM, AND TRUST ON ACTIVE VOLUNTARY GROUP MEMBERSHIP

	Logistic regression		**OLS regression**					
	Voting		**Democratic attit.**		**Activism**		**Trust**	
	OR	**(se)**	**β**	**(se)**	**β**	**(se)**	**β**	**(se)**
Voluntary Group member (active=1)	1.452***	(0.056)	0.013*	(0.007)	0.693***	(0.012)	0.085***	(0.011)
Age	2.114***	(0.032)	0.007***	(0.003)	0.083***	(0.005)	0.032***	(0.004)
Age squared	0.832***	(0.005)	-0.002	(0.001)	-0.021***	(0.002)	0.001	(0.002)
Sex (female=1)	0.841***	(0.026)	-0.036***	(0.006)	-0.183***	(0.010)	-0.055***	(0.009)
Race (black=1)	1.408***	(0.106)	-0.013	(0.015)	0.369***	(0.026)	-0.045*	(0.024)
Geographic location (rural=1)	1.247***	(0.042)	-0.024***	(0.006)	0.128***	(0.011)	0.096***	(0.010)
Education								
No formal education (ref.)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Completed primary school	1.036	(0.053)	0.022**	(0.009)	0.077***	(0.016)	-0.089***	(0.015)
Completed secondary school	0.936	(0.050)	0.030***	(0.010)	0.134***	(0.017)	-0.160***	(0.016)
Completed higher education	0.979	(0.067)	0.080***	(0.013)	0.212***	(0.022)	-0.158***	(0.020)
Employment								
Unemployed job seeker (ref.)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Unemployed, not looking	0.866***	(0.034)	-0.007	(0.007)	-0.094***	(0.013)	0.076***	(0.012)
Part time employed	1.213***	(0.058)	-0.012	(0.009)	0.021	(0.016)	0.042***	(0.014)
Full time employed	1.145***	(0.054)	0.011	(0.009)	-0.010	(0.016)	0.079***	(0.014)
Lived poverty	0.993	(0.018)	0.009***	(0.003)	0.052***	(0.006)	-0.021***	(0.005)
Constant			3.152***	(0.034)	1.130***	(0.067)	1.896***	(0.060)
rho	0.0771		0.0781		0.0964		0.0926	
sigma_e			0.453		0.810		0.733	
sigma_u	0.524		0.132		0.265		0.234	
chi2c	782.4		1654		2295		2235	

Note: Observations n=26,105 country n=20. ***p<0.000, **p<0.01, *p<0.05, +p≤0.05 (two-tailed tests). Lived poverty and religious importance are grand mean centered. The results for "voting" are presented in odds ratios. Standard errors appear in parentheses.

PART TWO: MEANING MAKING AND PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS OF VOLUNTEERING IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

5 METHODS FOR THE QUALITATIVE STUDY



Cloth made for the Zambian Nongovernmental Organization Coordinating Coalition (NGOCC), which stands for solidarity in women's empowerment.

Lusaka Zambia, 2014

For many interlocutors—academics, policy makers, government officials, and NGO managers—a starting point for the discussion of volunteering is one of definition: How is volunteering defined? What exactly is volunteering? In this section, I take a different approach, one that engages in a continuing process of exploring the wide range of lived meanings and practices of volunteerism in Southern Africa. This phenomenon is not predetermined; it emerges from within the field where I do my work. My process of inquiry allows the questions I ask to develop through dialogue with people in South Africa and Zambia. Such an approach is at the heart of ethnography.

The focus then, is on how Africans make meaning of their volunteering and the practical implication of this for civil society. It addresses five distinct themes related to volunteering which come not only from the literature but also from my engagement with

research participants (1) definitions and descriptions; (2) resources and forms of capital; (3) exchanges and interactions, (4) identities, values, motives, and attitudes; and (5) connections to democratic practices and civil society. These themes were central during conversations with volunteers of all sorts, they provided the framework for coding and analysis, and they are now woven into the discussion throughout the following chapters.

My task in this chapter is simply to describe the qualitative study, which took place during 2014 in the capital cities and surrounding peri-urban areas of Pretoria in South Africa and Lusaka in Zambia. I explain the selection of these case cities, as well as the target respondents, data collection and analysis strategy. Also included is a brief background overview of each city to provide context for the later analytic content.

5.1 DATA COLLECTION AND PARTICIPANTS

This qualitative study uses mostly interview and focus group data collected during ethnographic fieldwork in South Africa and Zambia in 2014. Ethical permission was obtained from the review board at the University of Kentucky (IRB 13-0414-P4S).

Participants

Participants (total seventy-one) were Pretoria and Lusaka residents who were active volunteers (fifty-four people), as well as select key informants who managed, led or conducted research on nonprofit organizations in Southern Africa (seventeen people). Participants were purposively selected in order to ensure as much variance in terms of socioeconomic status and background (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2004), and if they were thought to possess information that could shed light on the research question (Ulin, Robinson and Tolley 2012).

Depending on participants' preferences and logistics the interviews took place in public cafes, participants' homes, volunteer organization offices, or at community centers. Before the interview took place, participants were given an introduction letter that offered clear information about the study, interview participation, and consent (see Appendix 3). Verbal informed consent was also obtained before the interviews went ahead. Interview schedules and focus group schedules consisting of topic guides and open-ended questions were used to conduct in-depth interviews and focus group discussions with participants.

All interviews and focus groups were conducted in English, digitally audio-recorded and later written up or transcribed. In Pretoria and Lusaka, a trained research assistant provided translation only when necessary. Interviews and focus group discussions took between thirty-two and one hundred and fifteen minutes to complete and in some cases were followed by further informal conversations, phone, or email exchanges to clarify the points raised, or to solicit responses to unanswered questions.

Initially I approached thirty local nonprofit, voluntary organizations in these cities in order to recruit interviewees. These organizations were chosen based on focus/service area as well as size and location in order to represent a variety of communities and interests. They cut across a range of purposes, legal forms, and membership characteristics and focused on issues. Subsequent participants were recruited in a selective snowball fashion via the initial contacts. No organization representative, key informant or volunteer that was approached declined to participate in the study.

Descriptive characteristics of the interview participants

Table 5-1 describes the interview participants who took part in this study. I interviewed more females (forty-five) than males (twenty-six) and more black Africans (fifty) than those of other races. The respondents ranged in age ranged from nineteen to over sixty-five years, and in education from having only seven years of formal schooling to having completed a master's degree at university. Unemployment is rife in both these countries and reflected in the sample demographics. Of the participants, thirteen were unemployed, eight were full time volunteers, six were full time students and the rest were in part/full/self employment. A higher number of the Zambian participants were unemployed than the South Africans. Although there was a wide range of participants from both countries, those selected from South Africa were slightly younger and wealthier. There were also more single, divorced or widowed participants from South Africa than from Zambia.

Participants were recruited from a range of nonprofit sector voluntary organizations and community groups that focused on different issues, including:

- **Environment:** animal welfare, environmental protection, advocacy and care.
- **Housing:** housing provision, advocacy.
- **Vulnerable populations:** service and care provision to vulnerable families and households or disability groups.
- **Youth empowerment:** care for orphans and vulnerable children (OVC), holiday camps, youth clubs, sports groups.

- **Health and wellness:** HIV/AIDS treatment support, care services, voluntary counseling and testing, awareness, advocacy, medical provision and community care work (e.g. cervical cancer screening, and home-based TB care).
- **Education:** community schools, after-school homework, and academic services.
- **Women's empowerment:** empowerment activities, rights promotion and support, advocacy, female sports, female employment.
- **General social development:** human empowerment, economic and regional development.
- **NGO support:** providing economic and physical support, training, and capacity building support to NGOs in Health, OVC, agriculture, and nutrition sectors.

5.2 ANALYTICAL PROCEDURE

I adopt the constant comparative method for qualitative data analysis, made popular by Glaser and Strauss (1967), without using grounded theory. Simply put, the use of the constant comparative method is an analysis technique that assures all data are systematically compared to all other data in the data set, but it does not in and of itself constitute grounded theory (Fram 2013, O'Connor, Netting and Thomas 2008). The interviews and observation notes were coded using *Atlas.ti* software. In line with Fram (2013) suggestions, having first conducted a review of the literature before collecting data, I started to make connections between my experiences and the volunteering processes. My use of the constant comparative method was to first identify and confirm evidence of volunteerism using a coding framework that was based on the four recurrent themes in the literature: *definitions and descriptions, values and motivations, networks and resources, other civic actions and democratic beliefs*. Coding frameworks act as a

tool for maintaining the emic perspective (Fram 2013). Corbin and Strauss (2008) argue that a coding framework helps maintain a focus on the participant's view and experiences, and AIDS in identifying patterns as evidence of social process.

After coding and grouping for these themes accordingly, I also conducted a more open form of coding that allowed for the inclusion of broader dimensions that might suggest nuanced meaning of a given theme in each category (Esterberg 2002, Maxwell 2005). Some of these emerging themes included: *patterns of exchange, challenges, development aid, cultural references, interactive power relations,* and *paternalism.* Next I constructed a matrix of the defined and emergent themes and subcategories so as to identify patterns, comparisons, trends, and paradoxes (Corbin and Strauss 2008). I followed Scott's (2004:204) suggestion of answering helpful questions to examine each category as it emerges: What is the category? When, where, why and how does it occur? With what consequence does it occur or is it understood? Eventually, theoretical saturation of categories helped to refine the final categories used for the write-up of the substantive theory and conclusions.

Triangulating information from volunteers with that of key informants helped to validate the data, improve overall data quality and reduce researcher bias. Throughout the analysis process, emergent themes were discussed with the research assistants, and the key informants and differences in interpretation were corrected. In addition, observation notes and memos helped to develop tentative ideas about the categories and relationships for the later analysis (Maxwell 2005:96). All names used are pseudonyms.

A note on coding interview transcripts

I began the analysis process by carefully reading through all field notes, interview transcripts etc. and making memos about the key patterns, themes and issues in the data (Strauss 1987). Patterns refer to descriptive findings such as "Most of the participants reported that they volunteered because they could." Themes are broader categories or topics such as "Ability to volunteer." And codes are a way of organizing the data in terms of subject matter related to a theme, such as "time," "skill" or "resources" (which fall under the theme "Ability to volunteer"). Coding is more than simply organizing data; it helps in the systematic analysis of data and is useful for trying to understand the relationship between themes and patterns (Strauss 1987). All the codes created for this research project are found in the codebook (see Appendix 2). There are one hundred and ninety-four codes in total, divided into twenty-two groups.

Some codes are general, and others are more specific. Some codes refer to organizations and others to people. Some codes refer to actual stated or observed phenomena, while others refer to the implied or interpreted phenomena. It is the researcher who creates and assigns codes and therefore codes are inherently subjective interpretations of the data. A good researcher is aware of this potential source of bias, and should be explicit about where personal bias might have the most influence on the coding. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) explain that the uniqueness of the qualitative approach is that it stresses the socially constructed nature of reality, "the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry" (Denzin and Lincoln 2000:8). I believe that my own values may have

shaped how I codes and interpreted *values* that are discussed during the interviews and group discussions.

Values are a key construct used in this dissertation to describe the basis of action. I will briefly explain how they were identified and coded in the qualitative study. Broadly defined, values are the principles or standards of behavior: A judgment of what is important versus what is not, or a preference for one state of affairs over others (Hofstede 1984). Individuals and collectives can hold values. Hofstede explains that "values are feelings with arrows to them: each has a plus or a minus pole" (Hofstede 2001:6). A distinction is made between values that are desired versus those that are desirable. People can value education, which refers to the desired. They may hold this value with varying degrees of intensity—different people value education more strongly than others. They may also assign direction to that value. Having more education may be deemed "good" and less is seen as "bad." This refers to the desirable or moral dimension of a value.

Going through the interview and discussion transcripts I looked for values that aligned with Inglehart's values model (2003, 2005). The qualitative data available from this study cannot be plotted along the separate axes of Inglehart's two value spectra, however that was not my goal. I was concerned with coding the interview texts for both explicit and implied value statements so that they could then be grouped, rather crudely, according to how well they met the criteria of being more *traditional* versus more *secular-rational*, or being more *survival* versus more *self-expressive* (the two separate value spectra). As an example, I coded a total of two hundred and twenty-nine instances in the texts that indicated "traditional" values. These included for instance: Religion (Christianity, Islam, Hinduism); Service or helping; Respect; Selflessness and giving;

Family; and etc. I did the same coding for *secular-rational*, *survival* and *self-expressive* values. A list of the coded values is available in the codebook, found in Appendix 2.

After coding the value categories and counting the frequency of codes, I made a code co-occurrence as seen in Table 5-2. This table reveals that during formal interviews South Africans and Zambians most frequently expressed both secular-rational and traditional values, indicating they are fairly moderate on this value spectrum. There is also a high co-occurrence of secular-rational and self-expressive values.

Measuring these dimensions of values in qualitative analysis is problematic because the researcher's own personal values, or the research question itself, can bias interpretations of what is a "good" or "bad." Hofstede (2001) suggests ways to combat this bias. First, researchers must be honest and upfront about their own values. Next, analysis of values should be systematic and consistent. Different techniques can measure respondents' self-described values, or they can infer values from the way respondents describe a third person. Each technique has unique advantages and problems and thus a combination of approaches is advised (Hofstede 2001:9). Lastly, values should not be equated with deeds. I have opted to follow these suggestions and in the section below I discuss my own values. In addition, I used a consistent coding approach to identify both explicitly stated and inferred values for each respondent.

A note on my own values

In *Culture's Consequences*, Geert Hofstede (2001) suggests that research into values can never be value free and that authors should try, as much as possible, to be open and explicit about their own values. For social researchers this applies throughout

the analytical process and the writing and presentation of results. In this brief section I follow his lead and attempt to be forthright about my own value system.

My first formal volunteer experience was at age eleven as a "junior conservationist" at the Pretoria Zoological gardens. I got to muck out animal stalls, fill feeding troughs, watch animals be born and learn about protecting the fauna and flora of my country. It was a foundational experience and entrenched my love for nature and the world in which we live. It is also indicative of how I choose to live my life: Actively engaged and involved in community.

Like everyone else, my values originate from the national background, family roots, education, religious upbringing, and social class in which I have lived my life. I was born a fifth generation white African in Cape Town, South Africa, in 1981. My heritage is mixed-European, although my mother and father were each born and raised in Kenya and Zimbabwe respectively. I grew up with one older brother and a close circle of cousins and extended kin. My mother raised us as a single parent, but during our formative years we lived with my grandfather on a small farm outside of Pretoria. He provided strong paternal stability and a strict moral code for behavior. There was always just enough of everything, and never luxury. Money and class were not much discussed. What was important were manners, respect, hard work, kindness to others, family and knowledge. I went to regular public schools and liked them well enough but didn't excel in anything much. My interests lay rather with friends, ballet, and exploring the outdoors—I have always been more comfortable outside than inside.

I lived through apartheid's troubled end, the negotiated political settlement, and South Africa's transition into a "new rainbow nation." I was too young to understand the

full scope of the ethical issues involved in apartheid, but I saw its effects daily in how black children walked to separate schools, and their parents worked to clean our home or tend our garden. By the time I reached mid-adolescence, everything I knew to be "normal" had changed. My family moved to the suburbs, I entered a mixed-race urban high school, and my country held its first fully democratic election. Economic sanctions were suspended and for the first time ever I was exposed to the commercialism of material labels and the class snobbery of white South African suburbia. This was also when I first realized the implications of living in a divided society as the nightly television news was peppered with horrific stories exposed at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

I only really began to grapple intellectually and personally with the meaning of these social changes after I left high school. Family friends in the diplomatic corps took me to Paris to work as their au pair for one year. Exposure to the diplomatic community expanded my worldview and introduced the political and social sciences to me. As a result, I returned to Pretoria to complete my university education in anthropology and sociology. After that I worked in a private consultancy where I learned to some extent how applied social science research looks in practice. During this time I travelled extensively throughout Southern Africa (for work, research and pleasure) and did an exchange in the United States, further increasing my exposure to different lifestyles and worldviews. I've always been a particularly curious person, interested by diversity. This later led me to pursue a Ph.D. in Sociology at the University of Kentucky in the United States where I am currently writing this dissertation.

I am a Christian but know all too well that our cultural environment conditions our beliefs. My image of an ideal world is one where all are treated with grace, understanding and love. I deeply value kindness, honesty, family, knowledge and thoughtfulness. I am unmarried and without children, for now.

My personal biography has left me ever optimistic about the role of dialogue in moving us past our individual biographies to a place where we embrace diversity. I believe that getting to know others can sometime means treading over tender terrain together. When doing qualitative fieldwork in diverse settings of Southern Africa I have learnt that approaching sensitive issues with others should always be done truthfully, directly, and with an openness and humbleness to the other's point of view.

However, as a white person I also endeavor to remain conscious of my privilege in most social contexts, especially in poorer corners of Southern Africa. No doubt, the people I encounter and speak to during my research have their own preconceptions of my being a white, single female South African, which influences what they say to me and how they say it. In Zambia and South Africa my position as a researcher was received differently. In Lusaka I had a more advantageous position, perhaps because as a white, young, student South African I was part African insider, part foreigner. The status derived from my Pretoria upbringing, American university affiliations and white foreignness facilitated access to elitist, if not elite, subjects so that I could gain a perspective of volunteering from the "top." In Lusaka non-elites were curious about me and my research because I wasn't affiliated with any aid agency, foreign embassy or corporation commonly associated with white residents. The taxi drivers who liked to

strike up conversation when I rode with them were especially curious and helpful sources of information about where to find volunteer participants.

Whereas in Pretoria, this same status was a liability, preventing me from accessing participants above or far removed from my own social position (particularly in terms of studying "up"). As a city "insider" my social networks were a useful starting point to begin my study of volunteering but branching beyond proved a challenge. Engaging the service of a male, black research assistant helped overcome this barrier and together we made a good team.

As my awareness and appreciation of cross-cultural understanding grows continually, I strive to carefully listen and appreciate different perspectives but also to break through conversation barriers to enter more frank engagement with others. Having been a foreigner in many different countries has helped me know what it feels like to find oneself outside the dominant culture. This enables me to empathize with others who don't feel like they "fit in."

In combination, these life experiences and values leave me with a generally positive worldview. It has shaped my academic interest in this particular subject matter and my desire to study ways in which humans work together and support each other—despite trends to the opposite direction in contemporary sociology. It also means that in my work I purposively seek out aspects that reference the pro-social and socially cohesive, while striving to remain critical by also making sure to account for the counterfactual. As a cultural sociologist, my theoretical orientation leans towards social criticism and my interpretive paradigm is characterized by a focus on cultural practice, social texts, as well as subjectivities and lived experiences.

5.3 CASE SELECTION

In this study, the qualitative project involved choosing cases that would illustrate the nuances of voluntarism in Southern Africa. In the social sciences, illustrative data is used deliberately in written publications as a way to convey the viewpoint of actors, especially if these views are far removed from those of the readers (Strauss 1987). Case studies are one style of illustrative data and are selected in order to represent the analytic depiction of various groups and cultures, or systems of being. Cases are important learning tools, and a study of them provides a wealth of detail that is important for developing a nuanced view of reality, as well as for producing context-relevant theory (Flyvbjerg 2006, Ragin and Becker 1992). An advantage of qualitative studies is the ability to capture and represent the individual's point of view, sometimes through the presentation of direct quotes and illustrative cases (Denzin and Lincoln 2000), although the task is to avoid incorporating "large globs of raw data with little analytical commentary" (Strauss 1987:217). I strive to avoid doing this by interweaving theoretical interpretation into a descriptive and analytic whole.

I selected the capital cities of South Africa and Zambia because they representatively reflect some of Southern Africa's most contemporary social features: Increasing global connections, rapid urbanization, migration, unemployment, economic inequality, infrastructure development, vivid visual marketing, an emergent black economic class and political elite, racial tension, service delivery failure, etc. My goal is to use these two cases to write about the phenomenon of volunteering in this region more generally, rather than about one country or group specifically. Thus the cases were chosen in part for their similarities. South Africa and Zambia share some geographic,

colonial, cultural, and politico-economic similarities. They are both member nations of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and are governed as parliamentary and presidential republics respectively. Geographically Zambia has a more tropical climate, but water is scarce in both countries. They have an equivalent geological composition and landscape that has created similar mineral composition and that supports particular agricultural and livestock production practices. The geography allows for the emergence of similar pests and diseases, and likewise comparable social structures and mechanisms to deal with these. Zambia is usually considered to be "southern" because it has stronger social and economic ties with the countries in the south than with those in central or eastern Africa.

In terms of population, both countries are dominated by Bantu language speakers and associated ethnic groups, and were colonized by European settlers—mainly the British. Both countries are predominantly Protestant, giving citizens some common religious value framework. However, many people practice animism, adherence to totems, ancestral veneration, or are adherents to other religions (Catholicism, Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, etc.). Economically, inhabitants of these two countries rely on tourism, agriculture, and mineral extraction for the bulk of their financial revenue. Presumably these factors collectively shape daily social life, cultural structures, and value-based behavior like volunteering. As chapter five illustrates, inhabitants of South Africa and Zambia practice very similar patterns of exchange in volunteering that mirror those of gift giving.

However, South Africa and Zambia also differ in some other respects that reflect wider differences in the region. For this reason they were selected to also account for the

variety of social life found in Southern African. As seen in chapter two, there is quite a difference between these two countries in the percent of active voluntary group members. This difference may be a consequence of divergent contextual and historical factors. Compared to Zambia, South Africa is racially far more diverse, has a larger urban population, and has more extreme income inequality. At 752,618 km^2 and a population of roughly fourteen million, Zambia is far smaller than South Africa's 1,221,037 km^2 and fifty-three million inhabitants. The Freedom House also ranks South Africa as slightly more democratic in terms of civil and political freedoms compared to Zambia.

South Africa technically gained full independence from colonial rule in the 1930s, but subsequent years of white settler power and apartheid policies remained until 1994. This sets it apart from Zambia, which gained its full independence in 1964. Zambia is a land-locked country that suffered severe economic decline in the mid-1970s through to the 1990s, as the price of copper—its principal export—fell globally. Zambia turned to foreign, international lenders for relief, racking up unsustainable debt in a way that South Africa did not. Despite limited debt relief, Zambia's foreign debt remains among the highest in the world. Its 2012 estimated GDP of twenty billion US dollars is substantially lower than South Africa's three hundred and eighty-two billion US dollars. In the same way that parallels between countries may shape individuals' lifestyles and behavior, so too might their differences (Ragin 1987). In chapter six I show that notwithstanding the regional similarities, many Zambians and South Africans are oriented toward different volunteer activities in contemporary civil society as a result of the differing historical socio-economic and political climates found in each country.

These similarities and differences are easily reflected in a casual glance at the cities of Lusaka and Pretoria. The following section offers a very brief overview of the history and civic landscape in these cities in order to set the backdrop for the interviews.

5.4 An introduction to the city of Pretoria, South Africa

Nestled in the folds of the scenic Magaliesberg Mountains, the city of Pretoria is the executive capital of the Republic of South Africa. Earliest evidence of habitation in the region points to Southern Ndebele tribes who settled the Magalies river valley in about the 1600s. Here they remained until the early 1800s, when the great *difaqane* (an "upheaval" caused by King Shaka and his Zulu army) pushed refugees from the south, under the leadership of Mzilikazi, into the area and eventually scattered the villagers across Southern Africa (Bulpin 1983). At about the same time, the first European "Boer" pilgrims (known as *voortrekkers* in Afrikaans) also arrived in the Magaliesberg (Giliomee 2013). The location offered the *voortrekkers* natural fortification and security, fertile soil and a temperate subtropical climate suitable for ending their Great Trek, putting down roots, and establishing homesteads (Bulpin 1983). On 1 May 1860 Pretoria became the capital of the independent Boer-led Transvaal/South African Republic (ZAR), so named after the Voortrekker leader Andries Pretorius (Giliomee 2013).

In April 1877, the British annexed Pretoria for the first time and over the subsequent three decades the city vacillated under control of the Transvaal Republic or the British Colonial Government (Bulpin 1983, South African Railways General Manager 1913). By 1910, the British had gained control of the Union of South Africa and geopolitically separated constitutional powers by making Pretoria in the north of the Union the executive (administrative) capital, Bloemfontein in the middle the judicial

capital, and Cape Town in the south the legislative (parliamentary) capital. Pretoria is the little sister to Johannesburg and both are situated on the Witwatersrand (meaning the "ridge of white waters" in Afrikaans), a 56-kilometre-long escarpment of quartzite sedimentary rock, bleeding gold reefs and diamonds. The Witwatersrand produced no less than 40 percent of the world's gold output in 1913 (Van Onselen 1982). This attracted a steady influx of migrants and new infrastructure development, which fueled the growth of large modern industrial capitalist enterprise (Van Onselen 1982).

Capitalist development in South Africa was intricately tied to the steady increase and protection of white workers and citizenship rights alongside the systematic denial of access to blacks to earn an independent livelihood other than through the sale of their labor (Bundy 1979, Van Onselen 2003). Three pieces of legislation, implemented throughout the 1900s, were critical to formalizing racial segregation in South Africa, which has shaped the nature of cities until today (Van Onselen 1982:328). The 1911 Mines and Works Act, the 1913 and 1936 Natives' Land Acts, and the 1923 Natives "Urban Areas" Act reserved skilled, high-paying work for white Europeans, allocated roughly 80 percent of rural land for whites, and gave local municipalities authority to establish "locations" on the outskirts of white urban and industrial areas for non-whites. Africans, Indians, and mixed-race/Colourdes living in the city were forcibly removed to these peripheral locations—also called townships (Packard 1989). Direct consequences of these pieces of legislation was a systematic proletarianization of black Africans, the creation of a cheap black labor force, the institutionalization of a migrant labor force, and the solidification of white power in the region (Bundy 1979).

During apartheid, cities were designed to support racial politics, inspired by the functional segregationist ideologies of Le Corbusier and Ebenezer Howard (Chipkin 2008). Opportunities for Africans to purchase and own land were limited, distorting the property market in urban areas. Whites could participate in a functioning housing market, but blacks were relegated to the public rental housing ghettoes. In cities like Pretoria, black Africans were forced to peripheral townships, effectively cleansing the white centers and creating new "blank" sites, sterilized of any reference to indigenous culture and tradition (Bank 2001).

After the collapse of apartheid and the instatement of South Africa's first majority-elected president in 1994, many urban divisions remain. The urban spatial built environment encapsulates the accumulated inequalities created by compartmentalized spaces of race, class and access (Schensul and Heller 2011:78). Pretoria neighborhoods remain gendered and deeply fragmented along race and class lines. Black Africans still predominantly reside in the outlying townships of Soshanguve, Mamelodi, and Atteridgeville, which tend to be poorer and politically pro-ANC. Indians cluster in the Laudium neighborhood, which boasts more lower- to middle-class residents with tightly established networks of familial, friendship and religious bonds. Most Laudium residents are Muslim, politically pro-ANC, and very socially active (Naidoo 2006).

Most Coloured, Afrikaans-speaking residents are found in the northeastern Eesterust (first rest) neighborhood of Pretoria. High levels of unemployment, crime, gangs, and a history of social marginalization plague the community. The economically active residents hold working-class jobs, or engage in informal sector enterprise—often illegal. White English and Afrikaans Pretoria residents generally live in the wealthier,

greener suburbs to the east and south of the central business district (CBD), while a smaller working-class, and poor white segment are found just west and north of the central business district in Danville, North View and Elandspoort. None of these areas are racially exclusive, although they retain strong pre-1994 characteristics (Naidoo 2006).

For the past fifteen years, Pretoria has been embroiled in a name-change controversy, which is central to an appreciation of the city's convoluted racial and class dynamic. On 5 December 2000, numerous Pretoria municipalities were combined into the new City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. Trade union, Solidarity, and the Pretoria Civil Action Committee—organizations composed predominantly of white, Afrikaans-speaking members—threatened legal action should the name be changed. On the 26 May 2005 the South African Geographical Names Council recommended to the Tshwane Metro Council that the name Pretoria be changed to Tshwane, but this never went into effect. Current mayor Kgosientso Ramokgopa pushed forward with the renaming in 2012 and across the country all road signs pointing to "Pretoria" were changed to "Tshwane" or the "City of Tshwane." In addition to the name change, the mayor also agreed to change twenty-eight major street names in the city in order to foster "racial harmony and cohesion in the city.[3]"

Pretoria officially remains the central district of the Tshwane metro area and Statistics South Africa continues to collect data on this district separately from the larger metro. In terms of demography, Pretoria's current population hovers at around 742,000 (Census 2011) and it has the largest white population on the African continent. The racial makeup consists of 42 percent Black African, 52 percent white, with other races making

[3] Information on street names is available at http://www.dmv.gov.za/blog/pretoria-street-names.htm, accessed 13 October 2015.

up the rest. Roughly one million white Afrikaners live in or around the city. Although Afrikaans is the primary first language spoken in Pretoria, many black Africans speak no Afrikaans, instead relying on English as the language of commerce. The larger Tshwane metro consists of almost three million residents who are primarily black (75 percent) and speak Sotho, Tswana or Tsonga as their first language. After the collapse of apartheid, the country was reorganized into nine provinces and three capital cities. Pretoria is now a part of Gauteng Province, the economic heart of the country.

5.5 An Introduction to the City of Lusaka, Zambia

Zambia rests on a broad savannah plateau about 1,200 meters above sea level, and is locked inland by nine different countries. Administratively, the country is divided into ten provinces and seventy-four districts. The capital city, Lusaka, is located in the south-central part of the country with undulating low-hills and ample water supply, and a population approaching one and a half million people (Myers 2011b). It is named after a headman whose village was once located where the National Assembly building now stands (Mulenga 2003). The territory where Lusaka now stands once fell under the control of different Bantu-speaking horticulturalists and African Kingdoms before it was annexed toward the end of the nineteenth century by the British South African Company (BSAC)—a chartered company on behalf of the British government (Collins 1986).

The British annexation resulted in the official formation of the protectorate of Northern Rhodesia in 1911. Although Northern Rhodesia was never an official colony, the British Colonial Office assumed responsibility for administering the territory in 1924 (Hall 1965). At this time, a few white settlers agitated for exclusive minority rule, either as a separate entity or calling to be associated with Southern Rhodesia, but the British

government preferred a looser association between its territories (Mulenga 2003). In 1911 Livingstone was made the capital of Northern Rhodesia. In 1935 the capital was moved to Lusaka. The discovery of rich mineral deposits after the First World War, especially copper in the northern region, caught the attention of European investors and spurred on a process of rapid industrialization in Northern Rhodesia. Small urban pockets flourished along the railway lines and around the mining centers and attracted migrant workers from the rural areas (Ferguson 1999). The flourishing cash economy was further bolstered by the emergence of a strong agricultural sector that also relied upon cheap migrant labor.

However, by the mid twentieth century global anti-colonial movements were increasing and the British government sought alternative forms of shared government in its southern African colonies. Consequently, in 1953 Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) joined Nyasaland (Malawi) to form the Central African Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (or the *Central African Federation*), despite the opposition from many of Northern Rhodesia's Africans (Hall 1965). The white settler-led Federation established an African Affairs Board, principally to appease African opposition and to safeguard their interests. But the Federation remained intensely unpopular among the African majority, and it only served to hasten calls for complete independence. During this time, Lusaka became a key site for the independence movement, in part because of its accessibility along the country's main roads and railways, and because of its growing politically conscious elite (Mulenga 2003).

On 24 October 1964, Zambia gained political independence, adopted a multiparty system of government, and inaugurated Prime Minister Kenneth Kaunda as the president. Then in 1972 the country became a one-party state, before once again returning to

multiparty governance in 1991 and entering a period of socio-economic growth and government decentralization. Lusaka was chosen as the capital due to its central location. As the designated administrative capital, it separates political power from the Copperbelt's economic stronghold (Collins 1986, Williams 1986).

Lusaka is a comparatively "newly" modern, cosmopolitan city with a deep connection to every corner of the world (Collins 1986, Myers 2011b). Yet at first glance this is not immediately apparent. This is because, as Garth Myers (2011b) suggests, Lusaka causes one's imagination to turn upside down. It is easy to be surprised in a city that is situated in both the "temporal aftermath" of colonialism, and amid its "critical aftermath"—where cultures, discourses and critiques lie beyond but closely influenced by colonialism (Myers 2011b:30). With no real skyline to speak of and webs of unnamed dusty streets, garbage and informal traders mingle alongside lawyers in bespoke suits and glossy new shopping malls. In the context of spiraling economic decline and rising HIV/AIDS rates, the overall picture of Lusaka can appear bleak (Gough 2008), but with a careful observation the city reveals creativity, imagination and intricate internal and global connective synergies (Myers 2011b). As an example, Godfrey Hampwaye (2008) suggests that in some places local urban government has truly embraced decentralization and in doing so managed to empower local authorities to affect change—resulting in visible improvements to schools and roads in their areas.

The urban terrain also bears clear testament to the city's recent history. A case in point is the University of Zambia, which stands as a concrete modernist portrayal of Zambia's post-independence honeymoon that was filled with extreme confidence and political ambition (Wainwright 2015). Built by Israeli contractors, the campus was

revolutionary in design with its cascading concrete terraces and offices opening to wide outdoor corridors. Israel was a natural postcolonial partner for the fledging state, but after the 1970s oil crisis Zambia switched allegiance to the Arab/Asian nations and also sought financing from the United States and the World Bank. Israeli companies were kicked out and the University of Zambia's Lusaka campus remained unfinished (Wainwright 2015).

Many leaders have sought to urbanize Lusaka. Kenneth Kaunda, leader of the United National Independence Party (UNIP) and president from 1965 to 1990, made a point of pulling outlying residential settlements into the city limits. These peri-urban neighborhoods are connected to the city center with a series of wide axial boulevards given names like *Saddam Hussein Boulevard* and *Haile Selassie* road. The latter runs past Millennium Village where the Organization of African Unity became the African Union in 2000 (Myers 2011b). When Frederick Chiluba's Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) trumped the UNIP in 1990, *Saddam Hussein Boulevard* was renamed *Los Angeles Boulevard*. This road passes through the leafy green suburbs of Kabulonga—a former whites-only township—and intersects with *Addis Ababa r*oad, which now leads to the new South African-owned Manda Hill shopping mall (one of many new shopping centers in the city).

Despite the many cosmopolitan aspects of the city, its neighborhoods, compounds and informal markets are divided along lines of ethnicity and class. Suburbs to the east, such as Roma and Kabulonga, are generally more prosperous, while those closest to the center of town appeal to the working classes (e.g. Sunningdale, New Kasama, Ibex Hill, Kabwata). Numerous slums, colloquially called compounds in English, interpose the urban periphery (such as Misisi, Chawama, Kalingalinga, Ng'ombe and Lilanda)

(Mulenga 2003). In these compounds, gravel streets crisscross without order and houses hop around muddy, unkempt streams and over hilltops. Real estate near the bottom of any hill is subject to flooding during the rainy season. In hilly Lusaka, social prestige rests in the location of one's residence. One can be "upper" class in both economic and topographical terms (Myers 2011a).

With more than half of Zambia's population under age fifteen, some have described Lusaka as a city full of young people on the move, "walking to school, crammed into overcrowded minibuses, hawking along the roadside, hanging out at street corners" (Gough 2008:243, Mwanaleza 2015). It is not only people on the move, but also commercial products and merchandise. Lusaka-based hydroponic farms export cut flowers to Amsterdam markets (Myers 2011a), while in downtown Lusaka warehouses, truckloads filled with bales of secondhand clothes from the United States arrive, ready for sorting and selling by the *salaula*[4] traders (Hansen 2000).

Post-colonial independence brought economic growth and infrastructure development to the country. But by the mid-1970s the country's mining industry, which was the backbone of the national economy, began to stagnate and it worsened in the 1980s with the collapse of copper prices, declining production, and a rising debt burden (Collins 1986, Hall 1965). Following this, nearly two decades of Structural Adjustment Policies and neo-liberal reforms in Zambia, associated with foreign aid since the 1990s, altered the nature and availability of space in cities like Lusaka—including land, infrastructure, and access to markets (Hansen 2000:216). The subsequent decline of jobs,

[4] Salaula is the Chibemba word for "to pick," or "to rummage through a pile." It refers to the trade of secondhand clothes in Africa, which arrive in large bales or packages from wealthier countries. Traders cut open the bales and sort through them, picking out the best articles for resale to local consumers—usually at informal street or market venues.

basic resources and commodities, combined with a problematic, state-controlled food distribution system spurred the growth of an informal economy that has long offered alternative work, housing, and services to many city residents (Hansen and Vaa 2004).

Over the years various political regimes have sought ways to regulate and restrict the informal, unsanctioned markets with licensing, trade protocols, and zoning policies. For the most part, these are largely ignored. As a result, Lusaka has witnessed numerous, politically charged, violent clashes between informal traders and the police (Hansen 2004). Confrontations between authorities and the market traders and street vendors have been sparked by efforts to clear up public space for projects of the "free market" (Englund 2013). Informal markets are a vibrantly visible feature of Lusaka's urban geography, and a source of constant political tension between citizens and government.

Finally, no background would be complete without acknowledging the prominent role of spirituality, religion and religious institutions in the social and political fabric of urban Lusaka. In Zambia, as throughout Southern Africa, economic, political and social realities are routinely apprehended in fundamentally moral and spiritual terms (Ferguson 2006:71). "Spiritual" language is often used in reference to the strong moral connection between wealth—material and political—and social relations (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991, Ferguson 2006:73). For instance, it may be socially acceptable for a community leader, politician or businessperson to accumulate and maintain wealth and power if it corresponds to collective group advancement. Such pro-social prosperity is framed in references to rain (giver of life to all), or to the person as a lion (feeder of the people, eater of the people) (Ferguson 2006). Alternatively, the acquisition of wealth or political power through antisocial, exploitative, morally illegitimate means conjures up metaphors

about zombies, Satanism, cannibalism or witchcraft (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991). This tendency towards spiritual metaphor allows many Zambians to frame profoundly moral questions about human agency and causation in regards to the increasing inequality, corruption and neoliberal capitalist advancements of their states. Such moralizing narratives using spiritual language also helps to describe a world ruled not by objects, but by human agency (Ferguson 2006).

Zambia as a whole is a predominantly Christian country. It has one of the largest Catholic populations in the region, and a small sub-set of Muslims and Hindus, but Protestantism is most common and it is highly pluralistic—including mainstream, Evangelical, Pentecostal, and African Independent Churches. African Independent Churches flourished particularly in the post-independence period. They are a syncretic blend of Christianity and local cosmology that focuses on the Hebrew texts but emphasize prophecy, dreams and visions, and the power of the spirit realm (Kalu 2007). Examples include the Zionist Christian Church (ZCC), Christ Apostolic Church, and the Lumpa Church. Many of the religious discourses and practices apparent in daily life are ostensibly inconsistent with each other and even contradictory, but this does not prevent people from reaching a minimum consensus (Kirsch 2014). Religion is thus a strong cohesive force in routine social life, not a great social divider.

Scholars have commented on how citizens show remarkable tolerance towards different Christian doctrines and traditions, and even towards other mainstream religions (Cheyeka, Hinfelaar and Udelhoven 2014). And despite the multiplicity of socio-religious interactions, they frequently culminate in a conflict-preventive consensus making between people (Kirsch 2014). Furthermore, membership in a given church is also not

necessarily a life commitment but often a “situational commitment in face of pressing personal or domestic problems (such as sickness, financial failure, breaking of a family curse, infertility or infidelity)” (Cheyeka, Hinfelaar and Udelhoven 2014:1034).

As a primary center for the colonial administration, then as a vital focal point for the anti-colonial movement, and now as Zambia’s gateway to the world, Lusaka undoes all preconceived expectations about an “ordinary” African city. It has a rich mix of ethnicities, languages, religions, and political and civil society organizations. The city offers space—physically, socially and politically—for innovation and creativity in surprising ways.

5.6 LIMITATIONS TO THE QUALITATIVE STUDY

The qualitative study was limited in terms of scope by focusing only on the capital city urban and peri-urban areas. Time constraints and the need to curtail the range of this study for the purpose of the dissertation did not permit me to sample and travel to rural locations. However, a number of participants in my study did come from rural areas, despite currently living in urban settings, and they could speak to the kinds of volunteer opportunities available to rural folk.

5.7 TABLES AND FIGURES

TABLE 5-1: DESCRIPTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

	South Africa	Zambia
Number of interviewees (*n*=71)	30 Volunteer 7 Volunteer manager 37 Total	24 Volunteer 10 Volunteer manager 34 Total
Sex	23 Female 14 Male	22 Female 12 Male
Race	22 Black 13 White 2 Indian	28 Black 4 White 2 Indian
Age category	22 (18-29) 2 (30-39) 3 (40-49) 6 (50-59) 4 (>60)	5 (18-29) 9 (30-39) 8 (40-49) 9 (50-59) 3 (>60)
Marital status	11 Married 26 Not married	17 Married 17 Not married
Employment status	8 Full time volunteer 5 Unemployed 12 Student (full time) 10 Employed full/part time 2 Self employed	4 Full time volunteer 8 Unemployed 6 Student (full time) 11 Employed full/part time 5 Self employed
Children	15 Has children 8 No children 14 Researcher Uncertain	21 Has children 8 No children 5 Researcher Uncertain

TABLE 5-2: CO-OCCURRENCE OF VALUES, AS IDENTIFIED AMONG SOUTH AFRICAN AND ZAMBIAN RESPONDENTS

	Survival	Self-expressive	Secular-rational	Traditional
Survival	--	--	--	--
Self-expressive	39	--	--	--
Secular-rational	30	63	--	--
Traditional	31	30	64	--

TABLE 5-3: POPULATION DEMOGRAPHICS FOR PRETORIA AND LUSAKA

	South Africa	Zambia
Landmass	1,221,037 km^2	752,618 km^2
Population size	48,793,022	12,456,527
Foreign Aid (in thousands)	$1,125	$1,116
Foreign Aid as percent/GNI	0.43	8.43
GDP per capita	$1,365.96	$1,437.88
Freedom House Gastil Index	10	16
Active members (Afrobarometer)	7.00%	24.00%
Active members (WVS)	50.44%	66.87%
Volunteers (Gallup Poll)	19.00%	27.00%

	Pretoria / Tshwane Metro	Lusaka City
Year established	1855	1905
Land area	6,298 km^2	360 km^2
Population size	2,921,488	1,742,979
Racial composition		
Black African	75.4%	99.0%
Coloured (Mixed)	2.0%	–
Indian/Asian	1.8%	0.04%
White	20.1%	0.04%
First languages		
Northern Sotho	19.9%	–
Afrikaans	18.8%	–
Tswana	15.0%	–
Tsonga	8.6%	–
Tonga	–	11.4%
Nyanja	–	14.7%
Bemba	–	33.4%
English	16.4%	1.7%
Other	21.3%	38.8%

Sources: (Central Statistical Office Zambia 2014, City of Pretoria 2015, City of Tshwane 2014, World Bank 2016a, World Bank 2016b)

6 THE GIFT OF VOLUNTEERING: IDENTITY, INTERACTION, INTEGRATION

ETHNOGRAPHIC VIGNETTE: During the autumn of 2009, I traveled across a South Africa staggering into its adolescent democracy, crippled by chronic poverty, HIV/AIDS and lack of adequate state infrastructure. In the face of rising food prices and unemployment many were concerned with simply making ends meet. Thousands of working-age people fled to the cities seeking a livelihood or were taken by AIDS, leaving rural villages inhabited mainly by the elderly and by orphaned or vulnerable children (OVC). In these villages aging women called gogos (meaning grandmother in isiZulu) took up the task of caring for children and the HIV infected in their communities. To help intervene, a plethora of civil society organizations stepped in to expand and formalize this care and support, and enlisted the services of gogo volunteers. For my part, I was conducting a project evaluation of one such OVC care intervention in the Eastern Cape Province. My task was to interview gogos who had been recruited by the organization to increase avenues of care for the children. When I asked the gogos why they were volunteering with this organization, their answers were fairly pragmatic. They explained that the program facilitated access to local leaders and new skills (e.g. home-based counseling, peer education, networking), and it helped them build supportive relationships with other volunteers and local groups (e.g. churches, after-school tutors, community gardens). When I asked them why they volunteered in the first place, their answers were more morally tinged. Gogo Noluvo explained it best: No good, traditional Xhosa woman would turn her back on a needy child. The woman who did such a thing was wicked. She was the kind of woman who would use witchcraft to send out zombies and kill the child in the night. A good woman cares for her community. In doing so she honors herself, her fellow man, her ancestors and God.

I begin this chapter with a brief ethnographic vignette to illustrate how aid nonprofits, volunteering and culture are intertwined in the contemporary context. In Southern Africa, volunteering takes many different forms. Mostly it involves informally helping neighbors, extended family members, or the disadvantaged. It also includes the creative systems of communal mutual aid that people set up to deal with the chronic lack of available public services. These may be poor and only semi-formalized groups and arrangements but they demonstrate resilience and the ability to contribute toward social development in deeply democratic ways (Perold and Graham 2014). Another form of

volunteerism has emerged with the growth of an institutional sector of face-to-face non-profit organizations and associations involved in advocacy, human rights, social development and welfare service delivery. These civil society groups and organizations depend on volunteers to achieve their goals, and they are increasingly a source of employment for the middle class. How do people make meaning of these different forms of volunteering? What do these meanings reveal about social life? And what does a study of the meanings associated with volunteering divulge about social life that we don't already know? Answering these questions is my objective in this chapter.

In this chapter I use cultural theories of generalized exchange (e.g. Komter 2005, Mauss 1990, Osteen 2002) and the lens of reciprocal gifting to analyze the meaning of volunteerism for Southern Africans. In doing so I find that practices of volunteering exhibit patterns that parallel many of those in gift giving. By observing similarities in the processes and configurations of volunteering in the cities of Lusaka and Pretoria, I noticed that most "within-group" volunteering takes place informally, at random intervals, and outside of the context of an organization. This volunteering functions socially to strengthen bonding capital and usually involves related persons and members of the extended kin network. But it is characterized by a lower sense of freedom of choice for the volunteer. In contrast, I noticed that "between-group" volunteering is more formalized and organized through collectives or associations. It primarily involves unrelated persons and those outside of the household or kin networks. Volunteers find this particularly rewarding activity, but the benefits to receivers remain questionable. While it has potential to strengthen bridging capital it risks reinforcing group differences.

Studying volunteering as a gift exchange should be an area of concentration for several reasons. First, volunteering is a growing social feature of modern democratic states around the world. In the course of a year, nearly 1 billion people give time through public, nonprofit voluntary organizations, or directly for friends or neighbors (Salamon, Sokolowski and Haddock 2011:238). Second, it adds economic value to society. The estimated total economic worth of the global volunteer workforce as of 2005 is around 1 trillion US dollars (Salamon, Sokolowski and Haddock 2011). Volunteers add particular value to the service sector, such as in Mexico for instance where voluntary nonprofits account for a substantial 21 percent of all value added in the field of education (Salamon et al. 2012). In South Africa alone, volunteer work amounted to approximately 70 million US dollars in 2010 (Statistics South Africa 2011). Third, volunteer effort has differing beneficial impacts on individuals, organizations and countries. For instance, it is regarded as integral to a good, democratic society because it is seen to promote community participation and social cohesion, to generate social capital, and to support political well-being (Hustinx, Handy and Cnaan 2010, Putnam 2000). Fourth, in developing countries, reliance on volunteers can be a way to extend the limited reach of state welfare services and health care delivery (Brown 2007, Dickhudt and VOSESA 2011, Patel et al. 2007) but it can also have destructive economic consequences and harmful human and psychological costs (Akintola 2006, Akintola 2008, Boesten, Mdee and Cleaver 2011).

In addition to these reasons for studying volunteering, a cultural approach provides a way to analyze volunteering as action loaded with principled, relational significance. For Gogo Noluvo, whose story begins this chapter, volunteering is a valuable gift to a child that symbolizes active belonging in the community, responsible

moral conduct, and what it means to be a good Xhosa woman. As such, it represents personhood in society, social position, moral interaction, and a practical performance of the normative good. Studying the practices and meanings of volunteering thus provides valuable insight into social interaction, the processes of interpersonal exchange, and the mechanisms that maintain relationships in Southern Africa.

This study of volunteering exchange rests on an in-depth analysis of interview data collected from seventy volunteers and key informants in Pretoria and Lusaka throughout 2014. These sites were selected because the rapid urbanization facing Southern African cities like Pretoria and Lusaka provide a rich context in which to explore volunteering that takes place within and between different social groups. In these evolving metropolises classes, races, genders, ethnicities, languages and religions mix messily in a melting pot of diversity. The product is what Mbembé and Nuttall (2004) call the *underneath* of the urban social landscape. On the surface, cities are modern capitalist formations, featuring the intersection of powerful forces such as the money market, individuality, bureaucracy and rationality.

Simmel (1995) suggests that in these contexts, people struggle to maintain the independence and individuality of their existence because the city constantly spotlights a visual display of consumer labels and products, huge advertising billboards, flashy architecture and sleek technology (Simmel 1995). In city life, a "culture of things" glosses over the culture of meaning, truth and beauty that makes the all-important lifeworld (Habermas 1984). Beneath the visible ordered, modernist landscape of the surface city, its objects and social relations are camouflaged in "other scripts that are not reducible to the built form," or the rational logic of the free market (Mbembé and Nuttall

2004:363). Underneath the structure, cities are also sites of imagination, desire, and creativity where relationships between the individuals are "corrupted, reinvented, or maintained" (Mbembé and Nuttall 2004:353). Volunteering is one such phenomenon that reveals the *underneath* order of relations. Observing volunteering reveals that it can both promote valuable social cohesion and reproduce destructive social inequalities.

The first section of this chapter is devoted to the literature that is used to explain volunteering as gift exchange. Drawing on the work of, Marcel Mauss, Peter Ekeh, Georg Simmel and Erving Goffman, I make the case that volunteering exchange brings together bridging and bonding capital and establishes a mechanism for navigating through the many sites of social tension found in rapidly urbanizing contexts. Next, I outline how South Africans and Zambians conceptualize and practice volunteering as gift exchange. Understanding the unwritten "rules" of volunteering provides rich insights into social, political and economic order. Finally, I discuss the functional meaning of volunteering as a personal gift that distributes resources and establishes relationships within contexts of diversity and uncertainty.

6.1 EXCHANGE THEORY AND ITS RELATION TO VOLUNTEERING

Like any gift exchange cycle, volunteering entails obligations to give, to receive, and to return (Akintola 2006, Akintola 2008, Boesten, Mdee and Cleaver 2011). Social pressures induce people to give or volunteer. Failure to do so may result in disapproval or loss of prestige. This is because credit, time, and honor are all reflected in the exchange process, thus imbuing every gift, or gift-giver, with credit and a relational deficit that must be reciprocated (Mauss 1990:36). Giving the gift induces social obligations. This sense of indebtedness guides the giving cycle because people constantly aspire to achieve

balanced reciprocity (Simmel 1950). At any given point in time in the gift economy, giving is generally viewed as unbalanced. Thus, to more accurately reveal the nature of gift/voluntary exchange an observer must take longitudinal perspective, or at least account for the time involved in the cycle of reciprocity (Mauss 1990, Sahlins 1972).

A vital component in this gifting interaction is the mutual recognition of the gift from the giver to the receiver. This recognition reinforces individuality—an acknowledgement that the individual recognizes and is recognized by others (Belk 1976, Sherry 1983). As a result the exchange becomes about something other than needs or the transfer of material goods. It underscores unwritten rules about social positions, roles, moral behavior, and trust that are upheld through processes of generalized exchange (Wilk and Cliggett 2007:169). Generalized exchange, like volunteering, is not constrained by time for a return on delivery, because the non-monetary value of gifts generates "empathetic dialogue" between parties exchanging, which is important for building social solidarity (Appadurai 1988, Wilk and Cliggett 2007). When people come to empathize, learn and understand others through the exchange process the expectation of return is reduced.

The interactions involved in volunteering exchange are reflective of social hierarchies, group differences and an individual's position within these. Where there are long-term relations of inequality, one group becomes institutionally embedded in the dominant position (Sherif and Schwebel 1965). These differences are evident in race, class and gender structures. In any ensuing exchange relations between the unequal groups, the dominant group is more able to set the terms of the exchange and more likely to reap greater benefits form the exchange. Most social exchanges and systems of

inequality are not parasitic or defined by winner-take-all stakes; instead they function to maintain social cohesion (Durkheim 1893).

Jackman (1994) suggests that “groups engaged in long-term relations of inequality” have a “functional interrelationship” that binds and obliges them to communicate with each other in ways that maintain the status quo. The form of this interaction often involves the superior group/individual mimicking the “traditional father-child relationship by claiming superior moral competence and attempting to define the needs of subordinates” (Jackman 1994:14). This interaction rests on gentle but effective persuasion rather than on force, and any paternalistic action is masked, like a "velvet glove," as benevolent, altruistic, and beneficial for all (Jackman 1994).

Unlike ordinary gift-giving rituals, in volunteering exchange there does not necessarily need to be a direct, existing relationship between giver and receiver. Volunteering can be directed at individuals, groups and organizations, but also at the environment or public in general—such as volunteering to clean a street or to launch an online awareness campaign about cybercrime prevention. Doing the latter allows volunteers to give for the general good or because they hope to benefit from the generosity of others at some future date. Generally the exchange process establishes or reaffirms the existing status and social positions of the participants (Jackman 1994). The value of the gift partially reflects the weight of the social relationship (Osteen 2002). Gifts to individuals perceived as status subordinates generally carry no expectation of equivalent return in material value (Sherry 1983). Thus gift-giving, or volunteering, reinforces structures of inequality and paternalism that are functional for group differentiation and solidifying the power of elites (Jackman 1994, Sherry 1983).

Another aspect of volunteering concerns crafting an image or identity of oneself for a collective audience. By volunteering, an individual makes a public statement about what kind of person he/she is. It is a "presentation of self" (Goffman 1959). A person could aim to convey her/himself as good, altruistic, righteous; or as a valuable citizen; or as an active member of a community (Eckstein 2001). According to Goffman (1959), whether or not an individual is sincere (or at least deemed to be so) determines the expected response from others. It is crucial to the exchange that the volunteer is taken seriously; that the action is deemed sincere. If not, it leads to cynicism (Goffman 1959). Conveying an impression of sincerity is important when establishing relationships that cut across the social cleavages typically dividing society—like race, class or religion. Bridging differences in order to form new social ties is valuable for disrupting structures of inequality, for augmenting bridging capital, and thus for promoting social integration in diverse communities (Bourdieu 1986, Putnam 2000).

Anthropologists and sociologists have long argued that gift exchange is a vital mechanism keeping our fragile social networks intact (Putnam 2000). Interaction rituals, like gift-giving and volunteering, create positive chains of emotional effervescence that function as social glue and build social cohesion (Appadurai 1988, Belk 1993, Belk 1996, Caplow 1982, Caplow 1984, Lynd and Lynd 1957, Otnes and Beltramini 1996, Titmuss 1997). This is because gifts have a life of their own and they are never completely detached from those carrying out the exchange (Appadurai 1988). To make a gift of something "is to make a gift of oneself" (Mauss 1990:33). Moreover, the participants share an experience together, creating a common narrative and collective memory. The

result is the formation of a spiritual or transcendental bond between giver and receiver, generating a constant give and take across society that acts as socially cohesive glue.

6.2 FOUR DIMENSIONS OF VOLUNTEERING GIFT EXCHANGE

The gift exchange cycle of volunteering is distinguished from other types of exchange systems in four ways. First, the gift of volunteering is made in a seemingly generous, altruistic manner and there is no haggling between giver and receiver. Second, the beneficiary must, or at least appear to, accept the gift. Third, the exchange is relational, not economic and may reflect an existing social connection or the establishment of a new one, which differentiates it from impersonal market relationships. Fourth, if there is any remuneration or profit associated with the exchange it occurs in the realm of social relationships and prestige rather than in material advantage (Komter 2005, Sherry 1983). In this section I describe how practices of volunteering among South Africans and Zambians can be conceived of as gift exchange.

Giver appears generous and altruistic

Volunteering is an expected part of social life in much of Southern Africa. Although it may be socially prescribed action, or the consequence of social necessity, the people involved regard it as freely chosen action, done with altruistic intentions. A *good* volunteer is someone who exhibits pure altruism. Failure to display altruistic or good intentions, by showing selfish motives for volunteering or by calling it forced work, is morally rejected. Interview transcripts reveal multiple instances of participants discussing what it means to be a “true” or “good” volunteer versus a “bad” one. Table 6-1 reflects a breakdown of the ways in which participants in this study defined volunteering. It shows

that at least seventeen different people explicitly mentioned volunteering in terms of "true, pure, right" action or something done with honest motivations.

Displaying altruistic intent is a key characteristic of giving behavior. Volunteers must outwardly present altruistic intent by not calling attention to their generosity, or appearing to benefit from the exchange. Table 6-1 shows that for participants in this study, volunteering is *giving* or doing action (twenty-eight participants, mentioned seventy-three times). This includes giving in the form of time, knowledge, and expertise. Participants also referred to volunteering as work or service, but mostly as a contribution or gift. Types of voluntary activity among the interviewees ranged from caring for the orphaned, providing health care services to the sick and their families, picking up trash and building homes, taking minutes at a board meeting, planning the basketball team's match schedule and organizing a training workshop for professional colleagues (see Box 1 for a list of the interviewees' activities). As an example Pillay, a middle class, second-generation Indian living in Lusaka, described volunteering as giving oneself to others:

> "Whenever they ask you to do something you do it … that's volunteering I think. You have to give yourself" (Pillay: Lusaka female, 41-50 years old).

On the other hand, Chikondi who is older, black and a long-time volunteer, defined volunteering as a gift and an active commitment to a cause, based on free will:

> "In Nyanja it [*volunteering*] means *nchito yo zipeleka mwatuntu*, meaning giving yourself fully or dedicatedly because you are not being forced by a law or a standard. You just hear there is an activity in this and you get interested and go volunteer" (Chikondi: Lusaka male, aged >60 years).

For some, volunteering can be a lifestyle choice that requires action-oriented living—usually motivated by religious or cultural beliefs (mentioned by 5 participants). Interview respondents gave similar descriptions of this rationale. For example, Jim a retiree from Pretoria said that:

> "For me volunteering is a lifestyle, not just a job or a particular involvement" (Jim: Pretoria male, aged >70 years).

Sarah referenced her Christian motives to volunteer because, as she put it:

> "We're taught to take other people's burdens and help them along" (Sarah: Pretoria female, aged 21-30 years).

Phrasing it differently, Ester, a Lusaka home-based-care worker, said that volunteering is something done with good intentions and a person must have a "sympathetic heart and empathy" (Ester: Lusaka female, aged 31-40 years).

Volunteering is also commonly associated with the recent emergence of a development sector. A number of respondents in this study made reference to their volunteering as part of their work with a nonprofit service organization. Mrs. Kabala at Zambia's Catholic Relief Services event went as far as to suggest this:

> "Volunteerism in Zambia started in the 1980s when HIV was coming in, and the hospitals couldn't accommodate everybody who was sick."

She explained that service work became popular at this point in time:

> "Most volunteering took the form of home-based care, with volunteers grouping themselves to work together as groups supported by the church" (Mrs. Kabala: Lusaka female, aged 41-50 years).

Development sector volunteering is commonly associated with some kind of financial incentive. The availability of financial stipends for volunteer work raises questions for many people about the volunteer's seemingly true intentions. While at least nineteen respondents in this study (see Table 6-1) believed that stipends paid to volunteers with poorer socioeconomic backgrounds are morally justifiable, and in fact necessary, they were also quick to point out that the value of the stipend should not exceed that of the work/activity done as a volunteer. If this balance is tipped, then volunteering is akin to a job and loses its altruistic symbolism. In most nonprofits, stipends depend on donor funding and are inconsistently available. When the stipends cease, some volunteers quit. This is judged as an indication of impure motivation for volunteering. Refilwe, a young South African participating in a yearlong youth volunteer program that pays a stipend stated the following:

> "Even in the training, during your engagement you can see that this person is truly a volunteer… they are true volunteers. These are the people even when you say 'you are not going to get a stipend,' they will still continue" (Refilwe: Pretoria female, aged 18-20 years).

For others, true altruism is displayed by appearing to volunteer freely and not out of obligation (seven coded "willingly" in Table 6-1). Thus, when talking to Maria, a recent university graduate with strong moral convictions, about her numerous volunteering activities in and out of church, she made it clear that in her church volunteering is a choice, but also an obligation:

> "No one is forced to be a volunteer instead you do it because you are moved by the spirit" (Maria: Pretoria female, aged 21-30 years).

And while many people may be told or strongly urged to volunteer, Maria pointed out that this is wrong because it dilutes the purity of the action:

> "There should be no one who should come to you and say that you should be a volunteer. You just see how things are moving and then you get involved" (Maria: Pretoria female, aged 21-30 years).

Of course people do volunteer for selfish reasons or because they feel obligated to do so, but careful presentation of self is needed in order to avoid social disapproval. Saheb from Pretoria described his volunteering as "work you do out of your feelings of social responsibility," but he was also quick to point out that it is only people who have received from society that have an obligation to give back to society:

> "I give because I have something to give, because I had a good education and have these skills" (Saheb: Pretoria male, aged 31-40 years).

Numerous interviewees articulated volunteering as "giving back to society" because they have already gained something from it. This was also expressed as contributing to a seemingly positive cause that would lead to meaningful change or an affirmative social outcome (thirteen respondents, mentioned twenty-one times).

Receiver appears appreciative

Volunteering is not a one-way exchange. It occurs between different actors and these exchange partners constitute a vital component in the gifting economy. In this giving exchange the giver must appear generous, the receiver or beneficiary must appear appreciative and there is no bargaining involved (Jackman 1994). Recipients may be individuals or groups and the rules for appreciation vary widely. Interviewees suggested that recipients or beneficiaries could show their appreciation for the

volunteering gift either verbally or physically. Interviewees also explained that appreciation was sometimes expressed when beneficiaries showed them respect, or when they gained social prestige. These respondents explicitly mentioned that volunteering was rewarding when they were actively appreciated (thirteen respondents) or recognized in their community (six respondents). Ambrose, a youth club organizer and former volunteer, explained:

> "When you give there is that satisfaction, and people, you know the status goes up as a result of just giving. You know. I am saying at community level, if you give in whatever way, your status goes up" (Ambrose: Lusaka male, aged 31-40 years).

Similarly, Mrs. Zulu, an OVC and health care volunteer, explained:

> "This work makes me happy because people start recognizing you in the community, especially how you deal with children, even when I don't have food or money for food and I pass by the market, the women selling vegetables know me so one would just pack stuff for me to go and use at home" (Mrs. Zulu: Lusaka female, aged 41-50 years).

In the volunteer exchange, if the receiver accepts the volunteer's services or gift it signifies intent to preserve social ties or bonds or allow new ones to form, while refusal represents rejection of social relations and may lead to enmity (Belk 1996). I asked the interviewees to describe the rewards they got from volunteering. Their answers pointed to the ways in which they felt that their "gift" was accepted. They expected to see that their gifts or services "made a difference," were appreciated and were used. Table 6-2 lists all the rewards that participants in this study mentioned. Most felt particularly rewarded

when their effort was perceived to provide help (twenty-two respondents), benefit others (ten respondents), or lead to some kind of successful outcome (nine respondents).

Two examples illustrate the need that beneficiaries feel to express/show appreciation for the gift of volunteering. In the first instance, Ronelle, a white student who organizes a homework-assistance volunteer program, described the difficulty of getting enough reliable student volunteers to help in the Saturday homework schedule at a local girl's orphanage. When asked why this was difficult, she explained that it was not attractive work for the students:

> "It's not nice work for students…. volunteers have to get something back," [*because*] "if it's about giving" [*they also*] "want feedback…. to know if they made a difference" (Ronelle: Pretoria female, 24 years old).

The volunteer work required commitment and hard work, and the girls at the orphanage were not always visibly appreciative of the volunteers' services. Like many adolescents, the girls could be moody and manipulative. They were weary of forming bonds with volunteers because they were used to an array of ad hoc volunteer groups showing up to give once-off treats and entertainment. Ronelle explained that student volunteers were put off by the girls' apparent lack of appreciation for their help. Those volunteers that remained committed felt especially rewarded when they bonded with one of the girls and the girl expressed appreciation—even if in small simple ways.

When appreciation is not shown, and the perception is that the gift is rejected, it can damage an existing or potential relationship, especially in instances of out-group volunteering. The example described by Tashna, a member of a well-to-do Muslim woman's charity in Pretoria, highlights this point. One year, Tashna's group, composed

of Indian women, donated books and educational materials to a crèche[5] in a neighboring poor, black community. The following year her group was invited to help the fix the crèche's lavatories and paint the walls. Upon this return visit she noticed disappointingly how the previous donation of books and toys had been stacked away in a corner, apparently never used. Because the gifts had not been well received, she felt used. Unfortunately, this experience only served to affirm her stereotyped views of poverty, lack of education and dependence, instead of deepening her understanding of why the gift was not used. Tashna described her experience of out-group volunteering as follows:

> "I'd never walked in a township before. It was terrible. When I came home I couldn't eat, I was feeling so horrible. The reason we actually went there was to go and see a crèche…. oh my God it was so so small…. and I'm telling you she must have had like fifteen children in there. And they were on top of one another, and there were flies swarming around them."

Tashna continued on to describe her interaction with the crèche owner.

> "They're so uneducated and they wanna run the crèches and they take the money every month from mothers that don't have. And these poor women they don't have a choice. Where do they leave their children?"

Then she went on further to explain how the gifts were not being used to her taste, and how this reinforced her view of poverty and dependency:

> "I tell you! Honestly! Not that I'm a racist or whatever, I'm trying to help the people, but really, these people I don't know, you give them a finger

[5] A small daycare center for preschool children.

and they just take the whole hand" (Tashna: Pretoria female, aged 31-40 years).

Exchange reflects existing or new social relationships

Volunteering is an exchange and thus a relational interaction. The South Africans and Zambians interviewed defined volunteering using relational vocabulary. They either spoke about existing or new relationships with individuals, groups, society or the environment. Table 6-1 shows that nine respondents specifically used relational phrasing to define volunteering. For instance, Clayton stated,

> "Any definition of volunteering has to be relational, in the sense that it changes both the volunteer and the target community… If you're going there thinking that you're going to change somebody else then that's not volunteering" (Clayton: Pretoria male, aged >50 years).

For many Southern Africans volunteering is a moral statement that reflects personal identity and membership in a community, be it based on national, religious or class identity. Some use volunteering to help define their national or cultural distinctiveness. Jane, a student at UNZA, put it as follows:

> "For one to be a good citizen they need to show a different character from foreigners. A Zambian will not let a fellow citizen to suffer but will do anything to help a brother" (Jane: Lusaka female, aged 21-30 years).

Susan, a health care volunteer, stated that volunteering to help clean a hospital is a benefit to the whole community and is morally good action for a Zambian:

> "Us volunteers go to hospitals to help clean the place. And so you find things will be okay, such that in the communities or our country we will

live well and happy all the time because we work together and are united" (Susan: Lusaka female, aged 51-60 years).

In these statements, Jane and Susan identify as individuals embedded in a national community and they emphasize a moral code of conduct for being Zambian. Volunteering is a performance of their ideal Zambian citizen. Not all participants in this study were involved in volunteering for people-directed activities. Some volunteered time to pick up litter in their neighborhood, clear invader plants from an urban riverine, or help an informal environmental protection lobby group set up its communication systems (e.g. posting on Twitter and Facebook, and sending emails to the community listserve). These interviewees also defined volunteering in relational terms, yet as the relationship between humans and the environment. Referring to volunteering for an environmental cause, Claude, a thirty-something year old black man from a rural background who volunteers in an environmental protection group, explained that man is connected to the environment and thus volunteering is about giving to the wider community in which we live:

"Volunteer? Let me say it's for a social cause, um, for animals, people or the environment. We all need to be protected—it's a moral obligation" (Claude: Pretoria male, aged 21-30 years).

Volunteering within one's own social group can serve to strengthen bonding capital. Bonding capital includes social ties that link together similar people along some key dimension (Putnam 2000). It can produce rewards to volunteering in terms of social capital and strengthening of community solidarity and identity. A case in point comes

from Ester, the headmistress of a peri-urban community school in a Lusaka compound that caters to impoverished children.[6]

Ester recounted a story of how she recruited home-based volunteers to engage with the children's parents and guardians and strengthen community relations. The volunteers canvased the compound looking for school-aged children that were not in school. They then worked hard to identify and build intimate relationships with these children's parents or guardians. Ester and most of the volunteers come from the same socioeconomic background as the parents and children they serve. Formerly in similar situations themselves, they know from experience how to counsel reluctant, discouraged parents into a trusting relationship. Doing so meant establishing strong, truthful bonding ties in which parents could open up honestly about the financial or health problems facing the household and preventing the children from attending school. Only then could the volunteers assist them in getting the targeted care and intervention needed. Only then could they ask that the children be sent to the school. One outcome of the volunteer-parent relationship was educational: Higher attendance rates and better-performing students at the school. The other outcome was social: Strengthening of community connections, and improved bonds of trust between people and service institutions.

Although within-group ties take work to foster, they are easier to form than cross-group connections (Putnam 2000). Volunteering for those outside of one's group requires the establishment of honesty, in order to create bridging relationships (Putnam 2000). In

[6] Community schools in Zambia are a movement to meet the basic learning needs of an identified vulnerable group in a local environment. Often found in peri-urban informal settlements and rural villages, these schools can be run by local community-based organizations, religious organizations, or NGOs. They differ greatly in their physical infrastructure and level of development and are not always recognized by the official Municipal Office for Education.

the diverse settings of Lusaka and Pretoria cross-groups relationships are difficult but not impossible to cultivate. Two examples from Pretoria illustrate this point.

The recent influx of Zimbabwean economic immigrants into South Africa means that many Pretoria residents are trying to forge new cross-cultural relationships. For Rachel volunteering was a way to do this. A few years ago she made friends with a new Zimbabwean couple attending her church. They told her about hosting a once-a-month home church for Zimbabwean refugees but mentioned that the children were a distraction at these gatherings. They asked for her advice on running a Sunday school and keeping the children occupied. After some discussion it was decided that Rachel would volunteer for twelve months to help get the Sunday school up and running. She enjoyed the experience and remains good friends with the couple, but found that she had little connection with the other families. The cultural and language barriers were substantial enough to deter any further intimacy building. Nevertheless, Rachel's experience of volunteering was positive and she felt valuable and generous (Coleman 1988). In this case, volunteering helped strengthen an existing cross-cultural relationship but failed to bridge new ones.

On the other hand, Clayton (a white middle-aged man) managed to build firm relationships outside of his group that have lasted for many years and helped break down prejudices and stereotypes. For lack of a better term, Clayton started an "organization" that protects the mostly foreign African residents (many of whom are illegal) living in an informal "village" or settlement on a vacant piece of land in the city's expanding suburban periphery. His involvement with the village began over twelve years ago when on his daily commute to work he noticed an increasing number of squatters living in a

vacant field. After speaking with local church and community members he realized that the settlers were being shunned in their time of need and as a Christian he felt compelled to reach out and help. At first, he and his wife started volunteering to feed and help people in this informal settlement find jobs. But soon, he established strong relationships with the residents and learned about what they really needed. He learned about their vulnerable housing situation and how the police and surrounding suburban neighbors continually harassed and tried to evict them. Together with the settlement's residents they launched a very public, successful legal campaign to protect their housing rights and ensure future access to basic government amenities, like water and work-papers. The village association is now firmly established and self-sufficient.

Clayton has remained an invited member of the elders' leadership council and is regularly consulted on matters pertaining to the settlers' "village"—especially when it means mediating with the police or legal entities consistently trying to evict residents. When asked why he chose to volunteer here, and to remain connected with the community for many years, he explained that the experience had changed him in many ways. Clayton's volunteering is a presentation of how he, as middle-aged white men, re-framed his social position in post-apartheid South Africa. He spoke reflexively about how he had benefited unequally from the past system of inequality, and about how his own growing awareness of his privilege in society shaped his volunteering choices. Volunteering is his attempt to rectify past wrongs, to help make sense of his own changing worldview, and to build new relations of responsible citizenship by using his social capital to tackle inequality.

The interactive nature of volunteering reveals that power is a notable feature in the relationship between giver and receiver. Power can be deployed and reproduced through the act of volunteering and it is a power force shaping the image of the "other," or of the "poor." If the receiving group accepts these images, they are rewarded with love. If not, they are deviant, and are rejected. The volunteer then turns his/her attention elsewhere. In this way, volunteering reflects social positions and orders of relation. In this way, the rewards to volunteering are primarily social.

Remuneration is social

In the gift economy remuneration is ordinarily social, in terms of relationship and prestige, but also in terms of human, civic and social capital. Volunteering requires an expenditure of effort, time and energy that is returned in some way—usually in the form of intrinsic or extrinsic rewards for the volunteer. Physical or material benefits are tolerated so long as their value is deemed less than the volunteer effort expended. I asked participants in this study to talk about the effort involved in volunteering and the corresponding rewards or benefits. They identified at least thirteen different kinds of rewards, which were either intrinsic or extrinsic. Intrinsic rewards were mentioned slightly less frequently and included feeling linked and needed, having a sense of purpose or belonging, learning virtues and achieving self-growth or personal emotional and psychological development. Table 6-2 provides a list of these intrinsic rewards mentioned. According to Chikondi, volunteering is a sacrifice of the self, rewarded with feelings of collective effervescence:

> "Volunteer work usually requires self-dedication and self-sacrifice but you have a vision to say, I am serving the community or I am serving certain

people who may benefit from that. You get satisfaction if you find that those people are benefiting" (Chikondi: Lusaka male aged >60 years).

When participants discussed the kinds of lessons or things learned from volunteering they described how the experience helped them be a better person, or helped them learn to treat others better. They discussed gaining a newfound respect for others and tolerance of diverse views; learning humility, empathy, patience, perseverance and confidence; and growing to understand one's own self and reasons for volunteering. At least nine people mentioned that volunteering taught them about their own preconceived ideas and prejudices, and about their own self-worth and potential, and how to better respect themselves (a full list of coded "lessons learned" is provided in appendix 2). Their remuneration is thus this increase in social and civic capital.

Extrinsic rewards that were mentioned included enjoyment at being appreciated and recognized, acquiring skills and competencies, satisfaction from seeing pleasure in others, and satisfaction from their own personal effectiveness in making a difference. Table 6-3 lists the extrinsic rewards that interviewees identified. Some people benefited materially from volunteering because voluntary and nongovernmental organizations in Southern Africa often provide physical or financial incentives in the form of small stipends, clothing, stationery, etc. (Graham, Perold and Shumba 2009, Morrow-Howell and Mui 1989, Morrow-Howell, Hong and Tang 2009, Volunteer and Service Enquiry Southern Africa 2006, Wilkinson-Maposa et al. 2005). Like many of the volunteers I spoke to, Gogo Noluvo received a monthly stipend, cellular phone and travel allowance from the program, along with organization-branded clothing, bags and stationery. Each workshop she attended would be paid for and she would receive a small payment for

attending (called a “sitting fee,” or “per diem”). These resources helped Gogo Noluvo fulfill her duties and simultaneously supplement the costs of her daily personal duties.

The extrinsic benefits of volunteering were slightly more commonly mentioned. Duke, a male student volunteer at a campus HIV counseling center stated that he enjoyed getting to “hang out” with the other volunteers in the office. He liked the social interaction and it remained a strong motivator in his continued engagement. While the sense of social connection is an intrinsic reward, Duke’s co-volunteers pointed out that volunteering at the HIV center also taught them valuable job skills like time management and organizational administration, gave them public speaking opportunities, and looked good on their curriculum vitae.

Overall, participants mentioned that the lessons learned, or extrinsic benefits derived from volunteering, included: leadership, time management, organization and communication skills (public speaking, effective dialogue) and greater knowledge about the organization and the topic/issue being volunteered for. Volunteers in leadership positions benefited by learning about ways to improve the group or organization’s service delivery capacity, legal or structural framework, or programs and operations.

6.3 Conclusion

This chapter highlights that for Zambians and South Africans volunteering is essentially a gift of time, and effort, and self. The literature on gift giving suggests that it is a method of dealing with relationships that are important but insecure (Caplow 1982). Gifts are typically offered to “persons or collectivities whose goodwill is needed but cannot be taken for granted” (Caplow 1982:389). If only one of the parties feels the need, then the gift is unilateral. In this situation the beneficiary may not show the “appropriate”

amount of appreciation and the giver will feel slighted—as in Tashna's case. No sincere bond will be formed. If the need is felt by both parties, there will be exchange and the potential for forming a bond is increased, but not a given. The collective obligation for return (i.e. reciprocity) promotes an exchange "contract" that is not purely individual and does not take place only within the money market (Mauss 1990:476). The exchange shapes and maintains collective norms of reciprocity, and norms of relations between different social groups (Mauss 1990).

Within the cultural melting pots of Pretoria and Lusaka, volunteering is anything but haphazard. It shows up three principal points of stress about contemporary urban life in Southern Africa. At first, it reveals that the volunteering relationship for those within a group strengthens social bonds by reaffirming identity and existing social positions. Durkheim showed how sociologists could detect evidence of social bonding by examining patterns of specific behavior, such as suicide, or division of labor (Durkheim 1879). In these cities most volunteering occurs between people with existing loose/weak social connections, such as those found in neighborhoods and small communities, extended kin networks, voluntary associations or religious groups, nonprofits and charity groups, work environments and so forth (i.e. within-group). Individuals within a group will help each other out regardless of other differences but their volunteering may be imbued with a heavy sense of compulsion. Overall, within-group volunteering is positive for group cohesion and creates stability in times of flux.

The second conspicuous point of stress is the extremely unbalanced nature of the volunteering relationship between different groups. Because the mixed city environment requires that diverse groups live together in at least some harmony, between-group

volunteering is quite common. Between-group volunteering potentially helps to bridge social divides and strengthen bonding capital. It is also risky because gift giving reflects social hierarchy and is not always balanced. Wealthier middle class residents are expected (by all parties involved) to give to the less fortunate. If between-group volunteering is to produce harmony it requires the giver to display sincerity and the receiver to show appreciation. This, on both sides, fertilizes the ground on which a further relationship can be established. Volunteers feel particularly rewarded when their actions seemingly make a difference or lead to a positive change of some kind. This occurs because volunteering is perceived to a generous gift, offered altruistically (Jackman 1994). However, this may simply maintain neopaternalistic, clientelistic relations, rather than fostering communicative rationality, or democratic social systems.

Third, the volunteering transaction operates under a framework of morality that infiltrates all aspects of social life, linking it to every component of society. The volunteering gift is thus judicial, economic, religious and morphological all at the same time (Mauss 1990:79). The values and meanings associated with volunteering behavior tie it to a boarder gift economy and system of generalized exchange that functions to concurrently facilitate the distribution of capital (in economic, material, human and social forms) and establish new identities and orders of relation and power (Cliggett 2003). For Zambians and South Africans, this mechanism serves to help buttress against the inequalities noticeable in urbanizing contexts, and to smooth over the strong dividing lines of class, race, ethnicity and language facing African urban residents. Generalized exchanges like volunteering offer a comprehensible moral vocabulary for maintaining social order, and establishing an ethical script for social relations in diverse contexts.

6.4 TABLES AND FIGURES

TABLE 6-1: WAYS IN WHICH PARTICIPANTS DEFINE VOLUNTEERING

Code name	Code description (Volunteering is:)	Person Frequency	Code Frequency
Not membership	Not simply membership in an organization	2	2
Calling/lifestyle	A calling, a lifestyle, lived every day, an act of being	3	5
Active membership	Active membership in an organization or group	8	8
Willingly	Willing action, free choice; not forced, compulsory or obligatory behavior	7	8
Relational	An explicitly stated relational activity, partnership, two-way interaction	6	9
Commitment	A commitment, a long-term activity, not a short-term one	10	13
True/pure/right	Something done with true, pure, right, honest motivations	16	17
Meaningful or positive	Something that results in meaningful change; must produce positive gains; must not be detrimental to others	13	21
Transactional	Transactional, an exchange, give and take	8	21
For others	Something done for others, for a social cause. Not done for individual gain primarily	19	24
Stipend and benefits ok	Ok to receive stipend or compensation, material incentive (i.e. transport costs, food, meals, internet data, bicycle, clothes, cell phone airtime) for. Must not be commensurate to the value of the labor	19	33
For free	Not done with any expectation; no reward, pay, or expected benefit	23	34
Service or care	Specifically service, care work, caring, helping out	21	35
Transformative	Transformative for the volunteer or the receiver/beneficiary, or for all parties involved	17	54
Work	Work (includes references to volunteering as a job)	27	60
Give or do something	Giving back to society; giving something like time, knowledge, expertise and labor. Is making a contribution	28	74

Note: The list is ordered by code frequency or “groundedness”

TABLE 6-2: LIST OF INTRINSIC REWARDS EXPRESSLY IDENTIFIED

Code	Code description (Volunteering:)	Person frequency	Code frequency
Purpose	Gives me a sense of purpose or belonging	1	1
Stress relief	Provides stress relief	3	5
Personal growth	Makes me a better person, leads to my personal development and growth (i.e. soft skills)	12	15
Giving cycle	Makes me feel good about being part of the cycle of giving	10	20
Enjoyment / high	Provides enjoyment, satisfaction, pleasure; gives a high	20	26

Note: The list is ordered by code frequency or "groundedness"

TABLE 6-3: LIST OF EXTRINSIC REWARDS EXPRESSLY IDENTIFIED

Code	Code description (Volunteering:)	Person frequency	Code frequency
Membership benefits	Provides exclusive group membership benefits	2	2
Recognition	Gives recognition, status, validation	6	6
Stipend / incentive	Offers small stipend, pay, gifts, benefits, or other material incentives	8	8
Successful outcome	Feels good when work leads to a successful outcome or visible change	9	9
Opens doors	Opens doors to new opportunities, work, and networks; provides job-relevant skills, certificate and workplace experience for CV	10	10
Appreciation	Makes me feel appreciated, good, validated	13	14
Meet new people	Provides opportunities to meet new people	21	22
Benefit others	Is good because it benefits or helps others	20	23

Note: The list is ordered by code frequency or "groundedness"

Box 1: Examples of volunteer activities listed by the study respondents

- Working in a soup kitchen cooking meals for the homeless
- Assisting school learners with their homework after-school / on the weekends
- Performing a labor union function on one's own time
- Picking up rubbish during a neighborhood cleanup
- Serving on a community agriculture development committee
- Serving on the board of a non-profit organization providing legal assistance to victims of domestic violence
- Participating as an active member in a Rotary Club.
- Serving on the executive committee of a professional association for architects
- Helping a nonprofit organization create or maintain their website for free
- Helping a group maintain its communications by taking responsibility in posting for group's Twitter and Facebook account, and sending emails to the community listserve
- Serving as a Sunday school teacher or an usher at church
- Working as a coach/helper for a sports club
- Helping an elderly neighbor make food
- Providing marginally paid foster-care services on a short-term basis
- Visiting, without pay, tuberculosis sufferers in their home to help them take their medication
- Participating in a youth "gap year" service program to raise awareness about HIV/AIDS

FIGURE 6-1: EXAMPLES OF VOLUNTEER ACTIVITIES LISTED BY THE STUDY RESPONDENTS

7 From Orientation to Participation: Why Individual Volunteering is Connected to Collective Civil Society

Volunteers on Mandela Day, painting the classroom of a township crèche.

Pretoria, South Africa, 2014

It is generally accepted that the development of a democratic society is intimately tied to the growth and enrichment of civil society—or the "third sector." The organizations, movements, and collectives that constitute civil society can be called civic associations, for lack of a better term. De Tocqueville (1838) emphasized the importance of these associations in promoting democratic citizenship but also argued that they could provide too many dissenting views that would undercut productive decision-making. Gramsci thought they could serve to either buttress or challenge state power (Gramsci 1971). Habermas (1984) said they develop a positive bulwark against the systematizing effects of the state and the economy. Most civic associations rely on volunteers, thus any study of volunteering must also embrace the scholarship of civil society. I do so in this chapter.

In the previous chapter I explained that volunteerism in Southern Africa takes varied forms and includes both international and local volunteers, and formalized or informal arrangements. The most prevalent volunteering occurs in the largely undocumented, "localized arrangements between people and communities" that offer mutual aid and self-help activities (Perold and Graham 2014). These arrangements usually revolve around normative community or religious obligations, distribution of care activities, and the sharing of resources. Norms are useful for defining proper, legitimate, or expected action and social relationships. We conform to norms as a matter of moral duty. Adherence to them helps maintain social solidarity and cohesion (Musick and Wilson 2008:81). As guides or socially set prescriptions for behavior, norms can help explain *how* people volunteer—i.e. the form, shape or style that volunteering takes. But values and motives help explain *why* people volunteer (Musick and Wilson 2008:335).

This chapter is devoted to a sociological explanation of the *why*: Why do people volunteer for particular civic associations, causes or issues in civil society? I begin by outlining the three subtypes of civil society found in Southern Africa and show how these are different in Zambia versus South Africa. The three types include: (1) preservationist, (2) service provider, and (3) counter hegemonic civil society. Then I draw on statements made by research participants regarding their motivations, values, expectations and identity related to volunteering in order to construct a theory of volunteer orientation, which combines these four factors. This creates a typology of orientations where individuals can be conceived of as (a) allegiant, (b) opportunistic, and/or (c) challenging toward national circumstance. Finally, I link the types of civil society to volunteer orientation in a matrix that serves to show how, depending on their overall orientation,

participants gravitate toward volunteer activities in civil society that are aimed at either *enhancing, challenging,* or *preserving* social systems. The result is a theory that links preferences and inclinations to volunteering with civil society activities.

7.1 Types of civil society in Southern Africa

The idea of civil society in Africa as an entity of social life distinct from the state and market realms is problematic because there are no neat divides between the political, economic, and civic dimensions of society (Ballard et al. 2005, Ekeh 1992, Everatt et al. 2005, Fatton 1995, Habib 2005, Swilling and Russell 2002). The boundaries are porous and blur into each other such that socio-political life is not composed of discrete, unconnected spheres of institutional or social activities (Bond 2014, Obadare 2014). Citizens and inhabitants act in differing and sometimes even contradictory ways that constitute everyday politics and the state is not the only locus of control (Comaroff and Comaroff 1999). In this region, civil society must be conceptualized as the "realm of collective solidarities generated by processes of class formation, ethnic inventions and religious revelations" (Fatton 1995:73).

Acknowledging that there are numerous contrasting views about the meaning and use of civil society, I take the view that civil society is an arena in which citizens can align with or challenge state and market processes "through transformative and progressive collective action" (Mati 2014:219). It is the arena in which members of a society mobilize consciousness around real or perceived deprivation to tackle issues that directly affect their lives (whether real or perceived) (Habermas 1984:12). This engagement creates politically relevant public opinion, and provides the avenue for discussing matters of mutual concern and learning about facts, events, opinions, interests,

and perspectives of others (Comaroff and Comaroff 1999). In some cases this engagement occurs during moments of volunteering, or when voluntary groups meet. However, it does not imply that civil society is always the embodiment of peaceful, harmonious associational pluralism.

Unlike in Europe, in post-colonial Southern Africa civil society evolves with and in response to the development of a new independent nation state. The two are mutually interdependent and often overlapping (Flemming 2000). But civil society doesn't take on one form. It is multifaceted. Mati (2014) proposes at least three different forms of civil society that reflect the interplay between forces of the markets, politics, states, and citizens in Southern Africa. The first subtype is part of the historic block that pushes for increased penetration of the logic of the free, self-regulating market, traditionalism, and preservation of a capitalist elite, albeit a black rather than a white elite (Mati 2014). I term this "preservationist" civil society. The second subtype includes groups of civil society organizations and actors that involve service provision, and by doing so ideologically support and enhance the negative effects of the political and economic neoliberal market forces. This is the "service providing" civil society. The third subtype includes those civil society groups, arrangements and movements that serve to counter the hegemonic forces and gain rights for alienated and marginalized groups (Mati 2014). This is "counter hegemonic" civil society. I discuss the three types in detail below.

Civil society as preservationist

The first form of civil society seeks to *preserve and maintain* the inherited market and social order for the benefit of the political and economic power elite. This form of civil society maintains segregationist politics on the one hand, and pushes for the

increased logic of the free self-regulating market on the other (Mati 2014). It also seeks to preserve traditionalist ideals and tribal systems of hierarchies of power. Civil society groups in this subsection may include organizations that actively have this agenda in mind (e.g. special interest and business groups) or simply groups that don't challenge the system yet preserve it by acquiescence (e.g. cultural and professional associations, sports and leisure groups). I found that in South Africa and Zambia generally, although not exclusively, the following types of civil society clubs, groups, associations or organizations operate in this preservationist way (arranged alphabetically):

- Charity fundraising initiatives (e.g. dinners, fetes, bazaars, auctions)
- Counseling services
- Cultural clubs
- Education and training groups/programs
- Homework assistance initiatives
- Professional associations
- Religious groups
- School or student groups (e.g. Christian association, counseling center, governing body, representative council)
- Social groups (e.g. sport, fitness, choir, dance, gardening)
- Visitor care groups (who comfort patients, the elderly, and prisoners)
- Youth mentoring initiatives

These organizations serve an instrumental function in society and exist for the mutual benefit of the associated members. They usually aim to secure advantage for their clientele and pursue scarce individual and excludable goods (Manatschal and Freitag 2014). On the surface, these groups are entirely unaffiliated with preserving private capital, the liberalization of market, or the undoing of social inequality. And yet they have hardly any transformative politics. They also operate under the limited pretense of

freedom of self-expression (Mati 2014). Such civil society groups may also be coopted by political elites to act as instruments of passive revolution, ensuring acquiescence to the dominant class and acceptance of the hegemonic order (Katz 2006).

Civil society as service provider

The second subtype of civil society aims to ostensibly *enhance* the given neoliberal political and economic systems, but unlike "preservationist" civil society is expressly concerned with broadening social access to resources and services and undoing inequalities—at least superficially so. Over the past three decades the number of individuals and civil society organizations engaged in service-driven activities has grown substantially in Southern Africa (Alyanak and Cruz 1997, CIVICUS 2011, CIVICUS 2015, United Nations Development Programme 2002). Organizations of this nature are often supported financially at the local level by corporate philanthropy, charitable trusts, religious foundations, and individual private donors. However, by and large support comes from foreign aid (Moyo 2009). The injection of monetary capital into the emergent sectors to carry out service provision has been an important factor encouraging the proliferation of nonprofit groups in South Africa and Zambia (Mati 2014).

Development aid has steered many new civil society organizations towards a limited number of seemingly apolitical, utilitarian duties that limit the scope of civil society to fields such as health care, education, agricultural practices, and protection of rights for women and children, while other issues of concern suffer. This also gives rise to an unexpected incongruity: "In performing these tasks, the aided organizations of civil society are often treated as separate from the citizenry that rationalize them" (Fowler 2014:421). At the same time, the proliferation of HIV/AIDS home-based care initiatives,

rotational saving clubs and burial societies enable poor people to survive the depredations of their health and economic and circumstances (Moyo 2009, Wilkinson-Maposa et al. 2005). These initiatives are functional for neoliberal, private capital and government lean-production because they supply much-needed welfare services that help members of society but alleviate the state of its welfare burden (Mbembe 2000).

My research suggests that the following types of civil society entities in South Africa and Zambia are involved in service provision of different forms (listed alphabetically):

- Environmental groups and animal welfare (e.g. animal shelters, green zone cleanups, ecological protection, neighborhood cleanup)
- Health information dissemination (e.g. awareness of HIV/AIDS, cancer, diabetes, mental health screening and treatment)
- Neighborhood security and community policing
- Rural community development and housing groups
- Professional associations
- Religious groups
- Social welfare and home-based care initiatives (involving services and care aimed at the elderly, sick, orphaned, vulnerable, widowed and destitute, physically and mentally disabled)
- Social work services aimed at vulnerable individuals and households
- Trade union groups
- Women's groups (women's issues, empowerment, lobbying, advocacy)

Civil society as counter hegemonic

The final subgroup includes counter hegemonic civil society organizations that emerge to challenge existing social systems, although they do not necessarily offer an alternative. This includes groups that advocate for the expansion of rights of marginalized people, animals or the environment, or promote dissident politics. Their work can involve

activities using the media (newspapers, blogs, and radio) that engage the public or government representatives regarding discordant social issues in the community (Bond 2014, Mati 2014). Many such issues are raised at local community development forums or public community meetings. Civic associations in this sector challenge government and elected leaders, or at least offer alternative views to the conceptualization of the democratic state (Micou McKinstry and Lindsnaes 1993). Counter hegemonic civil society groups were essential to consolidating political liberalization and initiating economic growth after liberation. But increasingly, stalling democratic development has stifled and undermined the authority of this civil society subtype (CIVICUS 2011, Kew and Oshikoya 2014). I find that the following types of civil society entities or initiatives in South Africa and Zambia are predominantly involved in counter hegemonic efforts, though not exclusively so (arranged alphabetically):

- Environmental activism (e.g. anti-rhino poaching)
- Community sanitation and water infrastructure improvement groups
- Women's groups (women's issues, empowerment, lobbying, advocacy)
- Housing provision advocacy groups
- Movements to contact or reach out to state representatives, government stakeholders, or police about a social issue of concern (e.g. signing, distributing and collecting signatures on petitions; calling or visiting a police station en masse)
- Neighborhood security and community policing
- Protests or marches for social or community causes (e.g. demanding service delivery, or the deracializing of university campuses)
- Public advocacy and media groups
- Trade unions

7.2 FACTORS IN VOLUNTEERING CHOICE: MOTIVES, VALUES, AND EXPECTATIONS

Having outlined the different types of civil society in Southern Africa and the opportunities for volunteering in these subsections, the question remains, how do individuals decide where to direct their volunteer efforts? How do they decide which group, organization, cause or activity in the spectrum of civil society is most appealing, most likely to satisfy expectations, and most likely to provide the desired rewards? I will address these questions in this section.

Scholarship seeking to understand the driving force behind *choices* in volunteering focus rather singularly on either the individual's motives (e.g. Akintola 2011, Dolnicar and Randle 2007, Frey and Goette 1999, Ochieng et al. 2012, Uny 2008, Ziemek 2006), expected rewards or perceived benefits (e.g. Frey and Goette 1999, Morrow-Howell, Hong and Tang 2009, Van Willigen 2000, Ziemek 2006), values and beliefs (e.g. Inglehart 2003, Khan 2012, Lam 2006, Reed and Selbee 2003, Ruiter and De Graaf 2006), or socioeconomic status and social identity (e.g. Brown and Ferris 2007, Kumar et al. 2012, Lin 1999, Wilson and Musick 1998). I have already discussed the role of socioeconomic status and identity on volunteering in chapter three and four so I won't repeat that here. In this chapter I give a brief outline or the connection between motives, rewards, values, and volunteering.

There are many relevant motivations related to why people choose where they volunteer. It could be part of a school course requirement, an internalized religious ethic, an obligation to a friend, an investment in a neighborhood, a professional courtesy, or a commitment to an underprivileged group. Usually the motivation to volunteer is related to the perceived reward or value-benefit associated with the effort it takes to volunteer

(Ziemek 2006). Rewards can be extrinsic or intrinsic, personal or collective. They are broadly associated with one of the following three scenarios: First, volunteering for reasons of private satisfaction, whereby a person is motivated directly by the process of volunteering and the associated rewards-to-self. Second, volunteering for the public good, whereby a person is motivated to volunteer in order to increase the total supply of goods or service to others. And three, volunteering for collective investment, whereby a person is motivated to volunteer because of the perceived associated exchange-value-benefit to themselves or their group (Ziemek 2006).

In addition to motives and expected rewards or benefits, many scholars suggest that values and beliefs directly impact a person's choice about where to volunteer. Values represent enduring goals, or the standards by which we compare actions or things as more or less good, correct or honorable (Musick and Wilson 2008:82). Much of the research linking values to volunteering deals with the role of religiosity in fostering ideals of service, care and generosity (Becker and Dhingra 2001, Cnaan, Kasternakis and Wineburg 1993, Khan 2012, Lam 2002, Taniguchi and Thomas 2011, Wilson and Janoski 1995). Another line of research investigates the relationship between individualists versus collectivist values and patterns of volunteering, associational membership, or civic engagement in general (see for example Curkur, De Guzman and Carlo 2004; Hustinx and Lammertyn 2003; Triandis 1995). The view that values are foundational to volunteering runs so strong that some claim a set of universal values undergirding volunteering, which if well tapped will bring about collective well-being (e.g. Leigh et al. 2011; Inglehart 2003).

Inglehart (2003) is one of the strongest proponents for the link between values and volunteering. He contends that values generally cluster into ideologies, which can be grouped along two spectrums: "traditional/religious" versus "secular" on the one hand, and "conservative" versus "liberal" on the other (Inglehart 1977). These values change as individuals and societies adapt to modern, industrial and democratic social systems. As societies change, so do styles of volunteering. For example, capitalist economic development is accompanied by a rise in materialist and individualist values. Inglehart (2003) suggests that in this change, people volunteer less out of a sense of moral duty to the collective good and more from a sense of how it may benefit their own self, or how it might identify them to others. Research on this relationship between shifting values and patterns in volunteering is primarily based in economically advanced countries with long histories of industrialization and individualism. One study testing the value-shift hypothesis in post-apartheid South Africa found little evidence to support Inglehart's thesis (Kotze and Lombard 2002).

Consequently, the evidence shows that motives, rewards, values, socioeconomic status and identity are related to volunteering. What is missing is an approach that combines these elements to better explain individual's holistic decision-making about their volunteering. I offer one such integrated approach in the following section.

7.3 THREE ORIENTATIONS TO VOLUNTEERING

Having discussed the theories of how values, motives, expectations and identity are related to volunteering, I will now show that these factors can be combined to explain a person's general inclination, or holistic orientation, toward volunteering. By examining the overall volunteer decisions that participants in this study made, I noticed patterns of

similarity in the motives, expectations, values and identity that go beyond personal circumstance. For example, Table 7-1 lists patterns of motivations and expectations of reward that participants mentioned, and that help identify three different orientations to volunteering (the table is discussed in more detail throughout this section). I use patterned findings like this to identify three orientations to volunteering: opportunity, allegiant, and challenger oriented. Below I describe each of these orientations and offer case examples from the qualitative study as practical illustrations.

Opportunity oriented

The first category of volunteers includes those who are opportunity-oriented. Examples from four interviewees, Mwila, Naledi, Kakanda and Jane, best illustrate this orientation.

Opportunity-oriented case 1: Mwila is a 35-year-old Zambian I met one day outside the national archive. We talked about ourselves, found some common ground, and swapped travel stories. When he found out what I was researching Mwila started telling me about his own volunteering activities. He is a physical education and history teacher, but after working as a teacher for a few years in a rural boarding school he was eager to expand his horizons. Like many of his generation, he wanted his life to have more "meaning" and excitement. He wanted to travel and explore beyond his borders:

> "Crossing the border, it was all bit exciting for me. I don't think I would have minded whether it was Malawi or Congo" (Mwila: Lusaka male, aged 35 years).

Mwila applied to volunteer with a European athletics organization called Sports Coaches Outreach that worked in the east and south of Africa. They accepted him into

their South African program and a few months later he landed in the Limpopo province. It wasn't a paid gig, but he got free board and lodging, and he relished meeting new people and the exposure to new things. Mwila did well in the organization and was soon promoted to a paid managerial position. He didn't mind telling me about how his past volunteering offered rewards in the form of employment, skill development, expanded social networks, and adventure. Volunteering at that point was an opportunity to satisfy his own desire to explore and adventure, and also his need to feel like he was also doing some good by coaching underprivileged youth.

But Mwila quickly shifted gear to tell me about his most recent volunteer work: managing a women's private basketball club in Lusaka. He constantly pulled the focus of our conversation back to this activity. I asked him why he preferred to talk about his recent volunteering versus that done in the past. He explained that he was privileged. He got to study abroad. Now he wanted to give others some of that same privilege. Many years ago, through his contacts at Sports Coaches Outreach, he secured a scholarship to study Sports Sciences in Norway. Eventually he completed his Ph.D. and now lives back in Zambia, where he voluntarily started a women's basketball team. The team is well known and successful in club tournaments. He is proud of it, even though much of the day-to-day running is now out of his hands. Mwila wanted me to know that his current volunteering is rewarding in a different way from that of the past volunteering; he does it "for fun" but also to "give back." The coaching gives him a feeling of belonging back home. It is something he does in part for himself, and in part for others.

While Mwila volunteers because he can, and the opportunity satisfies his personal motivations, expectations, sense of reward and values, another type of opportunist

volunteering occurs when a person has little alternative choice of occupation and volunteers because it directly presents a chance at getting some income or a future job. For some, active membership in a voluntary group or committed volunteering to a cause is one way to increase their human capital (i.e. labor market value) or job-networking prospects. It can also serve to signal to future employers that the person is "good" and socially conscious or engaged (Wilson and Musick 1997b, Ziemek 2006:553). The following case is one such example.

Opportunity-oriented case 2: In Pretoria, I spoke to five recent high school graduates enrolled in a yearlong youth development volunteer program. These young women were from an economically depressed neighborhood with very high youth unemployment. Finding a good job was difficult. The volunteer program paid a small financial stipend, which offered a minor incentive to joining. But it also provided skill development opportunities in leadership, community activism, public speaking, computer literacy and networking. The organizers were also committed to helping the youngsters find a job placement after the end of the program. Many young people sign up to join the program because they have no other alternative. One of the girls, Naledi, told me how she wanted to go to Technical College but there was no money to pay for tuition, and she had no other employment opportunities:

> "I went through matric" [*grade 12*] she explained, "I really had nothing to pay my studies and I think volunteering is the best thing to do, so that's why I'm here" (Naledi: Pretoria female, aged 20-29 years).

For Naledi, volunteering presented an opportunity to gain workplace skills and to broaden her job-seeking network. It also helped her stay engaged in productive social

activity while she has nothing else to do. For others even less fortunate, volunteering is a survival mechanism. Short-term volunteering presents a practical opportunity to patch together a living income (Collins et al. 2009). Kakanda's story illustrates this approach.

Opportunity-oriented case 3: Kakanda, a mother of three who lives in a poor Lusaka compound (informal settlement). We met at a community school, where as a parent she was expected to volunteer some time doing community outreach. This meant identifying other vulnerable families, like her own, and encouraging the parents to send their children to the school. After some talking together, she began to tell me about her numerous other volunteering activities. They were mostly short-term and took place in her immediate neighborhood. Then she explained how she took advantage of these volunteer opportunities to access clothes and food, and even to supplement her income:

> "One day a certain woman told me that at Ngombe clinic they enroll women to help with the weighing of under-five children, and they give something. Then after that there is voluntary work where you can at least get something through helping. Therefore, we started working and in the community we would be ten women, then when you knock off they give you K30 [*kwacha is the Zambian currency*] to share and get K2.50 each. You buy vegetables. … Then again, you go for workshops and from that little you get like a K50 or K40 you use at home" (Kakanda: Lusaka female, aged 40-50 years).

In contrast to Naledi and Kakanda's experience of volunteering out of necessity, wealthier folk may take advantage of the opportunity to volunteer for different reasons. They volunteer because they have the skills and time to do so. In Jane's case below, I

show that volunteering in retirement can also offer an opportunity to keep occupied, but that the expectations for reward are emotional and social rather than financial.

Opportunity-oriented case 4: Jane is a retired teacher from Pretoria, a white lady who volunteered for some months with a local nonprofit caring for orphaned and vulnerable children. A friend invited her to volunteer. She agreed and assisted as a part time office secretary where she put her filing and organizing skills to good use. It was a validating experience to be part of the team's meaningful work. She came and went freely as needed. But when she was asked to start keeping a timesheet of her activities and to sign a volunteer Agreement Form, she was very offended and quit. In Jane's mind, the fine line between being a much-appreciated volunteer versus an exploited employee was breached. She no longer felt any satisfaction in volunteering with the organization. In her words, she felt it "was wrong" and she felt "violated." So she up and left.

For Mwila, Naledi, Kakanda and Jane volunteering is an opportunity to satisfy self-oriented goals. I spoke to others who are similarly motivated directly by the process of volunteering and the associated rewards-to-self, including money, jobs or other benefits. These individuals commonly share more traditional values and attach importance to parent-child ties, conservative family ideals, deference to authority, hard work, respect, and absolute moral and sexual standards. Inglehart (2003) suggests that people adhering to these values also have higher levels of group, ethnic or national pride.

For these people, volunteering is primarily as an opportunity that benefits the self; a personal investment in one's own life. I call this having an opportunist orientation to volunteering. An opportunist orientation to volunteering occurs when individuals expect

that their volunteering will result in some sense of personal self-integration, social status, satisfaction/gratification, fulfillment of ethic norms, or good feeling (Ziemek 2006).

Individuals who are opportunistically oriented to volunteering are motivated at that moment in time by the perceived exchange-value-benefit to self. As a result they may make decisions about material interests that will affect their short-term and immediate interests, such as getting a job (Janoski 1998). However, their exchange horizons focus on short-term paybacks and are based on weak bonds of trust (Sahlins 1965). When the unspoken expectation of reward is violated or unfulfilled, the person will end that volunteer activity, leave the group, or become an inactive group member.

Such respondents articulated a strong desire to feel personal gratification and appreciation from the volunteer experience, and to see their efforts yield positive results. For example, one person expressed this sentiment by telling me how honored and recognized she felt in being asked to coordinate the church usher team, while another person explained that it made her happy to see her underprivileged "little sister" internalize a recognition of her own self-worth as a result of the volunteer's mentorship. Feeling honored or happy, or feeling a sense of belonging and significance are all valuable emotions that affirm humanity, affirm one's place in a community and thus bolster social solidarity and integration.

Many of the people I spoke to generally had little interest in politics, and those with an opportunistic orientation articulated a strong preference to stay away from any kind of volunteering that seems "political." Janoski (1998) suggests that citizens with this inclination are usually less interested in politics and ideology and will only participate in political activities in civil society that directly affect their own interests and achieve a

desired outcome. This is because they lean towards market, individualist, and traditionalist concerns, in general.

Allegiant orientations

The second category consists of those individuals whose orientations are allegiant to the good of their select community, identity group or nation. Three examples from Kate, Mpumi and Brian illustrate this orientation to volunteering.

Allegiant-oriented case 1: Kate coordinated an environmental voluntary association in Pretoria that maintains a strip of an urban green preserve running alongside her house. She is a white, single mother in her sixties who has a long history of community activism and volunteering. For Kate, volunteering is a social responsibility. Her environmental group regularly organizes volunteer activities that draw participants from the surrounding middle-class neighborhood. Often they get school clubs and Boy Scout troops in to help pick up rubbish flooding the nature park, or to clear the vegetation of alien plants. The group also maintains the fences that border the park, and occasionally host student interns doing research projects in the area. I asked her why she does all this volunteer work? She replied she loves the park, uses it, and feels a "responsibility" to help care for it. I ask her if local municipal officials ever take come to fix the fence, or weed, or cleanup in the park? "Occasionally" she replies, but not enough. I ask her about the group's relationship with the municipality officials.

> "Oh, no! We work *with* them. You see, part of what we do is we're the eyes and ears for them, because they can't look at everything. So we will say, 'This needs doing, can you do it?' Or 'can we do it?' And then we

will do it or they will do it, or they will help us" (Kate: Pretoria female, aged >60 years).

In Kate's instance, volunteering serves the broader public by protecting the commons and the environment. In the example below Mpumi, illustrates how volunteers who are oriented towards the public good generally rationalize their activity as about the "other," not about themselves.

Allegiant-oriented case 3: Mpumi is a young Pretoria woman who self-identified as part of the emerging black middle class. She has a master's degree, a suburban house, and a comfortable government policy-making job. We met a few times to discuss volunteerism, and she offered thoughtful, intellectual responses to my questions. Our conversations revolved around the complexity of South Africa's welfare policies and the difficulties of servicing the ever-growing needs of the poor, given limited state resources. In her opinion, volunteering should benefit the collective, not necessarily the individual. In fact, she suggested that compulsory volunteer initiatives might offer a solution to the country's welfare delivery problems. So I asked her if "compulsory" doesn't undermine the underlying expectation that volunteering is freely chosen action. She carefully explained that service for others (i.e. volunteering) is not only about the feelings of the giver, or the volunteer. It is about the beneficiaries and how they perceive the interaction:

"It's important […] how you feel when you volunteer. Do you feel like you have made a contribution and you've done the right thing? But it's important for that to *not be the only criteria* because you could just be doing things that no one finds useful, but they make you feel good. So it's still okay; you still keep doing what you do; but it's also important for

> your sense of reward to not be completely dependent on the other person because some things take time. […] I believe in what I'm doing, it's going to have a good impact in the long term. Whether I see it or not, it matters how the others see it" (Mpumi: Pretoria female, aged 30-40 years).

Mpumi made the case that despite what the volunteer wants or thinks about his/her action, what matters most is the collective outcome. Many people feel committed to some social cause that is assumed to benefit the collective. They may even feel compelled to volunteer for that cause if they perceive that a lack of involvement would constitute a moral failure. Brian, another respondent, articulated this fear.

Allegiant-oriented case 4: When I met Brian he was a student volunteer at a campus HIV center in Lusaka. The center's objective is to promote awareness and knowledge about the spread, prevention and treatment of HIV and sexually transmitted infections. Student volunteers share a vibrant, lively office space where they regularly meet up between classes and enjoy casual conversation. From a rural household, Brian was new to Lusaka and new to the volunteering group. In conversation about why he chose to volunteer at the HIV center he told me that he liked the student community, but he also desired to be "a part of something bigger," part of positive social change. It pains him to see fellow young people take sexual risks and get infected with HIV. This motivates him to volunteer for this cause.

> "I feel guilty[7] to see an individual who gets hurt because of engaging in these [*sexual*] things. So you are just motivated! You get the courage to just go and say 'let me help.'"

[7] I take this to imply that Brian means he feels *bad* about people getting sick, not guilty.

Brian cared for other young people of his generation. He valued participation, kindness, caring and loyalty. He also got personal satisfaction from being an active member in society, and verbally articulated this:

> "So when you are doing this work you enjoy it because you have a peace of mind that I have done my part" (Brian: Lusaka male, aged 18-20 years).

Overall Kate, Mpumi and Brian volunteered for reasons of perceived public good. Their motives, views, values and actions aligned with the government's welfare service agenda and they bought into the notion that citizens, government and the private sector must partner in serving society. They were oriented towards social improvement and the collective whole and so this particular orientation I term "allegiant." Individuals with an allegiant orientation to volunteering commonly share values that place less emphasis on conservative or radical aspects of religion, tradition and authority, and more on inclusivity. According to Inglehart (2003), people sharing these so-called "secular-rational" values are generally more tolerant of diverse views, although I did not necessarily find this to be the case.

I found that among these individuals there was a strong social consciousness, along with a heightened sense of social responsibility and need for social justice. They valued civic well-being and most frequently expressed the need to serve, help or care for others; and emphasized the importance of ensuring that volunteer actions lead to positive change (or growth) in individuals or society. They also valued education, empowerment of disadvantaged people, basic human rights for all, humaneness and giving back to society. Because of these values, some were motivated to volunteer in order to mitigate any potential sense of guilt that would come in not helping to solve communal problems.

Such individuals are also motivated to donate their time in order to increase the total supply of the public good or services (Ziemek 2006). Activities of this kind of volunteering take the arrangement for instance of offering extra science lessons to disadvantaged children, caring for home-bound patients on tuberculosis treatment, or picking up trash clogging an urban riverine. Interviewees with this orientation framed their motives as a call to civic duty: Assisting in providing services for their community. Such volunteers expect to better the lot of others. They often, rather paternalistically, stated it as their sense of civic duty. A sense of civic obligation or duty is directly related to the benefits of civil rights. Rights and duties go hand in hand (Janoski 1998, Janoski, Musick and Wilson 1998).

I observed that, unlike the opportunistically oriented, these individuals were involved in numerous community affairs and feel it is their duty to be actively engaged in society. Some of participants stated that they faithfully paid taxes and voted; are actively engaged in their local community forum; and have contacted their local public representative to discuss a communal issue, like faulty street lights or the need for better traffic control in their neighborhood. For individuals with an allegiant orientation, the exchange-value of volunteering lies in the positive returns on investment for society as a whole. Sahlins (1965) argued that this type of exchange is called “pooling,” which is a system of reciprocities that requires strong bonds of trust. Trust is an important component of civic life and is well known to underscore associational behavior in the public sphere (Claibourn and Martin 2000, Fukuyama 1995, Paxton 2007).

Challenger orientation

The third category includes individuals that have a challenger-oriented view of volunteering. They do not volunteer for the primary purpose of benefiting themselves or the wider public. Instead, they volunteer expressly to make a public statement that challenges socially hegemonic norms and empowers the marginalized. I provide case examples from Anne, Ntabiseng and Patricia to illustrate this perspective.

Challenger-oriented case 1: Anne is one of Zambia's few female architects. She had to work very hard and overcome numerous barriers to achieve her goal in a male-dominated industry. Her experience made her aware of the plight of others who struggle and are marginalized in society. So now she advocates for the rights of widowed women. —a neglected population. In Zambia there are formal traditional kinship structures aimed at supporting widows in their time of need. Unfortunately, traditional care systems can fail to provide adequate means of security to widows, leaving them extremely vulnerable in their communities. In the 1980s the government brought into effect numerous inheritance laws that were intended to protect widows from the loss of property and capital after their husband's death but few women seek legal recourse in the face of customary law, which dictates that a widow's property belongs to the husband's family.

Anne is an active board member on a women's empowerment collective near Lusaka that helps women navigate the transition from married to widowed and develops alternative livelihood approaches for single women. One of the programs on offer involves female experts teaching older widows in rural communities the basic business side of small-scale commercial farming. In patriarchal Zambia, female-led commercial

farms are not the norm. Anne gave one account of how she sees this initiative empowering the women:

> "You could see the progress the grandmothers were making; they were beginning to work and make money, one learnt how to drive a tractor. I was wowed. I was helping them to fill in bank forms at first but after six months they were able to do this and more. This for me, was wow!" (Anne: Zambian female, aged 60-70 years).

Anne's organization works with the Lusaka-based Non-Governmental Organisation Coordinating Committee (NGOCC) to advocate and lobby legislatures and officials for increased women's rights, and for more government grants aimed women's empowerment. The NGOCC has a long history as an umbrella civil society organization that helps local nonprofits serve the needs of women and children in various communities across Zambia. It is also an effective advocacy group that pushes traditional boundaries concerning the norms and expected roles of women in society. Formal entities like the NGOCC can be effective counter hegemonic agents, but so too can more informal arrangements of people who mobilize in defense of their rights. The following example from Patricia is one such case in point.

Challenger-oriented case 2: Patricia is a young black woman from a marginalized township outside Pretoria who was participating in a religiously affiliated volunteer service-year when I met her. She was also an active member of a youth-led community-policing forum. This consisted of an informal arrangement of young adults who took it upon themselves to patrol the neighborhood on foot or by bicycle. Their express purpose for doing so was to deter drug dealers and petty thieves in lieu of an absence in formal

policing. When one of the youth on patrol spots criminal activity s/he blows a whistle loudly, attracting members of the community who essentially practice mob justice. Sometimes, if the suspect is lucky, the mob will drag him/her off to the police station and demand an arrest. Patricia laughed at my shocked expression at her blatant acceptance of violence in this exercise, and explained that if the youth did not take action to protect the community no one else would:

> "Yeah, I participate to help our community. You see, children like the 'Nyaupe' [*a narcotic*]. The drug boys, they can just like this [makes a punching motion] at our grandmother and getting their old age money. They can just wait for his grandmother to come home and take all the money. The police, they do nothing. So people like that, we can beat them so they won't do it again. So we are doing it to help our community and to help our olders" (Patricia: Pretoria female, aged 20-30 years).

It is hard not to think of such volunteering as activism. It was informal street groups like these who, during the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa, were mobilized into effective resistance. The neighborhood watch, while poorly coordinated and perhaps lacking in judicial virtue, offers a challenging alternative to state-sanctioned policing and social protection. As the community goes unpoliced and unprotected, discordant voices sound out for greater recognition. Unlike Patricia, whose challenging, counter hegemonic activity was forceful and provocative, Ntabiseng also engaged in volunteering to challenge dominant systems but her work was more oriented to dialogue.

Challenger-oriented case 3: I met Ntabiseng because she was participating in a post-matriculate youth development program in Pretoria. She believed that the voices of

young people in the country are being ignored. That is why she chose this gap year volunteer program. Unemployment is rife and crime undermines development in her low-income community. Through her role in the program she got to speak at community meetings, and with leaders, to raise awareness about issues affecting youth like her. When I inquired about why she chose to volunteer instead of seeking a paying job or pursuing higher education, she said the following:

> "I've come to realize that in order to get people's attention you must do something good that will cause them to notice that which you are doing. If you want change, and you're saying that maybe you've been submitting memorandums or petitions, and you still feel like people are not attending to your issue, leave them. Start doing that which you want them to do" (Ntabiseng: Pretoria female, aged 18-20 years).

An articulate youngster, Ntabiseng did not want to volunteer only for her own benefit, or for the good of her community, but to make a point about the possibilities for youth.

For Anne, Patricia and Ntabiseng, volunteering helps the cause of women and youth and the marginalized. They are motivated to volunteer in order to challenge accepted norms about gender, social position, and socioeconomic hierarchy. While these individuals are not necessarily themselves marginalized in all social matters, they feel disaffected with respect to a particular identity or cause—for example, women's rights or environmental protection.

Individuals with a challenger orientation to volunteering are concerned with increasing recognition for a cause, movement, group or issue of choice. I found that they value individual self-expression, having decision-making power, taking initiative, and

speaking out or raising awareness about issues of social concern, or proselytizing an ideology of change. They choose to volunteer because they believe that much can be done altruistically for “our cause,” for “the people,” or for “the country” (Janoski 1998), and they are concerned with the generalized rewards linked to their action and the advancement of their cause overall. They are also particularly skeptical or cynical of superficial development initiatives, and are concerned with the transparency and accountability of volunteering, giving, and service provision among unregulated nonprofits, government institutions, and corporate entities.

7.4 CONNECTING VOLUNTEER ORIENTATION TO INVOLVEMENT IN CIVIL SOCIETY

The examples and explanations provided above describe three different ways in which people can be inclined to volunteer. Such *orientations* are a particular adjustments or alignments of oneself or one's ideas to volunteering circumstances based upon the combination of values, motives, outcome-related expectations, and identity.

Individuals can be differentially inclined toward various kinds of civic activities. A simultaneous orientation is possible. A father might be opportunistically oriented toward volunteering in order to improve his career and so join the board of his professional association; but he may also deeply value the plight of his neighborhood park where he plays with his children and so may volunteer occasionally with a group that works to keep the park clean and safe—which indicates an allegiant orientation.

Orientations are also not permanent and can change over time with a shift in circumstance. A student can opportunistically volunteer at a HIV counseling center on campus in order to meet boys or to bolster the credibility of her curriculum vitae, but once she learns the value of the organization’s work she may stay on as a volunteer as her

orientation changes and becomes more allegiant, or possibly even more challenging. With a change in the combination of values, motives, expectations and identity that first led her to join, so does her orientation to the volunteer work.

Different orientations to volunteering help individuals decide where to direct their volunteer efforts. Consequently, it is possible to link individual orientations (i.e. a person's combination of values, motives and expectations) directly to voluntary involvement in specific types of civil society. An effective way to depict this connection is provided as a matrix and illustrated in Figure 7-1 and Figure 7-2.

Figure 7-1 shows that people with different orientations can choose to volunteer for any one type of organization or activity in civil society but that each orientation generally corresponds with a particular subtype of civil society. I suggest that in general, opportunity-oriented individuals are attracted to "preservationist" groups, causes and activities in civil society because these people and organizations are similarly focused on preserving market, individual, and traditionalist interests. For allegiant-oriented people, organizations and causes that focus on welfare delivery, public-state partnership, and increasing access to public goods are particularly appealing. They tend to volunteer for this type of civil society group. Finally, challengers are drawn to the counter hegemonic initiatives in civil society that seek to advocate for the inclusion of those "left out," and suggest alternative systems to existing norms and institutions.

There are no solid boundaries defining the categories of civil society or volunteer orientations. Accordingly, while there is a general tendency for challengers to seek out counter hegemonic volunteer opportunities, there can always be exceptions. A person may be opportunistically oriented and choose to volunteer for a women's rights advocacy

group, which is categorized as a counter hegemonic group. But if the volunteer activity is associated with some kind of personal reward, the choice of organization may satisfy the opportunist orientation.

During the course of my field research I noticed that, notwithstanding regional similarities, many Zambians and South Africans are oriented toward various volunteer activities in civil society as a result of the differing socio-economic and political climate found in each country. As described in chapter five, Zambia gained its independence in the 1960 whereas South Africa only gained full independence in 1994. There was a small and important anti-colonial push but no large scale, long-term social mobilization of people as was the case in South Africa. In Zambia, customary systems of power dominate rural areas, more so than in South Africa, creating tight community bonds and strong moral expectations for community service. At the same time, after the collapse of the copper price in the 1970s the markets have had little chance for independent development, and successive economic downturns have only encouraged opportunities for externally defined structural adjustment programs and internal privatization efforts (Mamdani 1996). Currently, Zambia's economic development relies heavily on privatized exports, commodity extraction, and foreign aid (Ferguson 1999, Ferguson 2006). The impact of this development aid is evident in the proliferation of service sector nonprofits and voluntary group initiatives.

When one drives through the streets of Lusaka the signs of development aid are clearly visible: Adorning the walls of buildings, the sides of SUVs, and the outsides of public clinics are boards branded with the names of international donor agencies such as UNAID, UNDP, World Vision, PEPFAR, and so forth. Local CBOs and international

NGOs that provide welfare services are in abundance. All of these organizations rely on volunteers. To capitalize on the growth in the service sector, in 2000 Zambia's Ministry of Community Development and Social Services set up a Public Welfare Assistance Scheme (PWAS) for placing volunteers nationwide with various service-based nonprofits (Rasing 2014). By 2002, PWAS had 5,506 Community Welfare Assistance Committees throughout the country, each providing social protection to vulnerable households (Rasing 2014). With 10 volunteer members per committee, there were at least 55,060 part time volunteers offering welfare services through this program (Wilson 2007).

In Zambia, service sector group and religious organizations dominate civil society. This does not mean that counter hegemonic groups do not exist; they simply do so in fewer numbers. While Trade Unions and political movements have played an important role in shaping Zambia's civil society—especially immediately after independence—it is religious groups that deserve the most credit. Religious groups in Zambia act as preservationist, service-providing, and counter-hegemonic agents. They are by no means solely focused on religious undertaking. During the anti-colonial movement, organized religion served as means to delegitimize and mobilize against the status quo (Cheyeka, Hinfelaar and Udelhoven 2014, Mulenga 2003). The Catholic Church took a prominent role in anti-colonial efforts. Its formal, hierarchical structure enabled an effective flow of information to large numbers of people through its congregations.

For example, the Catholic Social Doctrine was instrumental in the 1950s rise of nationalism in Northern Rhodesia in the 1950s, and later sparked social movements such as Catholic Action, the Legion of Mary, and the Young Christian Workers in Zambia (Hinfelaar 2011). But religious separatism has also been a source of conflict with political

elites. Elliott Kamwana's Watch Tower movement, which grew appreciably after the First World War, and prophetess Alice Lenshina's Lumpa Church in the 1960s "offered a millenarian remedy—despite the frequent postponement of judgment day—for the economic and political ills of which Africans were only too conscious" (Rotbert 1965:139). Followers of these movements clashed violently with the colonial and federal administrators, and Kaunda's UNIP members respectively (Kirsch 2014).

In contemporary settings, religious groups remain actively involved in the public sphere, bringing attention to social injustice that results from political processes and structures. But this can be seen as an attempt to preserve traditionalist values and norms despite claims that they morally protect the public from evil or threatening global forces. In particular, Pentecostal and Evangelical denominations have endeavored to publicly define and shape morality regarding the constitution and LGBTQ rights (Cheyeka, Hinfelaar and Udelhoven 2014). However, religious institutions have also managed to mobilize members into political action, calling loudly on congregants to pray and then go vote, or to pressure their politicians into keeping their promises.

A notable instance of such mobilization took place in 2001 when Zambia's then President Chiluba attempted to amend the constitution to permit him to run for a third term (Robinson and Seo 2013). Leaders from three national Catholic, Protestant and Evangelical bodies met with the NGOCC and the Law Association of Zambia to develop a response statement demanding that Chiluba respect the constitution (Gould 2008). Dubbed the *Oasis Forum* by media, these leaders mobilized their members to conduct a "green ribbon campaign" (Gould 2008, Robinson and Seo 2013). Ordinary Lusaka residents literally adorned trees, cars and their bodies with green ribbons to visibly

demonstrate their dissatisfaction at the president's breach of the constitution. In addition, every car that passed by Parliament House or the president's residence honked loudly, sounding out the collective voice of opposition. This was one of Zambia's most successful mass mobilizations by religious and civil society organizations combined.

However, Gould (2008) critiques the Oasis Forum's future prospects, "particularly in the light of its frequent recourse to the legal domain in activism and rhetoric" (Englund 2013:680). Gould argues that Zambian leaders and social movement actors alike are subservient to foreign investors and creditors. He terms this "subsidiary sovereignty" (Gould 2008). According to him, the Oasis Forum's self-proclaimed mandate is simply "legalist liberalism" (Gould 2008:285) and is little different from the technocratic emphasis on development perpetuated by Zambia's subsidiarity government (see Englund 2013:680 and Fergusson 2006). For example, the Oasis Forum has done little to successfully impede the ruling party's attempts to regulate the NGO sector in the country. In 2009, government set in motion the Non-Governmental Organisations Act No. 16 (the "Act") that requires all local nonprofit groups and voluntary associations as well as international NGOs operating in Zambia to be registered in accordance with the Act. The Act has come under severe opposition because it effectively criminalizes unregistered organizations, and unregistered NGOs are subject to a fine and/or imprisonment up to three years. Despite this, organizations have simply resisted the Act by not registering. For this reason it is impossible to find exact statistics on the number of voluntary associations in Zambia.

Altogether, the historical circumstances and the current legislative oppression to freely form legal associations has meant that in Zambia civil society is composed mostly

of less-challenging preservationist, religious, and service groups, which appeal especially to opportunity-oriented and allegiant-oriented individuals (see Figure 7-2). The experience in South Africa is different. During the anti-apartheid struggle, Trade Unions, counter hegemonic political parties, and religious institutions played a central role in civic action, and they continue to constitute the greatest membership base of any voluntary association type in the contemporary political landscape (Kew and Oshikoya 2014). South Africa is a country with one of the world's most liberal constitutions, granting a broad range of rights to citizens of all kinds and allowing for free association. For this reason all three subtypes of civil society flourish.

Although trade unions were influential in forcing political change in South Africa, they have evolved into preservationist entities. In contemporary politics they yield little transformative power (Mati 2014). Instead, union formations like the Congress of the South African Trade Unions (COSATU) are widely responsible for engineering consent to neoliberal forces among the working classes (Mati 2014). Despite a strong labor presence, twenty years into representative democracy South Africa remains one of the most economically unequal societies in the world. Workers are frustrated with COSATU's aristocratic labor leadership and their alliance with political elites (Kew and Oshikoya 2014). The mineworkers that clashed with police in Marikana in 2012 are a testament to workers' expressed frustrations with union leadership's ineptitude in protecting their interests (Bond 2014).[8]

[8] In 2012, workers started a series of wildcat strikes at a Lonmin owned mine in the Marikana area, close to Rustenburg, South Africa. The strikes led to violent incidents between the Lonmin security, the leadership of the National Union of Mineworkers and the South African Police Service on the one side, and striking workers on the other side. On 16 August, police opened fire on the strikers, killing 44 people and injuring over 70 more. It is one of the most lethal uses of force by South African police against civilians in the new democracy.

In spite of the changes to trade union organizations, their ability to mobilize into collective counter hegemonic movements is an indicator of the strength of this type of civil society in the country. Counter hegemonic and pressure groups are so strong that in the early 2000s the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), a civil society group, sued the South African government for not ensuring that preventative treatment for mother-to-child-transmission of HIV was available to pregnant mothers. They won the case on the basis of the country's constitutional guarantee of the right to health care. The result was government being ordered to provide treatment programs in all public clinics. Acting as a counter-hegemonic group against the government, and against global corporate exploitations, the TAC then proceeded to defend the South African government in a case brought against the government by numerous pharmaceutical companies seeking to block the requirement to supply cheap generic drugs. In addition, the country has recently seen a growth in service delivery protests, student movements, and union strikes where people mobilize in frustration against local government or systems of inequality.

South Africa's civil society has had freedom to develop without constraints imposed by foreign aid donors. The country does not rely on much foreign development loans, and the aid it does accept is largely private or directed through government controlled departments or offices. This does not mean, however, that aid does not impact the service sector in ways similar to that in Zambia. South Africans are dealing with largely jobless economic growth, and with deep race and class divisions (Mamdani 1996). Society is polarized, and the rising commodity prices and HIV pandemic burden the middle- and lower-income households. Combined with an ailing service delivery sector, this pushes people to seek community-based systems of support and to establish

local nonprofits and voluntary groups to provide essential services to the poor. These organizations rely primarily on funds from donor agencies to complete their missions.

Religious groups are also involved in service provision and social welfare. They now work alongside nonprofits and welfare groups to deliver vital social services to communities and individuals in need. South Africans also have a long history of kinship care systems. One study found that individual, informal volunteering accounts for more than half (54 percent) of total giving activity in the country, and only about 37 percent of people volunteer services with or through organizations (Everatt and Solanki 2005).

Consequently, unlike Zambia, in South Africa civil society is rather balanced between the three subtypes with preservationist, service provider, and counter hegemonic groups existing alongside each other. Thus opportunities to volunteer are open to people with all kinds of different orientations (see Figure 7-2).

7.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have discussed the need for a theory that incorporates the different subtypes of civil society and their associated appeal to the three categories of volunteer orientation. I offer an integrated approach that combines values, motives and expectations in order to better explain individuals' decisions about their volunteering. By doing this, I was able to identify three different orientations to volunteering: opportunistic, allegiant, and challenging. Naturally, these may change over time and a person may re-direct his/her volunteering towards a new type of activity.

Next, I showed how these orientations are related to individuals' choices about volunteering in three corresponding subtypes of civil society found in Southern Africa, including preservationist, service provider, and counter hegemonic civil society. When in

balance, organizations and formalized arrangements in each of these civil society subtypes are involved in the institutions and processes of democratization and representative decision-making. In this way, volunteering in civil society becomes a part of the democratic nation-building endeavor. The result is a theory that links preferences and inclinations to volunteering in civil society.

7.6 TABLES AND FIGURES

Volunteering orientation	Type of civil society: Preservationist	Service Provider	Counter Hegemonic
Opportunist	Focused on market, individual, and traditionalist interests		
Allegiant		Focused on public goods, welfarism and public-state partnership	
Challenger			Focused on inclusion of those "left out," and alternative systems

FIGURE 7-1: VOLUNTEER ORIENTATIONS AND TYPES OF CIVIL SOCIETY

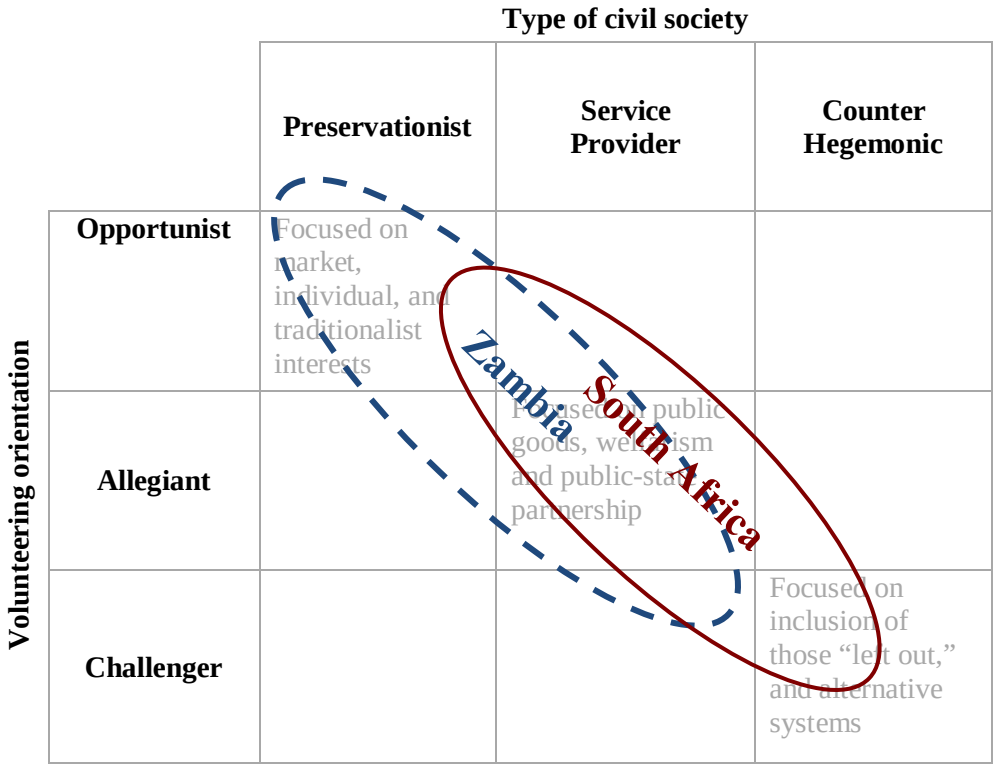


FIGURE 7-2: VOLUNTEER ORIENTATIONS AND TYPES OF CIVIL SOCIETY, OVERLAID WITH SOUTH AFRICAN AND ZAMBIAN CONTEXTS.

TABLE 7-1: TYPES OF VOLUNTEER ORIENTATIONS AND THE ASSOCIATED MOTIVATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS OF REWARDS

Opportunistic	**Allegiant**	**Challenger**
Motivated by rewards to self *Types of rewards to self that are identified with volunteering:* • Sense of self-validation for doing good • Feel good about self when appreciated by others • A sense of personal enjoyment, satisfaction, pleasure or "high" • Provides a form of stress relief (escape from daily mundane commitments) • Meeting new people and expand social networks • Opens doors to new opportunities and work • Provides opportunities for personal growth and development • Provides job-relevant skills and workplace experience that can be put on a CV (e.g. training certificate) • Offers some small stipend, pay, gifts, benefits, or other material incentives	Motivated by rewards to public good *Types of rewards to public that are identified with volunteering:* • Ability to help or benefit others that are less fortunate • Work that benefits or changes things for the collective good (whether perceived or real) • Witnessing "successful" outcomes and visible change as a direct result of the volunteer work • Sense of contributing to a "cycle of giving" (i.e. giving back to a society from which one has received something)	Motivated to advance cause, or gain increased rights for minorities *Types of rewards to specific group/cause that are identified with volunteering:* • Public recognition, and appreciation of contribution to the cause • Public validation of social status in relation to the cause • Sense of purpose, meaning and belonging in society

8 CONCLUSION

> *Pure and genuine religion in the sight of God the Father means caring for orphans and widows in their distress and refusing to let the world corrupt you.*
>
> James 1:27, New Living Translation

> *They ask you, [Oh Muhammad], what they should spend. Say, 'Whatever you spend of good is [to be] for parents and relatives and orphans and the needy and the traveler. And whatever you do of good—indeed, Allah knows of it.*
>
> Surat Al-Baqarah 2:215

Giving your time freely in service of others is only one part of what it is to volunteer, as is participating as an active member in a voluntary group. Volunteering means many things to many different people. The practices of giving, group membership and exchange that feature in this study reveal that the meanings of volunteerism are deeply contested and reflective of moralizing power struggles. In this dissertation I have tried to present, analyze and defend a particular approach to volunteering, seen as a process of contextually defined, socially cohesive meaning-making and identity formation. This approach has tried to lend a critical lens to the discussion by going beyond the moralizing arguments of what is or is not "true" volunteering. I used a critical, structural and cultural perspective of volunteerism in both the evaluative analysis for assessing interaction and social exchange, and in the descriptive and predictive analysis, so as to see volunteerism as a causal factor generating social cohesion through ritualized general exchange.

Throughout the dissertation I have been discussing several different matters: human interaction, volunteering definitions, methods, volunteer orientations, civil society

and development. They each have their own scope, function and characteristics. Yet they are all interlinked. I have pointed out how understanding the basis of human interaction helps explain why people decide to volunteer and continue to engage in and support volunteering in their communities. This is useful for addressing the first research question concerning who in Africa volunteers. Next I show how the ways in which volunteering is defined also shapes how it is researched. This points out the positivist bias in the field and calls attention to the need for a critical perspective on the study of volunteering. Following this I showed how knowing that people have differing orientations to volunteering helps explain their choice of involvement for a particular group, cause or activity in civil society. This is useful for addressing the second core research question concerning the meanings and practice of volunteering in Southern Africa.

I have also referred to the assorted social institutions, organizations and actors that collectively weave together the social tapestry of civil society. It is a characteristic of volunteerism that it has varied aspects that relate to diverse activities and entities. Therefore, analysis of volunteerism calls for critical thinking and an integrated understanding of the respective roles of the various institutions and actors and their interactions. The formation of values and the emergence and evolution of moralizing identity politics are also a part of the processes of volunteering that needs attention, along with the workings of markets and the so-called development sector. This study has attempted to understand this interrelated structure, and to draw lessons for volunteerism and civil society in that broad perspective.

8.1 Advancing the study of volunteerism in Africa: Challenges and emerging opportunities

In contrast to dominant scholarship on volunteerism, which takes either a resource, economic, structural or institutional approach, I have added a structural and cultural view to critically show what it means to be a "volunteer" in the particular historical and political-economic conjunctures of Southern Africa. Drawing together structural and cultural theories, my goal has been to help bridge the artificial divide between volunteering and political engagement by adding a critical perspective and evidence from an understudied region. In doing so I have revealed that the practices of volunteerism in Southern Africa are not necessarily indicators of deepening democratic systems or of more inclusive public spheres. While this may be the case in some circumstances, I have shown that volunteerism can at times reinforce paternalistic attitudes because it is implicitly interwoven into neoliberal development experiments. Thus, I have provided a critical reflection on how meaning and identities, rather than resources and capital, shape patterns of volunteering in given historical contexts.

I began in Part One with an analysis of the 2008 Afrobarometer survey data to quantifiably trace out the determinants of active involvement in voluntary groups in sub-Saharan Africa. This strategy took a wide geographical lens but focused narrowly on only one type of formal volunteering, the types of people that join voluntary groups, and the contexts that make it possible for their active participation. In chapter three the findings of a multilevel statistical model revealed that social capital and civic culture are essential ingredients in active social participation, as measured by voluntary sector involvement.

In the twenty countries surveyed, I found that the people who are most likely to join and become actively involved in voluntary groups are generally those who have more social and cultural capital. Although they are not necessarily wealthier in financial terms, they are educated and employed, religious and male, indicating that formal voluntary groups attract, or are more accessible to, those with greater social standing in terms of status and socioeconomic background. This does not mean that social capital and resources matter more than do attitudes and beliefs.

When considering that people are more than their socio-demographic profile, that they are grounded in particular community contexts, and that they hold differing ideas and views about community life, the results in chapter four reveal that civic culture is fundamentally linked to voluntary group involvement. Being an active member in these groups is tied to favorable democratic attitudes, community activism, interpersonal trust, and voting practice. And, although joining these voluntary groups is an individual choice, it is not simply a spontaneous outburst of altruism, but rather the consequence of larger development sector forces. The quantitative results showed that individual choices to join secular voluntary groups are affected by systems of development aid but not by national political and economic advances. The qualitative findings elaborate this finding to show how development aid stimulates the overall nonprofit sector—by injecting human and financial capital into civil society organizations—and generates a market or opportunities for volunteerism. This realization adds new insights into the role of foreign aid in fostering civil society in developing countries. The consequence of aid-directed development on civil society has already garnered some research attention, but little of this work focuses on volunteerism per se. Further research that aims to generate a full

explanation of the relationship between aid and volunteering will need to bridge macro- and micro-structural divide to understand whether and how individuals take advantage of aid-related resources and opportunities and leads them to volunteer. Hopefully the analysis here will provide a useful starting point for such a broader inquiry.

Another central component of this dissertation has been the discussion of who emphasizes what particular aspects of volunteering; and more specifically, the consequences of these differing emphases on how volunteerism is studied in Africa. Alternative views and practices of volunteerism struggle to garner attention in prominent scholarship. Thus, in Part Two, I have drawn attention to this issue by accentuating the relational, interactive, and exchange nature of volunteering. I have also argued that the best way to dynamically analyze the interactive nature of volunteering in a context of the broader evolving political and economic systems is through a qualitative approach.

While cross-national surveys provide datasets from which political, economic and social dimensions and explanations can be elucidated, they do little to advance a meaningful analysis of the impact of such relationships and processes on civic life within nation states. Quantitative data are nonetheless functional in the search for patterns of similarity and difference that help explain observed configurations, and for the analysis of relationships and process (Fowler 2010:53). In Part Two, I have shown how qualitative studies that are not limited to reliance upon restrictive definitions of volunteering can explore a fuller range of meanings and conceptions of volunteering that may not be captured by survey questions.

By geographically zooming in on volunteerism in Southern Africa, and by adopting a qualitative approach to the subject, I was able to explore the more nuanced

cultural repertoires, values, and meanings associated with volunteering. In chapter six I turned the spotlight on to reveal the ritualized nature of volunteering and its subtle rules of practice that form and shape collective existence. These norms are functional for representing personhood in society, for establishing social power and orders of relations, and for facilitating the distribution of resources. The norms of volunteering are essential to help build social cohesion but they also entrench inequalities and neo-paternalism. This offers valuable insight into the processes of interpersonal exchange and the mechanisms that maintain social cohesion in contemporary Southern Africa.

Furthermore, in chapter seven I illustrated how these patterns help explain the link between volunteering and civil society. I provided examples of people volunteering for particular civic associations, causes or issues in civil society based on their volunteer orientation at a given point in time. An "orientation" is the combination of values, motivations, expectations, and identity in a given context that drives individual volunteering behavior. Viewing orientation as the primary engine strengthens existing arguments, which limitedly suggest that such choices are based on either on resources or on motivations or on expectation alone.

As I pointed out in chapter seven, individuals can be oriented to social circumstance in one of three ways, or in a combination of these: allegiant, opportunistic, and challenging. Individuals' orientations are a product of their collective values, motives, expectations and social position at that specific moment in time. Depending on their overall orientation, people gravitate toward volunteer activities and civil society organizations that "match" their inclinations to preserve, enhance or confront social systems. These volunteering activities and civil society organizations correspond with

three subtypes of civil society found in most Southern African countries, i.e. preservationist, service provider, and counter hegemonic.

The qualitative study in South Africa and Zambia shines a critical spotlight on the gulf between universal versus local conceptions of how volunteering "impacts" society. Universal neo-Toquevillian perspectives restrict current definitions and measurements of volunteering employed by social scientists to action that is deemed socially responsible and which leads to positive socioeconomic and democratic development. By being tied to notions of development, volunteering comes to be legitimized—rather uncritically—as socially constructive, pro-democratic and economically sound practice. For Zambians and South Africans, volunteering encompasses much more than what is reflected in these cold, technocratic constructs used to generically define volunteering and legitimize its connection to development. Such conceptualizations cast volunteering firmly within the political economy of everyday gift giving, meaning making, and identity crafting.

Although this type of volunteering is not voting, campaigning, protesting or politicking, it is political because it is a public performance about identity and belonging. Volunteering in Southern Africa is a powerful symbolic and moralizing statement about personhood in society, about social difference, and about power. Volunteerism is also effective for moving tangible things—physical objects, material resources—around, *and* for creating intangible things—social connections, relations, meaning and power (Cliggett 2003). In this way, for Southern Africans volunteering *is* very much about social development. Thus, understanding volunteerism in terms of interaction and exchange opens up ways to view its different forms as building social relations, as establishing moral ideas, and as entrenching social cohesion.

I also want to comment briefly on one aspect of the methodology of this dissertation. What have we learned from studying volunteering with a critical cultural perspective that would not have been known otherwise? Why and how should sociologists take this approach? I show that when we take this approach in studying volunteering from within Africa, we are able to perceive two aspects of reality that otherwise remain unexplored. In many excellent cross-national quantitative studies of volunteering, the questions and theory are based on North American or Western European contexts and are simply applied, uncritically, to countries sampled from Africa, Latin America, South Asia or other developing contexts. From these studies we get important comparisons about a kind of volunteering that is presumably differentially shaped by national circumstance. And yet, volunteering is usually measured with the assumption that it can be/is universally defined and understood.

Survey questions collecting the data ask respondents to answer a singular constricted question (e.g. "membership of volunteer organization," or "number of times volunteered," or "time given voluntarily for others in the past month"). How people interpret the question is up to them. What is their interpretation? Do different members of a surveyed society have the same interpretation or understanding? How, using these techniques, do we capture different understandings of volunteering so as not to lose the variation inherent in the practice? In some studies that have included African countries the results have confounded researchers, and biased their statistical findings and so these countries or cases have simply been excluded (Ruiter and De Graaf 2006, Ruiter and De Graaf 2010). This is not appropriate as it ignores important contextual diversity and it reflects an inherent Western bias in framing the definition, and study of volunteering.

Future quantitative scholarship of volunteering on, and from within, Africa will do well to structure survey questions in ways that better get at the diverse practices and meanings of volunteering. This means asking more than just about membership in voluntary groups, but also about the types of groups (e.g. size, focus areas, organizational structure, funding sources), and the nature of the volunteer's involvement. It means allowing respondents the space to describe different styles of volunteering such as once-off informal giving of time. I have yet to see survey questions ask if respondents have exchanged voluntary services with others or if they have been the recipient/beneficiary of voluntary services. Knowing if they are beneficiaries can help future research parse out the factors that could predict volunteering. Survey questions tend to frame volunteering as unidirectional. But as I have shown in this study, many people engage in practices of volunteering because it is an exchange process that fosters compulsion and obligation. Following the "rules" of generalized exchange and gift giving, if a person has been the recipient of a volunteer service from within their group, it stands to reason they would feel a stronger obligation to volunteer in the future, in order to reciprocate.

The next round of Afrobarometer surveys includes more countries and repeating this analyses with the future data will hopefully help marginal results achieve significance. This data will also increase the potential to begin conducting time-series analysis and possibly present opportunities for doing regional comparisons between countries in the west, east and south of Africa. The Afrobarometer surveys would also do well to collect information about how individuals make use of and access development aid, and about their involvement in nonprofit groups and informal versus formal groups.

Finally, studies of volunteering in Africa would do well to incorporate analysis of power and institutional structure. This means investigating the direct and indirect impact of foreign development aid not only on African voluntary institutions, but also on practices and meanings of volunteering. Throughout the text I gave examples of how development aid makes volunteering in Southern Africa synonymous with service sector nonprofits, NGOs and externally funded projects. I suggest that while stipends may attract the most vulnerable into volunteering activities, the consequence is not a broadening of civic participation and rights, but the creation of a cheap, labor force.

The significance of this study lies in its ability to begin filling two current gaps in the knowledge of volunteerism. First, it provides empirical evidence and analysis from twenty African countries regarding the determinants of active voluntary group membership. These findings can be used to increase the generalizability of existing sociological theories on civil society to countries beyond the Western world. Second, it adds credible qualitative analysis regarding specific arrangements, driving mechanisms, and social consequences of volunteerism in a comparative African perspective. It suggests ways to critically unpack the power dynamics involved in both *how volunteering is studied*, and in the *study of volunteering*. Perhaps this work will offer a way forward for future theory building of volunteering from within Africa, rather than relying on applying existing theory to Africa. Overall, my hope is that this dissertation provides, in part, the start of a productive framework for critically imagining the composition of the public sphere and the variability of civic participation in contemporary Southern Africa.

APPENDIX 1: DESCRIPTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS

This appendix offers further description of the participants surveyed by the Afrobarometer in 2008. It presents correlations of the variables used in the regression analysis, as well as bivariate statistics comparing active voluntary group members with inactive/non-volunteers. Given that about a quarter of all survey participants are active voluntary group members, understanding significant differences on key variables between the passive and active members provides a useful starting point from which later analyses are based. In addition, this appendix offers a similar description of survey respondents specifically from South Africa and Zambia—the countries profiled in the ethnographic study.

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN VARIABLES

Table A-1 and Table A-2 present the correlations between the dependent variable, active membership in secular voluntary groups, and the various independent variables (all results significant at $p<0.05$). What is immediately apparent is that active voluntary group membership is not strongly correlated with any particular socio-demographic attributes of the sampled population—indicating that members are quite diverse in this way. While differences do exist, they are very small. Membership in secular groups is positively correlated with being black ($r=0.178$), living in a rural area ($r=0.134$), having completed primary school ($r=0.016$) or some form of tertiary education ($r=0.120$), and being in part time ($r=0.036$) and full time employment ($r=0.087$). It is also positively associated with an increase in age ($r=0.084$), level of poverty ($r=0.022$) and importance of religion in a person's life ($r=0.065$). Conversely, there is a negative correlation of active membership

in secular groups and being female (r=-0.107), being unemployed, and having no education (r=-0.053) or only a secondary level of education (r=-0.040).

Dimensions of civic culture seem to have stronger association with active membership than do socio-demographics and religiosity. A favorable democratic attitude (r=0.045), greater involvement in community activism (r=0.339), higher levels of generalized trust (r=0.063), and having voted in the past (r=0.219) are all positively correlated with active membership.

For comparative purposes, Table A-3 and Table A-4 present the correlations between the active membership in religious voluntary groups, and the various independent variables (all results significant at $p<0.05$). Once again, members are very diverse in terms of socio-demographic attributes and their civic culture. Membership in religious groups has a small positive correlation with being female (r=0.045), being black (r=0.079), living in a rural area (r=0.012), having completed some form of education, and being in full time employment (r=0.079). It is also positively associated with an increase in age (r=0.050) and in the importance of religion in a person's life (r=0.176). Conversely, there is a negative association between active membership in religious groups and having no education (r=-0.226), being unemployed (r=-0.040) or only employed part time (r=-0.002) and greater personal poverty (r=-0.013).

Dimensions of civic culture have a slightly stronger association with active membership in religious groups than do socio-demographics. A favorable democratic attitude (r=0.044), greater involvement in community activism (r=0.127), higher levels of generalized trust (r=0.031), and having voted in the past (r=0.100) are all positively correlated with active religious group membership.

COMPARISON BETWEEN MEMBERS AND NONMEMBERS OF VOLUNTEER ORGANIZATIONS

Table A-5 contains the bivariate statistical comparisons between the surveyed active members and passive/nonmembers of secular volunteer groups. As indicated by significant chi-square and t-test analyses, the majority of the differences between active members and nonmembers are statistically significant. These results show that in this sample of people, associational volunteer members in secular groups are, on average, almost three years older than non-volunteers. A greater percentage of males (56 percent), blacks (98 percent), rural-dwellers (28 percent) and employed people (61 percent) are active in voluntary groups compared to females (44 percent), those of other races (2 percent), urbanites (30 percent) and the unemployed (39 percent). Among those with no education, about 18 percent are active members, which is dissimilar to the educated people sampled. Roughly 34 percent of those with a primary education, 35 percent who have a secondary education, and 13 percent with a tertiary education are active associational volunteers. The active group members are also slightly poorer (1.32) than the passive or nonmembers (1.27).

In terms of religion, roughly 24 to 26 percent of sampled people who identify with a religion are also members of secular voluntary groups. Roughly the same percent of people who identify with no religion also belong to these voluntary groups. In total, 71 percent of active members in secular organizations are also involved in religious groups, compared to about 37 percent of nonmembers. This means that three quarters of active voluntary groups members in Africa also join religious groups.

Active group members in this sample have a stronger civic culture than nonmembers. Among active members, 80 percent have voted before, in contrast to

roughly 60 percent of inactive/nonmembers. Active members compared to inactive/nonmembers have more favorable attitudes towards democracy (scoring 3.16 versus 3.11 on the democratic attitude scale), participate more in some kind of collective action (scoring 2.18 versus 1.44 compared to nonmembers on the activism scale), and are more trusting of other people overall (1.89 versus 1.78) than nonmembers.

Despite the sample of females outnumbering men in these twenty African countries, more observed men are members of volunteer groups—except in Botswana, Lesotho, Tanzania, South Africa, and Namibia. Four of these are Southern countries. In most of the countries more observed black Africans are members of volunteer groups than are those of other races, but this is not the case in Uganda and Zimbabwe.

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF SOUTH AFRICAN AND ZAMBIAN SURVEY RESPONDENTS

Survey Respondents

Table A-6 shows the bivariate descriptive statistics for the socio-demographics of South African and Zambian 2008 survey respondents. The South African respondents are on average thirty-eight years old and approximately half are female. South Africa is one of the most racially diverse countries in Africa, and this was captured by the Afrobarometer survey with 75 percent identifying as black African. Roughly 64 percent of South Africans sampled live in an urban setting, 6 percent have no formal schooling at all, and only 15 percent have any tertiary education. About 29 percent of South Africans surveyed are unemployed and looking for work, which compares well to what has been reported by the national Statistics Association (Statistics South Africa 2009).

Demographically, Zambian respondents are not too dissimilar to South Africans, averaging thirty-five years old and half being female (see Table A-6). After cases were

dropped (see chapter two on methods) the data contained only black respondents. Many are unemployed and looking for work (35 percent) and living in rural settings (63 percent). On average, Zambians are somewhat educated, but more than half of the population have only completed primary school (41 percent) or have no formal schooling (7 percent).

Table A-6 also shows that in terms of civic culture, South Africans and Zambians score similarly around 3 out of 5 in attitude towards democracy. South Africans are slightly more inclined to vote (64 percent) than Zambians (59 percent), but Zambian respondents are more inclined to participate in some kind of community activism (scoring 1.51 compared to 1.25 for South Africans, out of 4). South Africans (score of 1.65) are also marginally less trusting of others than are Zambians (score of 1.97 on scale of 0-3).

Comparing active members with nonmembers in secular voluntary groups in terms of socio-demographics, Table A-7 and Table A-8 reveal that South Africans and Zambians differ in some respects from the overall sample. Contrary to the larger twenty-country population, voluntary group members in South Africa do not differ statistically from nonmembers in terms of gender, race, geographic location, early education or poverty (see Table A-7). In South Africa those who are active members are about forty years old, compared to inactive members who average thirty-eight years. Among active members, about 54 percent have a high school diploma, and 24 percent have some tertiary education. For active members, roughly 21 percent are unemployed job seekers, which is lower than the proportion among the inactive/nonmembers. Nonmembers are slightly less likely to regard religion as important—active members score 0.93 compared to 0.86 for inactive/nonmembers on the religious importance scale.

In Zambia (see Table A-8), race, education, employment status, poverty, and religious importance play no role in differentiating between voluntary group members and nonmembers. On average, Zambian active group members are about six years older than inactive/nonmembers. Among active members, about half are female, and 24 percent live in urban settings.

When it comes to civic culture, Zambian and South African voluntary group members generally share characteristics with their wider African counterparts. In both countries, these characteristics significantly separate members from nonmembers, but only marginally. Democratic attitude does not distinguish active members from inactive/nonmembers in Zambia or in South Africa. Among active voluntary group members 75 percent of South Africans voted versus 72 percent of Zambians. In South Africa, these active respondents are more inclined to participate in some kind of community activism (scoring 2.02 compared to 1.11 among nonmembers). They are also more trusting than nonmembers, scoring 1.75 versus 1.64 on scale of 0 to 3. Zambian active voluntary group members are more likely to participate in community activism (scoring 2.02 compared to 1.34 among nonmembers). They are also more trusting than nonmembers, scoring 2.09 versus 1.92 on a scale of generalized trust.

TABLES AND FIGURES

TABLE A-1: PAIRWISE CORRELATIONS OF ACTIVE MEMBERSHIP IN SECULAR VOLUNTARY GROUP WITH CONTINUOUS VARIABLES

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Active member	1						
2	Age	0.086*	1					
3	Lived poverty	0.022*	0.078*	1				
4	Religious importance	0.065*	0.040*	0.043*	1			
5	Democratic attitude	0.045*	0.003	0.025*	0.033*	1		
6	Trust	0.063*	0.115*	0.028*	0.053*	0.037*	1	
7	Community activism	0.339*	0.127*	0.110*	0.068*	0.042*	0.116*	1

(n=26,105 and *p<0.05) Weighted statistics provided.

TABLE A-2: PAIRWISE CORRELATIONS OF ACTIVE MEMBERSHIP IN RELIGIOUS VOLUNTARY GROUP WITH CONTINUOUS VARIABLES

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Active member	1						
2	Age	0.050*	1					
3	Lived poverty	-0.013*	0.079*	1				
4	Religious importance	0.176*	0.040*	0.044*	1			
5	Democratic attitude	0.044*	0.003	0.025*	0.033*	1		
6	Trust	0.031*	0.115*	0.028*	0.053*	0.037*	1	
7	Community activism	0.127*	0.127*	0.110*	0.042*	0116*	0.116*	1

(n=26,105 and *p<0.05) Weighted statistics provided.

TABLE A-3: TETRACHORIC CORRELATIONS OF ACTIVE MEMBERSHIP IN SECULAR VOLUNTARY GROUP WITH BINARY VARIABLES.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1 Active member	1												
2 Female	-0.107*	1											
3 Black	0.178*	-0.001	1										
4 Rural	0.134*	-0.005	0.396*	1									
5 No education	-0.053*	0.125*	0.244*	0.316*	1								
6 Primary education	0.016	0.067*	0.175*	0.281*	-1.000*	1							
7 Secondary education	-0.040*	-0.084*	-0.191*	-0.280*	-1.000*	-1.000*	1						
8 Tertiary education	0.120*	-0.147*	-0.177*	-0.387*	-1.000*	-1.000*	-1.000*	1					
9 Unemployed (not looking)	-0.065*	0.147*	0.039*	0.163*	0.366*	0.063*	-0.228*	-0.284*	1				
10 Unemployed (looking)	-0.027*	0.081*	0.128*	0.031*	-0.082*	0.080*	0.084*	-0.224*	-1.000*	1			
11 Employed part time	0.036*	-0.122*	0.053*	-0.032*	-0.153*	-0.017	0.093*	0.051*	-1.000*	-1.000*	1		
12 Employed full time	0.087*	-0.198*	-0.228*	-0.221*	-0.331*	-0.187*	0.095*	0.459*	-1.000*	-1.000*	-1.000*	1	
13 Voted (yes)	0.219*	-0.110*	0.068*	0.124*	0.192*	0.099*	-0.210*	-0.024	-0.014	-0.115*	0.085*	0.108*	1

(*n*=26,105 and *p<0.05) Weighted statistics provided.

TABLE A-4: TETRACHORIC CORRELATIONS OF ACTIVE MEMBERSHIP IN RELIGIOUS VOLUNTARY GROUP WITH BINARY VARIABLES

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1 Active member	1												
2 Female	0.045*	1											
3 Black	0.079*	-0.001	1										
4 Rural	0.012	-0.005	0.396*	1									
5 No education	-0.226*	0.125*	0.244*	0.316*	1								
6 Primary education	0.042*	0.067*	0.175*	0.281*	-1.000*	1							
7 Secondary education	0.056*	-0.084*	-0.191*	-0.280*	-1.000*	-1.000*	1						
8 Tertiary education	0.135*	-0.147*	-0.177*	-0.387*	-1.000*	-1.000*	-1.000*	1					
9 Unemployed (not looking)	-0.040*	0.147*	0.039*	0.163*	0.366*	0.063*	-0.228*	-0.284*	1				
10 Unemployed (looking)	-0.017	0.081*	0.128*	0.031*	-0.082*	0.080*	0.084*	-0.224*	-1.000*	1			
11 Employed part time	-0.002	-0.122*	0.053*	-0.032*	-0.153*	-0.017	0.093*	0.051*	-1.000*	-1.000*	1		
12 Employed full time	0.079*	-0.198*	-0.228*	-0.221*	-0.331*	-0.187*	0.095*	0.459*	-1.000*	-1.000*	-1.000*	1	
13 Voted (yes)	0.100*	-0.110*	0.068*	0.124*	0.192*	0.099*	-0.210*	-0.024	-0.014	-0.115*	0.085*	0.108*	1

(*n*=26,105 and *p<0.05) Weighted statistics provided.

TABLE A-5: BIVARIATE STATISTICS COMPARING ACTIVE VOLUNTARY GROUP MEMBERS WITH INACTIVE/NONMEMBERS

	Non/inactive member		**Active member**		**Test Statistic**
(Total sample *n* = 26,105)	(*n* = 19,694)		(*n* = 6,4011)		
	Mean/ %	SD	Mean/ %	SD	*F-statistic*
Social demographics					
Age	35.61	14.55	38.50	14.06	147.55***
Sex					
Female	51.95%		44.38%		102.61***
Male	48.04%		55.61%		102.61***
Race					
Black	95.83%		97.89%		54.94***
Other race (non-black)	4.17%		2.10%		54.94***
Geographic location					
Urban	39.21%		30.35%		96.52***
Rural	60.79%		69.64%		96.52***
Education level					
No formal education	19.88%		17.51%		12.93***
Primary school completed	32.58%		33.78%		2.29
Secondary school completed	37.81%		35.39%		9.66**
Tertiary level completed	9.72%		13.32%		42.68***
Employment status					
Employed full time	17.32%		21.53%		39.39***
Employed part time	15.09%		16.89%		9.03**
Unemployed (not looking)	32.69%		28.42%		32.35***
Unemployed	34.89%		33.15%		4.85*
Poverty level	1.27	0.93	1.32	0.93	8.79*
Religiosity					
Religious importance	2.72	0.69	2.82	0.56	101.72***
Religious group					
Not a member	62.94%		29.00%		1892.29***
Member	37.06%		70.99%		1892.29***
Civic Capital					
Voted	67.09%		79.80%		332.49***
Did not vote	32.90%		20.19%		332.49***
Democratic attitude	3.11	0.48	3.16	0.45	44.03***
Collective activism	1.44	0.89	2.18	0.81	2524.64***
Generalized trust	1.78	0.78	1.89	0.79	78.44***

Note: Religious groups excluded. Weighted Statistics provided. Totals might not equal one hundred due to rounding.

TABLE A-6: DESCRIPTION OF SOUTH AFRICAN (*N*=2,213) AND ZAMBIAN (*N*=1,143) SAMPLE.

	South Africa		Zambia		
	Mean/ %	**SD**	**Mean/ %**	**SD**	**Range**
Volunteer group membership					
Inactive or not a Member	83.87%		74.94%		
Active Member or leader	16.13%		25.06%		
Social demographics					
Age	38.06	15.28	34.95	13.74	18—97
Sex					
Female	54.00%		49.99%		
Male	45.99%		50.00%		
Race					
Black	75.08%		100.00%		
Other race (non-black)	24.92%		0.00%		
Geographic location					
Urban	64.19%		36.49%		
Rural	35.80%		63.50%		
Education level					
No formal education	5.72%		7.34%		
Primary school completed	17.98%		40.69%		
Secondary school completed	60.97%		41.22%		
Tertiary level completed	15.33%		10.86%		
Employment status					
Employed full time	29.72%		13.15%		
Employed part time	16.16%		9.12%		
Unemployed (not looking)	29.94%		42.60%		
Unemployed	29.17%		35.11%		
Poverty level	0.88	0.92	1.38	0.74	0—4
Religiosity					
Religious importance	2.38	0.99	2.94	0.29	0—3
Religious group					
Not a member	59.74%		26.31%		
Member	40.26%		73.69%		
Civic Capital					
Voted	64.06%		59.34%		
Did not vote	35.91%		40.66%		
Democratic attitude	3.03	0.47	3.06	0.43	1—5
Collective activism	1.25	1.01	1.51	0.76	0—4
Generalized trust	1.65	0.74	1.97	0.74	0—3

Note: Weighted Statistics provided. Totals might not equal one hundred due to rounding.

TABLE A-7: COMPARISON OF SOUTH AFRICAN ACTIVE VOLUNTARY GROUP MEMBERS WITH INACTIVE/NON-GROUP MEMBERS

(Total sample *n* = 2,213)	**Nonmember** (*n* = 1,849)		**Active member** (*n* = 364)		**Test Statistic**
	Mean / %	SD	Mean / %	SD	*F-statistic*
Socio-demographics					
Age	37.68	15.33	40.08	14.92	3.95*
Sex					
Female	54.00%		53.99%		0.00
Male	45.99%		46.01%		0.00
Race					
Black	74.64%		77.37%		0.73
Other race (non-black)	25.36%		22.63%		0.73
Geographic location					
Urban	65.17%		59.11%		2.61
Rural	34.83%		40.89%		2.61
Education level					
No formal education	5.80%		5.30%		0.08
Primary school completed	18.32%		16.19%		0.68
Secondary school completed	62.27%		54.17%		5.83*
Tertiary level completed	13.61%		24.32%		11.89***
Employment status					
Employed full time	28.31%		37.07%		6.37
Employed part time	16.14%		16.26%		0.00
Unemployed (not looking)	24.77%		25.88%		0.11
Unemployed (job seeker)	30.78%		20.78%		10.04**
Poverty level	0.86	0.91	0.93	0.97	0.71
Religiosity					
Religious importance	2.35	1.01	2.52	0.91	6.32
Religious group					
Not a member	34.06%		72.47%		140.76***
Member	65.94%		27.53%		140.76***
Civic Capital					
Voted	62.07%		74.59%		14.06***
Did not vote	37.93%		25.41%		14.06***
Democratic attitude	3.02	0.47	3.06	0.44	1.46
Collective activism	1.11	0.94	2.02	1.02	159.14***
Generalized trust	1.64	0.74	1.73	0.75	3.99*

Note: Weighted Statistics provided. Totals might not equal one hundred due to rounding.

TABLE A-8: COMPARISON OF ZAMBIAN ACTIVE VOLUNTARY GROUP MEMBERS WITH INACTIVE/NON-GROUP MEMBERS

(Total sample *n* = 1,143)	**Nonmember** (*n* = 863)		**Active member** (*n* = 280)		**Test Statistic**
	Mean / %	SD	Mean / %	SD	*F-statistic*
Socio-demographics					
Age	33.27	13.12	39.98	14.34	28.04***
Sex					
Female	53.07%		40.83%		19.19***
Male	56.94%		59.16%		19.19***
Race					
Black	99.89		00.12		1.00
Other race (non-black)	–		–		–
Geographic location					
Urban	40.66%		24.05%		19.10***
Rural	59.34%		4.15%		19.10***
Education level					
No formal education	7.87%		5.73%		0.92
Primary school completed	41.45%		38.41%		0.60
Secondary school completed	40.08%		44.23%		1.30
Tertiary level completed	10.60%		11.62%		0.18
Employment status					
Employed full time	12.51%		15.07%		0.93
Employed part time	9.41%		8.23%		0.34
Unemployed (not looking)	42.79%		42.06%		0.04
Unemployed (job seeker)	35.27%		34.62%		0.04
Poverty level	1.39	0.75	1.36	0.72	0.37
Religiosity					
Religious importance	2.94	0.29	2.94	0.28	0.10
Religious group					
Not a member	30.16%		14.82%		32.76***
Member	69.84%		85.18%		32.76***
Civic Capital					
Voted	54.87%		72.72%		26.26***
Did not vote	45.13%		27.28%		26.26***
Democratic attitude	3.05	0.42	3.08	0.45	0.58
Collective activism	1.34	0.71	2.02	0.65	142.73***
Generalized trust	1.92	0.72	2.09	0.78	9.42*

Note: Weighted Statistics provided. Totals might not equal one hundred due to rounding.

APPENDIX 2: QUALITATIVE CODEBOOK

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Code Book

Number of Codes: 194

CODE INFO		DESCRIPTION	FREQ.
ABILITY TO VOLUNTEER			
	Ability	Has the skills, ability, capacity, empathy etc. to do specific volunteer work	39
	Resources	Has the physical resources such as money, materials, strength, etc. to do specific volunteer work	17
	Time	Has the time available to do specific volunteer work	56
REASONS FOR BECOMING A VOLUNTEER			
	Asked and opportunity	Decided to volunteer because of being asked by a friend, family member, colleague; being told by someone about a service need; being taken by someone to a volunteer/service event (i.e. the opportunity was created)	47
	Heart	Decided to volunteer because of their "heart," passion or love for an issue, cause, group or people	49
	Modeled behavior	Decided to volunteer because parents, guardians or friends modeled volunteer behavior	26
	Personality	Decided to volunteer because of own personality; something "within"	19
MOTIVATIONS: MOTIVATIONS ASSOCIATED WITH ALLEGIANT VOLUNTEERS			
	Culture	Motivated to volunteer because of cultural upbringing in school, family, community (includes obligations, expectations of participating, Ubuntu)	15
	Identified a need	Motivated to volunteer because there was a specific need in the community for that service, or because past personal life experience highlighted the need (in others or in one's own self)	80
	Religious mandate	Motivated to volunteer because of following religious principles, teachings, and mandates; God's calling on one's life for a specific issue; desire to serve God	38
	Social responsibility	Motivated to volunteer out of a sense of social responsibility; desire to help communally; desire to address social inequality	53
	Want to do good	Motivated to volunteer because of wanting to do good; make a difference; to see change happen; to give back to the community/others	58
MOTIVATIONS ASSOCIATED WITH CHALLENGER VOLUNTEERS			
	Guilt	Motivated to volunteer out of feelings of guilt	3
	Purpose/ belonging/ status	Motivated to volunteer because it gives purpose to life; creates a sense of belonging; allows opportunity to belong to a group; gives a sense of status	34

MOTIVATIONS ASSOCIATED WITH OPPORTUNIST VOLUNTEERS			
	Business networks	Motivated to volunteer in order to make work/business connections	4
	Expectation of job	Motivated to volunteer with the expectation that it would lead directly or indirectly into a paid job	14
	Fun/sociable	Motivated to volunteer because it is fun, enjoyable, has a social aspect to it (i.e. meeting other people)	31
	Money/experience	Motivated to volunteer to get some money; to gain experience or a skill; to look good on a CV Motivated to volunteer because it is a requirement linked to an internship, course, training program	33
	No alternatives	Motivated to volunteer because there are no other alternatives; or to keep busy and offset boredom	24
VOLUNTEER DEFINITION			
	Active membership	Is active membership in an organization or group	8
	Calling/lifestyle	Is a calling, a lifestyle, lived every day, an act of being	5
	Commitment	Is a commitment, a long-term not a short-term activity	13
	Give or do something	Is giving back to society; giving something like time, knowledge, expertise and labor. Is making a contribution	74
	For free	Is not done with any expectation; no reward, pay, or expected benefit	34
	For others	Is something done for others, for a social cause. Not done for individual gain primarily	24
	Meaningful or positive	Is something that results in meaningful change; must produce positive gains; must not be detrimental to others	21
	Not membership	Is not simply membership in an organization	2
	Relational	Is an explicitly stated relational activity, partnership, two-way interaction	9
	Service or care	Is specifically service, care work, caring, helping out	35
	Stipend ok	It is ok to receive stipend or compensation, material incentive (i.e. transport costs, food, meals, Internet data, bicycle, clothes, cell phone airtime). Must not be commensurate to the value of the labor	33
	Transactional	Is transactional, an exchange, give and take	21
	True/pure/right	Is something done with true, pure, right, honest motivations	17
	Transformative	Is transformative for the volunteer or the receiver/beneficiary, or for all parties involved	54
	Willingly	Is willing action, free choice; not forced, compulsory or obligatory behavior	8
	Work	Is work (includes references to volunteering as a job)	60
	Volunteer definition (general)	Broad references to volunteering definitions (used before dividing into specific codes)	418
TYPE OF VOLUNTEER ACTIVITY RESPONDENT IS/WAS ENGAGED IN (INCLUDES TARGET GROUP, PERSONS, ISSUE OR CAUSE)			
	CDC	Community development committee; water and sanitation committee / infrastructure building	6
	Charity fundraising	Hosting or participating in fundraising events and activities like markets stalls, selling raffle tickets	5
	Church involvement	Church-related community involvement	22

	Cleanup	Neighborhood cleanup, pick up trash	6
	Community meeting	Attends community meetings	8
	Contact police	Contacts or meets with police about community-related issues	2
	Contact representative	Contacts or meets with traditional, government or political representative about community-related issues	7
	Counseling	Providing free counseling services to others (face-to-face or telephonic)	6
	Disability and mental health	Providing support to build ramps, materials, aids for the disabled; visiting and comforting mentally ill; raising funds or awareness for disabilities (e.g. autism)	5
	Education and training	Providing education and training for others	21
	Elderly	Support services/care for the elderly, pensioners	5
	Family and friends	Providing care and support to family and close friends	11
	Foreigners	Providing care and support to foreigners and/or refugees	3
	Health	Providing health information. TB treatment support, HIV support; maternal health care and support to the underprivileged; cervical cancer screening; hospital visits to offer solidarity, human comfort, prayer	21
	HIV/AIDS	VCT, care work, counseling, support, treatment supervision, awareness training, advocacy work, information sharing	12
	Home-based care	Home-based care, health care, TB, end of life	4
	Housing	Providing housing, advocacy for housing rights	2
	Media awareness	Raising awareness or advocacy for an issue, cause, people or group using blog, radio, newspaper, print media	2
	Nature	Environmental protection; neighborhood cleanup; agricultural cooperatives; animal welfare; animal shelter; agricultural and farming development; environmental training; raising awareness	10
	NGO support	Support services to NGOs, nonprofits, community groups	13
	OVC	Support services to orphans and vulnerable children	20
	Petitions	Making, signing petitions for a social or community causes	2
	Political party	Card carrying member of a political party	6
	Poor	Providing care and support services to the poor and underprivileged	20
	Professional association	Card-carrying member of a professional association	7
	Protest	Protested or marched to raise awareness of social issue, to demand better service delivery, etc. Community march in solidarity or to promote an issue	9
	Rural	Providing care and support to/in rural communities, agriculture; rural community development	4
	Security	Neighborhood watch, security patrol	8
	Social club	Member of activity or social club: Round Table (males), Indian cultural club (females) school club, sports group, fitness group, choir, art, gardening	12
	Social work	Compulsory service hours for Social Work Degree	7

	Student org	Member of university student body, club, religious group	4
	Women	Women's empowerment, income generation, victim support, prison support, girls camps, young girls or adolescents, widows, mothers, pregnant women	19
	Youth	Youth, children; providing mentoring to youth; after school programs, homework clubs, readings groups	41
VOLUNTEER EXPERIENCES			
	Break in volunteering	Unsolicited discussions about time when respondent was not volunteering	6
	Expectations	Expectations associated with volunteering	23
	Mandela day	Discussions about participating in Mandela Day activities	7
	Recruited/first involvement	Discussions about first time volunteering; being recruited or asked; networks; making decisions to volunteer	40
	Past volunteering	Unsolicited discussions about past experiences with volunteering	21
	Reasons for not volunteering	Discussions about occasions for turning down offers to volunteer; deciding not to volunteer	4
CHALLENGES ASSOCIATED WITH VOLUNTEERING			
	Challenges (general)	Broad mention of challenges faced when volunteering	41
	Dissatisfaction	Dissatisfaction with volunteering; didn't meet expectations; boring; unsatisfying; unhappy with volunteer arrangements	12
	Logistics	Difficulty with organizing different components, logistics of getting to and from volunteering activities	3
	Time suck	Competition for time; volunteering takes a lot of time	20
	Working with target group	Difficulty of working with the target group (e.g. teenagers, children, ill)	5
LESSONS LEARNT THROUGH/BY VOLUNTEERING			
LESSONS ABOUT/FOR SELF			
	About own-self	Learnt about own self, prejudices, worth and potential; about respecting one's self; about one's own latent reasons for volunteering	20
	Communication skills	Public speaking, how to more effectively engage with others, how to communicate using new technologies	14
	Confidence	Learnt confidence	10
	Humility	Learnt humility	4
	Leadership	Learnt leadership skills; training; leadership position	6
	New values	Learnt new values	7
	Organizing	Learnt about organization and organizing (e.g. events)	7
	Patience/perseverance	Learnt patience and perseverance, longevity, grit	4
	Time management	Learnt to manage time	6
LESSONS ABOUT OTHERS			
	Difference	Learnt about differences in people, meet new people	25
	Empathy	Learnt empathy	10
	Exposure to lifestyles	Learnt / exposure to different ways of living, people groups, neighborhoods, houses, schools, cultures	30
	Hear diverse views	Learnt / exposure to diverse views	11
	Respect	Learnt respect for self, others, an issue, a particular cause	2

		or person, a system, or way of doing things	
	Tolerance	Learnt understanding and tolerance of others or ideas	13
LESSONS ABOUT ORGANIZATIONS AND VOLUNTEER SECTOR			
	Donor community	Learnt about the donor/aid community	7
	Giving is rewarding	Learnt that giving is rewarding	3
	Improved service	Learnt how to improve the service offered (quality, type, delivery mechanism/strategy, timing); better social development, practical versus theoretical implementation; service skills such as health care	1
	Limits	Learnt about the limits of volunteer work, what it cannot accomplish, how much more needs to be done	5
	Legal framework	Learnt about the laws, government processes and requirements to do/obtain certain things (e.g. environmental, OVC, grants)	6
	Organizational governance	Board-member skills, being a chairperson, taking notes, organizing, planning	20
	Responsibility and accountability	Learnt to take responsibility; learnt the meaning of responsibility; learnt about transparency and accountability to beneficiaries and donors within the volunteer group	17
	Sacrifice/challenges	Doing good doesn't automatically translate into an easy life/reward. Volunteering is a sacrifice, takes endurance - even when not being paid	5
LESSONS ABOUT SOCIETY AT LARGE			
	Bigger picture	Learnt about bigger picture of the world/society	18
	Structural inequality	Learnt about inequality at a social level; the bigger picture of why a person needs help; structural reasons/causes for inequality/poverty	9
	Topical issues	Public speaking, how to more effectively engage with others, how to communicate using new technologies. Learnt about the issue for which they're volunteering, e.g. HIV, children, the environment, sports, cancer	13
DISCUSSIONS ABOUT GROUPS AND ORGANIZATIONS			
	Challenges of managing volunteers	Managing expectations; Mitigating risky situations and protecting volunteers' safety	6
	Change in group activities	References to changes in the group or organization's activities: focal area, board members, leadership, operation, strategic plan, membership	4
	Communication	Ways in which volunteer groups communicate such as Whatsapp and Blackberry group, text messages, email, phone calls, Facebook group	16
	Formalizing operations	Anything associated with formalizing the group or organization's operations: opening bank accounts, registering with the government, drawing up founding or executive documents, constituting a board. Also, references to the group's legal status	16
	Founding	Discussion related to founding of the group/organization	21
	Funding	Types, sources and amounts of funding; how to get funding; challenges associated with funding	53
	Leader	References to the / about being the group leader	3

	Number of volunteers	References to the number of volunteers—past / present	8
	Organizational governance	References to organizational governance: focal area, board members, leadership, operation, strategic plan, membership	36
	Partnership with other organizations	References to work or activities done in partnership with other organizations (nonprofit, private for-profit, government)	29
	Recruiting volunteers	References to recruiting volunteers including challenges, strategies, effort, resources needed	60
	Using volunteers	References to the use of volunteers including challenges, strategies, effort, resources needed	11
	Training	References to training for volunteers	20
REWARDS ASSOCIATED WITH VOLUNTEERING			
INTRINSIC REWARDS			
	Giving cycle	Feel good about being part of the cycle of giving	20
	Enjoyment / high	Enjoyment, gives a high, satisfying, pleasurable	26
	Personal growth	Volunteering leads to personal development, growth, a better person (i.e. soft skills)	15
	Purpose	Gives a sense of purpose or belonging	1
	Stress relief	Provides stress relief	5
EXTRINSIC REWARDS			
	Appreciation	Feel appreciated, good, validated	14
	Benefit others	Feel good about work that benefits others; or about being able to help out others	23
	Meet new people	Rewarding to meet new people	22
	Membership benefits	Exclusive group membership benefits	2
	Opens doors	Opens doors to new opportunities, work, and networks; provides job-relevant skills, certificate and workplace experience for CV	10
	Recognition	Get recognition, status, validation from volunteering	6
	Stipend / incentive	Rewarding to get some small stipend, pay, gifts, benefits, or other material incentives for volunteering	8
	Successful outcome	Feel good when work leads to a successful outcome or visible change	9
VALUES			
SELF-EXPRESSIVE VALUES			
	Decision making	Values being part of decision making, decision-making power, ability, autonomy	19
	Environmental rights	Values rights of broader environment, animals, specific species; protection of green spaces; human-nature interaction / harmonious co-living	18
	Freedom of choice	Values freedom to make own choices regarding self	17
	Inclusivity	Values inclusion of those left out; consideration of minority groups like disabled or elderly, poor, orphaned, widowed	26
	Individual autonomy and independence	Values individual autonomy and independence	14
	Positive change	Values positive change, growth	35
	Speaking out	Values speaking out and raising awareness	30
	Taking initiative	Values taking initiative	29

	Social justice	Values social justice, fairness	21
	Willingness to learn	Values willingness, eagerness to learn	6
SURVIVALIST VALUES			
	Hard work	Values hard work, excellence in doing things,	25
	Own kind	Values own kind, group (i.e. expresses low tolerance of others, racist, paternalistic, ethnocentric views)	6
	Relationships	Values strong, loyal relationships; strong expectations and obligations associated with personal connections	13
	Responsibility	Values taking responsibility, being responsible	25
	Rule of law	Values obedience to rules, to laws	14
	Positive attitude	Values a positive attitude	10
	State paternalism	Values a government that provides services, creates jobs, distributes welfare, takes care of people	7
SECULAR RATIONAL VALUES			
	Accountability and transparency	Valuing accountability and honesty, transparency	38
	Education	Values having education, giving education, desire to be educated, teaching others	35
	Empowerment of disadvantaged people	Values empowerment of disadvantaged people	26
	Fairness and equality	Values fairness and equality for all	10
	Honesty	Values honesty	3
	Human rights	Values basic human rights and people's access to these (i.e. cleanliness, hygiene, water, sanitation, food, clothes, a house, etc.)	11
	Humanity/humanness	Values humanity, humanness, humane action	9
	Tolerance	Values tolerance of all; difference in society or people	4
	Social consciousness	Values being aware of others and of issues in the surrounding world	28
	Undoing inequality	Values taking action towards undoing social inequality	14
	Voting and taxes	Values paying taxes, voting, knowing the constitution	23
TRADITIONAL VALUES			
	Discipline	Values discipline and order	11
	Family	Values family, kin ties	21
	Humility	Values humility (attitude)	5
	Integrity	Values integrity	7
	Religious	Christian / Islamic / Hindu values including: mirroring Jesus or God, following specific teachings, general scriptural or theosophical values, lifestyle expectations, obligations of service, calling	35
	Respect	Values respecting others; differences in people; being non-judgmental; different lifestyles; diverse views, respecting others' space and personal property; respect for institutions and the law	31
	Selflessness and giving	Values promoting the well-being of others	25
	Service	Value of serving, helping, or caring for others; giving to the community or others; helping out generally	31
	Submission to authority	Values authority, obedience to leadership or elders	3
	Listening	Values listening to others and being listened to	17
	Love for others	Values love; loving others	18

	Morality	Values moral action, deeds	4
	Purity	Values purity (as expressed in own words)	10
CITIZENSHIP AND CIVIC VIEWS DISCUSSED			
	Civic views	Broad view expressed	56
	Democracy	References to democracy (e.g. meaning, skills, pros and cons, overall value)	59
	Development aid	General reference to development aid; international donors; funding mechanisms (not including discussions about current funding for org.)	33
	Good for society	Mentions volunteering being good for society	28
	Government partnership	Discussion about citizens or groups partnering with government (e.g. need for it; for service delivery)	40
	Political avoidance	Mentions avoiding politics	17
	Political landscape	References to the broader political, civic landscape in the country or the world	10
	Political/politics	Mentions politics or political parties	10
	Non-voter	Mentions being a non-voter	17
MISCELLANEOUS			
	Charity starts at home	Mentions that "Charity starts at home" (or similar)	3
	Class	Discusses economic class, income category	21
	Contract	Volunteer contract or agreement	3
	Community	Any broad reference to community	
	Community perceptions	Ways community perceives volunteers / volunteering	19
	Identity	Broad mention about identity: race, class, gender, nationality, city, ethnicity	9
	Gender	Gender discussion	12
	Network	Broad reference to social networks, ties, links, connections, contacts	45
	Religion	Any reference to religion	43
	Takes a village	Mentions that it "Takes a village" (or similar)	4

APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW INTRODUCTION AND CONSENT LETTER

Department of Sociology
1515 Patterson Office Tower
University of Kentucky
Lexington, KY 40506-0027

Hello,

My name is Sara Compion and I am a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Sociology at the University of Kentucky, under supervision of Professor Thomas Janoski. I am conducting research on civic volunteering and democracy in Zambia and South Africa. You are being invited to participate because you are a volunteer, or you are involved in an organization that relies on volunteers to fulfill its mandate. If you agree to be in this study we will meet for at least one semi-structured, informal interview, lasting approximately 1.5 hours.

During the interview we will discuss your experiences as a volunteer, such as how and why you started, the causes you choose to volunteer for, what you have learnt and gained/lost through volunteering, how you access services and resources for volunteering, your opinions and thoughts about the needs of people around you in your community, and your thoughts about how others view your volunteer work. We will also talk about your values, identity, and social context in order to better understand the background framing your everyday experience of volunteering.

With your permission, I would like to audio record the interview, which I will later type up. You will be assigned a pseudonym, or fake name, that will be used in all transcripts, and only I will know your true identity once the transcripts are complete.

DO YOU HAVE TO TAKE PART IN THE STUDY?

Your agreement to be interviewed is voluntary and you can stop at any time during the study, even after the interview has begun. You are always free to refuse to answer any question you want. I do not require you to sign a consent form, but your verbal agreement to be interviewed and to be audio recorded will indicate your consent.

BENEFITS AND RISK ASSOCIATED WITH THIS STUDY

There is no compensation for participation in this study and I do not anticipate any risks to you in participating in this interview. Your participation will not result in any personal or immediate benefits to you or your community.

WHO WILL SEE THE INFORMATION THAT YOU GIVE?

What you tell me during the interview will be combined with information from other people taking part in the study. When I write about the study, it will include the combined information gathered and you will not be personally identified in these written materials. I may publish the results of this study in academic papers and public reports; however, I will keep your name and other identifying information private.

I will keep private all research records that identify you to the extent allowed by law. I will make every effort to prevent anyone who is not on the research team from knowing that you gave us information, or what that information is. I may have to show information that identifies you to people who need to be sure I have done the research correctly; these would be people from the University of Kentucky.

WHAT IF YOU HAVE QUESTIONS, SUGGESTIONS, CONCERNS, OR COMPLAINTS?

Before you decide whether to accept this invitation to take part in the study, please ask any questions that might come to mind now. Later, if you have questions, suggestions, concerns, or complaints about the study, you can contact me, Sara Compion, at sara.compion@uky.edu or via telephone. If you have any questions about your rights as a volunteer in this research, contact the staff in the Office of Research Integrity at the University of Kentucky at +01-859-257-9428 (www.research.uky.edu/ori/index.htm). If you would like to have a summary of my research findings, you may contact me via email in about six months, and I would be happy to send you a copy. This research is being funded by a study abroad grant from the South African National Research Foundation and a DDRI Grant from the National Science Foundation in the U.S.

Your agreement to be interviewed indicates that you understand the information provided above, and that you willingly agree to participate, that you may withdraw your consent and stop participation at any time, that you have received a copy of this form, and that you are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies.

Kind Regards

Sara Compion

Researcher contact information

Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Sociology

University of Kentucky, Lexington KY

Phone:

Email:

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Education

University of Kentucky, U.S.A

Ph.D., Department of Sociology, expected 2016
Dissertation: *Volunteering and Democratization in Southern Africa*: A Structural and Cultural Approach
Advisors: Thomas Janoski, Janet Stamatel, Carlos de la Torre, Hsain Ilahiane

University of Pretoria, South Africa

M.Soc.Sci. Department of Sociology, 2008
Thesis: *Tuberculosis Discourses in South Africa: Knowledge, Power and Identity*
Advisors: Michael Neocosmos, Kavita Mizra

University of Pretoria, South Africa, 2004 and 2005

B.A. and Post Baccalaureate Honours. Anthropology and Sociology, Cum Laude
Thesis: *Young `Women of Phokeng': Survival Strategies in Contemporary South Africa.* Advisors: Susan E. Cook, John Sharp

Professional Employment

Teaching Assistant, Sociology, University of Kentucky, 2010, 2011, 2015, 2016

Research Assistant, Sociology, University of Kentucky [study on *religiosity and intimate partner violence* with Dr. Claire Renzetti], 2013—2014

Research Assistant, Gatton School of Business and Management, University of Kentucky [study on *The network impacts of economic development organizations in eastern Kentucky* with Dr. Stephen Borgatti and Dr. Walter Ferrier], 2011—2013

Contract Report Editor, community-based organization Learning Brief Editor for the DG Murray Trust, South Africa, 2012—2014

Contract Analyst, employed on short-term assignment for various projects as the quantitative or qualitative analyst and report writer (worked on evaluation assignments for AfrEA, IDRC, Zenda Ofir consultants, and Benita Williams consultants), 2011—2016

Research Associate, Feedback Research and Analytics [M&E firm, South Africa], 2008—2010

Intern, Pan American Health Organization, W.H.O. Washington DC [unit for MDGs], 2006

Teaching Assistant, Anthropology & Sociology, University of Pretoria, 2003—2006

Fellowships and Awards

University of Kentucky, Sociology, O'Donnell Graduate Student Award, 2015

National Science Foundation, Doctoral Dissertation Research Improvement, 2014

National Research Foundation of South Africa, Doctoral Scholarship, 2013—2014

ICPSR, Jerome M. Clubb Scholarship, 2013

University of Kentucky, Sociology, Beers Summer Research Award and Grant, 2012

National Research Foundation of South Africa, Masters Scholarship, 2007—2008

Coca Cola African Scholarship to The Washington Centre, Washington DC, 2006

University of Pretoria, Academic Colours, 2004, 2008

Ernst and Ethical Eriksen Trust, Masters Research Bursary, 2004

National Research Foundation of South Africa, Honours Research Grant, 2004

Publications

Compion, Sara, Brandon Ofem, Walter Ferrier, Stephen Borgatti, Patty Cook-Craig, Jane Jensen and Seungahn Nah. 2015. "The Collaboration Networks of Economic Development Organizations in Eastern Kentucky." *Journal of Appalachian Studies.* Vol. 21(1).

Janoski, Thomas and **Sara Compion**. 2015. "Citizenship: Sociological Aspects." In James Wright (ed.) *International Encyclopedia of Social and Behavioral Sciences, 2nd Ed.* Elsevier: Oxford.

Compion, Sara and Susan E. Cook. 2006. "Young `Women of Phokeng': Strategies for Survival in Contemporary South Africa." *Agenda*. Vol.68, p. 95-103.

Conference Presentations (select)

African Studies Association Annual Meeting, Indianapolis, Illinois, 2014
Section: Media, NGOs and Volunteers in the Shaping of Social Movements
Paper: *The Impact of Foreign Development Aid on Volunteering in Southern Africa*

Sociology Association of South Africa Annual Meeting, Port Elizabeth, 2014
Section: Political Sociology
Paper: *How Democratic are South African Volunteers?*

Society for Applied Anthropology Annual Meeting. Albuquerque, New Mexico, 2014
Section: Rethinking Poverty in Re/Development Thinking
Paper: *Poverty and Volunteering in Africa*

Technological and Linguistic Proficiency

Computer skills: STATA, Atlas ti. UCINET, Qualtrics, Surveygizmo, Microsoft Office

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