The Road to Volunteering is Paved with Good Intentions: Volunteering in Immigrant Congregations as a Response to Religious, Social and Instrumental Motivations

Itay Greenspan University of Pennsylvania School of Social Policy and Practice 3701 Locust Walk Philadelphia, PA 19104 Tel: 215-410-9901 * FAX: 215-573-2791 * E-mail: itay@sp2.upenn.edu

Jill Witmer Sinha, Ph.D. Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey School of Social Work 217 North 6th Street Camden, NJ 08102 Tel: 856-225-6451 * FAX: 856-225-1551 * E-mail: jilsinha@ssw.rutgers.edu

Femida Handy, PhD University of Pennsylvania School of Social Policy and Practice 3701 Locust Walk, Philadelphia, PA 19104 Tel: 215-573-2660 * Fax: 215-573-2099 * E-mail: fhandy@sp2.upenn.edu

Abstract

The literature on volunteering has consistently found a positive relationship between an individual's religious proclivity and volunteering. However, one might argue that for immigrants wishing to integrate – socially and economically – into a host society, the decision to volunteer will be equally influenced by other instrumental motives. Thus, we propose three theoretical frameworks that might explain volunteering in immigrant congregations: 1) religious beliefs, 2) social influence of peer congregants and authoritative clergy, and 3) perceived instrumental benefits of enhancing human and social capital. Using a sample of 495 congregants from 23 ethnic immigrant congregations in Philadelphia, we examine the effects of each of these motivations on immigrant volunteering. Findings suggest that among all first-generation immigrants, volunteering is strongly associated with religious beliefs, but among recent immigrants the decision to volunteer is further explained by instrumental motivations and social influence of peer congregants. A discussion of these results for volunteer administration follows.

Key Words: volunteering, immigrants, congregations, motivation

Acknowledgements

The authors wish to thank Gordon Zhu, Charlene C. McGrew, and Hila Rimon-Greenspan for their support in data collection and data entry, as well as the pastors and congregants who opened their houses of worship for us. This research was financially supported by a University Research Foundation grant from the University of Pennsylvania.

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to examine what motivates first-generation immigrants who are members of ethnic congregations to become active volunteers within their congregation. The tradition of volunteering in congregations has a rich and well-studied history (e.g., Campbell & Yonish, 2003; Wilson, 2000; Wuthnow, 1991). This scholarship has consistently found a positive relationship between volunteering, an individual's religious proclivity, and congregation participation (Hodgkinson & Weitzman, 1994; Hoge, Zech, McNamara, & Donahue, 1998; Wuthnow, 1991). However, with few exceptions (e.g., Handy & Greenspan, 2009; Lee & Moon, 2011), these studies have not focused on immigrant congregations.

Studying volunteering in immigrant congregations is important because one might argue that for immigrants wishing to integrate - socially and economically - into a host society, the decision to volunteer will be equally influenced by motivations other than fulfilling religious obligations. In particular, instrumental motives - that is, the potential benefits of advancing one's human and social capital – can be a reason for an immigrant to engage in volunteering. Another possible explanation is the social influence of peer congregants or authoritative clergy, which can have a significant impact on congregation members. Recent immigrants wishing to integrate into their host country, to learn the existing social norms and to gain acceptance by other members, are more likely to respond to such peer pressure. Thus, social influence, religious beliefs, and perceived instrumental benefits are three theoretical frameworks that might explain volunteering in immigrant congregations.

Nevertheless, the question of why members in immigrant congregations choose to volunteer – or what are their volunteer motivations – has not been the focus of previous studies. We aim to address this question by examining the volunteer motivations of members of immigrant congregations. Given that immigrants typically seek to assimilate into the social and economic environment of their host country, we expect that alongside religious beliefs, instrumental motivations and the social influence of peers would play a role in immigrants' decision to volunteer within their congregation. We examine this premise using a sample of 495 first-generation immigrants from 23 ethnic congregations in Philadelphia.

Motivation to Volunteering in Immigrant Congregations

Motivations to volunteering are neither unidimensional (Cnaan & Goldberg-Glen, 1991) nor homogenous (Musick & Wilson, 2008). Different population groups may report differing reasons for volunteering emanating from a combination of factors. We argue that three broad classes of motivations may influence volunteering in immigrant congregations: actualizing religious beliefs; instrumental motivations; and social influences.

Actualizing Religious Beliefs

The role of religious beliefs, and their relationship to volunteering, has been frequently examined in the literature (Hodgkinson & Weitzman, 1994; Hoge, Zech, McNamara, & Donahue, 1998; Smith, 1998). Religious people, by personality, level of education, and/or theologically informed beliefs, are more concerned with the welfare of others and hence more willing to volunteer than non-religious people (Roehlkepartain, Naftali & Musegades, 2000; Wuthnow, 1991). Unruh and Sider (2005) offered three religiously-informed explanations for volunteer motivation: gratitude for what they have received; obedience to scriptural teaching; and an opportunity to experience God's presence. A culture of religious identity within one's family is another factor that may influence an individual's decision to volunteer (Park & Smith, 2000). Volunteering in support of vulnerable populations upholds religious obligations to help those in need and promotes religious values of charity and service to others (Cnaan, Boddie, Handy, Yancey, & Schneider, 2002; Wineburg, 2001). Thus, volunteering can be interpreted as an extension of religious beliefs (Harris, 1996). Regardless of what 'pathway' exists between religious motivations and volunteering, the voluntary nature of congregation membership suggests that members' beliefs are congruent with the religious tenets of helping and caring for others, and that members who volunteer may regard their volunteering as a way of actualizing their religious beliefs.

Our title plays with the old adage "The road to hell is paved with good intentions." Despite the frequently cited religious motives for volunteering in congregations and elsewhere, such motives may not be the best predictors of actual volunteering behavior among immigrants. Although Wilson and Musick (1999) found support for the influence of religious beliefs on actual volunteering among the most heavily involved congregation members, a number of subsequent studies suggest that – at least among less engaged or "average" believers, such beliefs were in fact, less relevant in determining who will volunteer and why (Becker & Dhingra, 2001; Park & Smith 2000).

Instrumental Motivations

Economic theory maintains that volunteering is a rational productive activity that entails costs, and that individuals view such costs as an investment in building human and social capital that can bring gains in the labor market (Cnaan, Handy & Wadsworth, 1996; Herzog, House & Morgan, 1991; Pearce 1993). From this economic perspective, immigrants may be drawn to volunteer as a way of re-building and enhancing human and social capital that is lost in the process of migration. First, by participating in event planning, holding governance positions, leading meetings, or engaging in community organizing within the congregation, immigrant volunteers enjoy the development of leadership skills that will serve them to build human capital outside of the congregation (Foley & Hoge, 2007; Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990; Verba, Scholzman, & Brady, 1995). For immigrants, the perceived instrumental benefits of volunteering include gaining work experience, improving language skills, and getting a 'foot in the door' which can lead to paid employment (Brettell, 2005; Couton, 2002; Dudley, 2007; Handy, et al., 2010). We therefore expect that instrumental motives will be germane to the decision of immigrants in religious congregations to volunteer.

Second, making new friends and building social connections with likeminded individuals comprise the socialinstrumental motivation for immigrant volunteering (Becker & Dhingra, 2001; Handy & Greenspan, 2009; Musick & Wilson, 2008). Volunteering at congregations contributes to bonding social capital among members and facilitates bridging social capital with the wider community, as volunteering often takes place in the community, especially outreach efforts (Putnam, 2000).

Social Influences

A frequently unique cited reason for volunteering is being asked to volunteer or to help others. When individuals are part of networks within which volunteering is a social norm, they feel obligated to acquiesce when asked (Bowman, 2004; Freeman, 1997; Park & Smith, 2000). An opportunity to gain social approval – recognition, reputation, or the like – promotes people's decision to volunteer (Fisher & Ackerman, 1998). Likewise, members of religious congregations are part of a social network with obligations and social norms. Compliance among congregation members is likely to impact members' participation in the group's culture of volunteering (Iannaccone, 1994). Immigrants who received voluntary services from the congregation upon their arrival and settlement in the host country, observed the congregation's social norms and culture of volunteering, and consequently felt compelled to reciprocate and give back to their community by volunteering (Handy & Greenspan, 2009).

We infer from the reviewed literature that immigrants may be motivated to volunteer as a way to integrate into the host country, including the mainstream culture and the labor market. Accordingly, our guiding research questions are:

- What are the motivations to volunteering among immigrants in congregations?
- What motivations are associated with, and better predict, immigrant-

volunteering behavior within congregations?

• Do recent immigrants differ in their motivations to volunteer as compared to established immigrants?

Methodology

The research is a cross-sectional study using a survey tool to collect data about volunteering behaviors and social integration from members of ethnic immigrant congregations in Philadelphia. The City of Philadelphia closely mirrors national statistics for volunteering, and hence provides an appropriate setting for the study of our research questions (CNCS, 2010). For instance, in 2009, 26% of Philadelphia residents have engaged in volunteering for an average of 29 hours a year; and 36% of the City residents chose to volunteer at religious organizations. These figures fall just short of average national figures for 2009: 27% of Americans volunteered for 34 hours a year, and 36.5% of all the volunteering activity was done at religious institutions.

Sample, Eligibility Criteria, and Recruitment

Sample selection. The first step involved selecting the congregations that will participate in the study. A sample of ethnic immigrant congregations was drawn from an existing census of Philadelphia congregations, which contained 1415 cases (Cnaan, Boddie, McGrew, & Kang, 2006). Three selection criteria were used to identify eligible congregations. The congregation: (a) is at least 75% ethnically homogenous; (b) has seating for at least 100 members; and (c) represents a established immigrant population in Philadelphia.

These criteria yielded a sampling frame of 192 congregations, from which we generated a stratified random sample of thirty-four potential congregations to survey.

These congregations were contacted by phone or by personal visits to determine eligibility and seek clergy approval to run the survey. Since our study was conducted several years after the census had been completed, we found several congregations that no longer existed or were not reachable at the address provided, while others did not meet our eligibility criteria. Thus, another thirty-one congregations were randomly selected form the sampling frame. Altogether, a total of 65 congregations were contacted, of which only thirty were reachable and met our criteria. Of these thirty congregations, twenty-three agreed to participate, yielding a 77% congregational response rate. These twenty-three congregations represented eight of the thirteen most prevalent immigrant populations in Philadelphia (Ceffalio & Patusky, 2006).

Respondent recruitment. The second step involved recruitment of congregants as respondents to the survey instrument. This was carried out during the summer of 2007. Visits to congregations consenting to participate in the study were made during weekly worship service. At the conclusion of the service, the clergy made an announcement about our research. Attendees were asked to voluntarily fill out the survey, and were guaranteed anonymity. We distributed paper-and-pencil surveys among all adults present at the time of the visit, and we also left surveys behind; if they were filled out, we came back to pick them up the following week. In addition, a web-based survey version was prepared and made available via the clergy to members who were not present at the day of the site visit. The web-based survey was identical in content to the paper-and-pencil survey.

A total of 559 questionnaires were collected. Thirty-five of them were filled out by second-generation immigrants, and 29 were incomplete and hence excluded. Our final sample size was N= 495, with 90% paper-and-pencil surveys (on-site collection) and 10% online surveys (off-site collection). Given our method of data collection, we cannot calculate a response rate, and our sample of survey responses may be considered as a sample of convenience. Furthermore, as the off-site surveys represented 10% of all surveys, there is a potential bias of self-selection in responses.

The survey instrument. The survey included questions adapted from previous instruments (Cnaan et al., 2006; Handy & Greenspan, 2009) focusing on attendance in worship services, volunteering within and outside the congregation, motivations for volunteering, and socio-demographic characteristics. To determine the length of the survey and to ascertain easy comprehension of the questions, the survey was pilot-tested with a group of randomly chosen university students who are firstgeneration immigrants. Their comments were carefully considered and incorporated into the final version of the survey as deemed appropriate. The survey was also translated from English into Chinese, Korean, Spanish, and Vietnamese to accommodate congregants not comfortable with English. Each translated version was also tested for quality and comprehension, and corrected as required, by at least two experts whose mother tongue was the language of the survey.

<u>Measures.</u> We used two measures of *volunteering*: (1) a yes/no response to the question "In the past 12 months, have you volunteered with your congregation;" and (2) a count of the number of different volunteer activities within the congregation in which respondents were involved. Values of this measure ranged between 0 and 8 (see a list of those activities in Appendix A). We also measured *motivations to volunteering* by asking respondents to fill out a predetermined list of 10 statements about

volunteer motivations. Response options ranged from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree. *Congregation attendance* is a measure of the average number of times per month a respondent attended services in the past 12 months.

Previous studies on immigrant volunteers indicated that length of residency in the host country, being a woman, education levels, and employment are positively associated with immigrants' volunteering and civic participation (Cho, 1999; Jacobs, Phalet & Swyngedouw, 2004). We control in our model for: years in the US, gender, education, employment status, and level of English proficiency. The variable years in the US is highly correlated with age and income because the longer an immigrant has lived in the US, the higher his or her income, and the older his or her age. Hence, to avoid collinearity, years in the US serves as a proxy for income and age.

<u>Analysis.</u> Data were coded and analyzed using SPSS 17. Frequency distributions were calculated for all variables, factor analysis was used to construct the motivation dimensions, and Cronbach's Alpha test was used to verify the reliability of these constructs. Correlations, logistic and OLS regression were used to analyze predictors of volunteering.

Findings

Sample Characteristics

Demographics. Survey respondents were highly educated (55% with bachelors degree or more), relatively young (average age of 42 years), more likely to be employed (78% were full- or part-time employed), and nearly equally split in terms of gender composition (see Table 1). On average, respondents have resided in the US for almost 17 years. Nearly two-fifths of respondents found it difficult to communicate in English, or did not speak English at all.

<u>Volunteering and religious behavior.</u> Seventy-seven percent of the respondents volunteered within their congregation, engaging, on average, in almost two volunteering activities per year (1.84). In addition, 46% of the respondents reported volunteering outside the congregation. In terms of religious participation, respondents have been members of their congregation for an average of over 10 years and visited the congregation about five times per month.

Motivations to Volunteer

To answer our first research question, we used confirmatory factor analysis to verify the dimensions of volunteer motivation among immigrants who volunteered within their congregation. The analysis – as shown in Table 2 – confirmed that immigrants' motivations to volunteer are clustered around the three theoretical frameworks with four distinct dimensions: 1) religious beliefs, 2) social influence of peer congregants and authoritative clergy, and 3) instrumental benefits of (a) enhancing human capital and (b) building social capital. The right-hand column in Table 2 demonstrates that 'satisfying religious beliefs' is ranked highest in the list of motivations while instrumental benefits of enhancing human capital are the lowest. Having a low mean value (2.73) in the human capitalinstrumental motivation indicates that respondents somewhat disagreed with instrumental reasons for volunteering.

Motivations to Volunteer and Associated Volunteer Behavior

To answer our second research question, we first conducted a bivariate analysis that examines the correlation of motivations to volunteer with actual volunteering behavior (see Table 3). We tested the four above-identified dimensions of volunteer motivations against two measures of volunteering behavior within the congregation: a Yes/No response to the question whether the respondent has volunteered within the congregation and the count of volunteer activities performed within the congregation. We also tested the correlation of motivations with two additional variables: 1) a measure of attendance in the congregation (the number of times per month the respondent attend the congregation), and 2) the number of years a respondent has lived in the US since migration.

As the results in Table 3 suggest, the proclivity to volunteer within the congregation is negatively correlated with instrumental motivations (r=-.134) and is not correlated with the other motivations. In contrast, the number of volunteer activities within the congregation is positively associated with religious beliefs (r=.145) and the instrumental motivation to enhance social capital (r=.157), but not with enhancing human capital or social influences. This finding suggests that those volunteers motivated by religious beliefs will be more intentional about their volunteering and will take part in a greater number of volunteer activities. Volunteers motivated by an instrumental desire to enhance their human capital are likely to volunteer in fewer activities. They may do the minimum required to have a line of their resume confirming their civic contribution. However, those wishing to enhance social capital - meeting more and new friends are more likely to engage in a greater number of volunteer activities in order to expand their social networks.

We performed two additional statistical procedures to answer our second research question, examining the association between motivations to volunteer and volunteer behavior, controlling for external effects. First, we used logistic regression to examine the influence of the four motivations (independent variables) on the proclivity of volunteering within the congregation (dependent variable), controlling for gender, education, employment status, level of English proficiency, congregation attendance per month, and number of years in the US. This model was not significant implying that motivations to volunteer did not explain respondents' proclivity for volunteering.

Second, we used linear regression to examine the influence of motivations on the number of volunteer activities performed within the congregation (see Table 4). This model was significant (F=2.488, p=.008), showing a positive influence of one motivation – building social capital – on the number of volunteer activities performed. This finding means that immigrants are likely to increase their number of volunteer activities in order to build social networks lost in the process of migration. Furthermore, while the bivariate analysis suggested that the number of volunteer activities is associated with religious beliefs, this model suggested that religious motivation is no longer a good predictor of volunteering, once we controlled for other variables. People increase their number of volunteer activities in order to socialize with peers and less so for religious or other motivations. Congregation attendance was also positively and significantly associated with the number of volunteering activities within the congregation, which means the more time a person spends at the congregation, the more likely he or she is to engage in different types of volunteer activities within the congregation, not a surprising finding.

Volunteer Behavior of Recent and Established Immigrants

The minimal explanatory power of the instrumental-human capital and the social influence motivations in accounting for volunteer behavior was surprising in light of the findings in the literature. This finding led us to further investigate whether recent and established immigrants may differ in their volunteer behavior. The rationale for this differentiation is that recent immigrants are more likely to experience a need to make up for lost human and social capital, hence more motivated by instrumental reasons. By contrast, established immigrants who have been in the US for a longer time will no longer need to seek integration. Recent immigrants may also be more influenced by social pressure in an attempt to 'fit' into the mainstream culture

Following Handy and Greenspan (2009), we divided the sample into two groups: recent immigrants, or those who immigrated less than 5 years prior to the time of the survey, and established immigrants, those who immigrated 5 or more years before the time of the survey. We compared recent and established immigrants on their motivations to volunteer and performed a t-test for differences (see Table 5). The results are revealing and expected: recent immigrants are significantly more likely to be motivated to volunteer by an instrumental motivation to enhance human capital and by social influence as compared to established immigrants. The two groups do not differ in their motivations to volunteer for religious beliefs or their desire to enhance their instrumental-social capital.

Thus, our hypothesis that recent immigrants are more likely to be motivated by instrumental reasons was supported. Nevertheless, contrary to our hypothesis, these motivations did not correlate with higher rates of volunteer activity within the congregation. We find that recent immigrants still reported lower rates of volunteering within the congregation (63% vs. 79% for established) and a lower number of volunteer activities in which they were engaged (an average of 1.28 activities for recent immigrant vs. 1.95 for established). Recent immigrants were also less likely to attend worship services (3.82 times per month) compared to established immigrants whose average rate of attendance was 5.31 per month.

Discussion and Implications

Our main goal in this paper was to examine what motivates first-generation immigrants to engage in volunteer activity within their religious congregations. We proposed three theoretical frameworks for their volunteering: 1) religious beliefs, 2) the social influence of peer congregants, and 3) the two perceived instrumental benefits of enhancing one's human and social capital. We assumed that immigrants, who seek to integrate into the social and economic fabric of the host country, would see the potential to enhance their human and social capital through volunteer activity within their congregations. Therefore, we expected these immigrants to report motives that favor instrumental motivations for volunteering.

Contrary to our expectations, the findings suggested that religious beliefs ranked highest (see mean values in Table 2), instrumental motives to enhance human capital had, in fact, negative association with frequency of volunteering (Table 3), and only the instrumental motivation to enhance social capital (i.e., to make new friends) explained why congregants engaged in higher number of volunteer activities within the congregation (Table 4). Only when dividing the sample into two groups of recent and established immigrants, we found that recent immigrants were more likely than established immigrants to report instrumental motives and social influence in their decision to volunteer (Table 5). However, higher scores on these two motivations did not imply higher rates of volunteering. Compared to established immigrants, recent immigrants were less likely to volunteer within the congregation or to engage in a higher number of volunteer activities.

The findings of religious motivations ranking highest needs explanation: One explanation may be that that most volunteering reported either takes place within the congregation or is initiated by the congregation. Our findings are consistent with theoretical models that posit volunteering by congregation members is a direct extension of an individual's religious beliefs (Harris, 1996; Unruh & Sider, 2005), in which volunteers espouses religious obligations to help and serve those in need (Cnaan et al., 2002; Wineburg, 2001). Another complementary interpretation suggests that it may be social desirability which makes it difficult for congregants to admit to instrumental motivations (Pearce, 1993; Shye, 2010). Social desirability tends to make individuals project favorable images of themselves during social interaction (and in survey research). Since we utilized congregation venues to conduct the survey, and most respondents answered the survey in their place of worship, the context may have contributed further to the 'social desirability' response bias. Hence the high support for religious beliefs. Such a limitation should be considered in future studies on volunteering motivations.

Recent immigrants' low volunteering rates, given their high instrumental motivations, was contrary to our expectations. Instrumental benefits that are marketable and are used to enter the labor market may not require intensive volunteering or engagement in multiple volunteer activities, but just enough to build a resume, get a reference, or learn some new skill. This may explain why immigrants motivated by instrumental reasons volunteer for shorter periods of time and in a more episodic fashion. Indeed the literature has long recognized that congregational volunteering is instrumental in building skills such as leadership, organizing, and administrative capacities (Eck, 2001; Foley & Hoge, 2007; Verba, Scholzman & Brady 1995).

Finally, we also note that half of the sample indicated they volunteered because the clergy or another member of the congregation asked them to. The maxim of "friends bring friends" using personal networks is widely known to most volunteer coordinators and has been proven effective (Safrit & Lopez, 2001). These findings lead to practical implications for the study of volunteer behavior of immigrants that we turn to next.

<u>Practical Implications.</u> Undoubtedly, volunteers play a crucial role in the operation of any religious congregation. Congregants' volunteer labor allows the congregations to exist and persist. This is especially true for immigrant congregations, where budgets are normally low and oftentimes paid workers are unaffordable. It is therefore crucial for clergy and lay leadership in such congregations to develop effective recruitment strategies for volunteers from their congregation members.

To do this, it is important for volunteer administrators to unpack the motives of their volunteers. Whether it is in a faith-based institution or not, the motives of volunteers play an important role in recruiting and retaining volunteers. If volunteers are responding to religious motives, as we find, it would be sensible to use recruitment practices that reflect religious values. Other domains of volunteering, such as environmental nonprofits may have to recruit volunteers and build in values akin to respecting the natural environment.

In light of the above findings, we believe that clergy and program administrators with responsibility for volunteer recruitment still need to appeal first to one's duty to fulfill religious and moral inclinations, and only then suggest other benefits. In the case of recent immigrants, recruitment strategies should emphasize alongside religious benefits the instrumental benefits of enhancing human capital such as learning new skills, understanding the mainstream culture, or getting experiences to build resumes. In addition, it would be worth emphasizing that volunteering provides opportunities for newer immigrants to interact with likeminded individuals and ease the difficulties of relocation. Opportunities for social networking in volunteer activities should also be enhanced. If volunteers are seeking networking, crafting volunteer tasks with this in mind will help to recruit and retain them. However, these strategies that emphasize instrumental benefits should be in tandem with approaches that honor and integrate religious values into the volunteer experiences.

Another area of importance in working with immigrants regarding volunteering is to comprehend their barriers to volunteer. Family situations, employment status and failing to understand the expectations of being a volunteer may impede recent immigrants from participating. If volunteering within the congregation eases the route for settling and integrating into new communities as found by Handy and Greenspan, (2009) and Sinha, Greenspan and Handy (2011), volunteer administrators must pay attention in providing suitable contexts that encourage new immigrants to volunteer. This might require crafting opportunities in which they feel valued and respected. Language issues should be considered too, as it poses a barrier to many immigrants from volunteering, especially in situations where they are not fluent in the working language.

Recent immigrants may not come from cultures where volunteering is a norm. In order to recruit them, volunteer administrators should reach out to in different ways than they would for long time immigrants or native members. Organizing a session or two, for example, where the immigrants learn what volunteering entails, the responsibilities of volunteers, and the many different ways to engage as volunteers (ranging from cooking communal meals and being ushers to helping at homeless shelters and the thrift shops) can broaden the appeal of volunteering among recent immigrants.

Often individuals do not know where to volunteer and how to begin. Simply asking individuals to volunteer may yield good results, as our findings show where half the volunteers report volunteering because they were asked. Social anxiety may prevent an individual from taking the first step and coming to volunteer (Handy & Cnaan, 2007). To overcome this, established volunteers can be requested to mentor individuals and bring new recruits with them and initiate them into volunteering. It is easier to go with someone who knows what volunteering may entail than to go by oneself even if one wants to.

In conclusion, in our study, while "good intentions" were reported among both recent and established immigrants, only among the established immigrants was this motive matched by higher rates of volunteering. Administrators and program directors should persist in asking, inviting, and encouraging people, especially recent immigrants to volunteer, and reduce the barriers that faced by them. Furthermore, they should stress not only the importance of satisfying religious obligations, but also the instrumental benefits that can be gained from volunteer experience.

References

- Becker, P. E., & Dhingra, P. H. (2001). Religious involvement and volunteering: Implications for civil society. *Sociology of Religion, 62*, 315-335.
- Bowman, W. (2004). Confidence in charitable organizations and volunteering. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 33, 247-270.
- Brettell, C. B. (2005). Voluntary organizations, social capital, and the social incorporation of Asian Indian immigrants in the Dallas-Fort Worth Metroplex. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 78, 853-883.
- Campbell, D. E., & Yonish, S. T. (2003). Religion and volunteering in America. In C. Smidt (Ed.), *Religion as social capital* (pp. 87-106). Waco, TX: Baylor University Press.
- Ceffalio, J., & Patusky, C. (2006). *Recent trends in immigration to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Who came and where do they live?* Philadelphia: Fels Institute.

Cho, W. K. T. (1999). Naturalization, socialization, participation: Immigrants and (non-) voting, *The Journal of Politics*, 61, 1140-1155.

- Cnaan, R. A., Boddie, S. C., Handy, F., Yancey, G., & Schneider, R. (2002). *The invisible caring hand: American congregations and the provision of welfare.* New York: New York University Press.
- Cnaan, R. A., Boddie, S. C., McGrew, C. C. & Kang, J. (2006). The other Philadelphia story: How local congregations support quality of life in

urban America. Philadelphia; University of Pennsylvania Press.

- Cnaan, R. A., & Goldberg-Glen, R. S. (1991). Measuring motivation to volunteer in human services. *Journal* of Applied Behavioral Sciences, 27, 269-284.
- Cnaan, R. A., Handy, F., & Wadsworth, M. (1996). Defining who is a volunteer: Conceptual and empirical considerations. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 25, 364-383.
- Corporation for National and Community Service. (2010). *Volunteering in America 2010*. Washington, D.C.: Author.
- Couton, P. (2002). Highly skilled immigrants: Recent trends and issues. *ISUMA—Canadian Journal of Policy Research, 3*, 114-123.
- Dudley, L. (2007). Integrating volunteering into the adult immigrant second language experience. *Canadian Modern Language Review*, 63, 539-561.
- Eck, D. (2001). *A new religious America*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Fisher, R. J., & Ackerman, D. (1998). The effects of recognition and group need on volunteerism: A social norm perspective. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 25, 262-275.
- Foley, M. ,& Hoge, D. (2007). Religion and the new immigrants: How faith communities form our newest citizens. New York: Oxford University Press.

Freeman, R. B. (1997). Working for nothing: The supply of volunteer labor. *Journal of Labor Economics*, 15, S140-S166.

- Handy, F., & Cnaan, R. A. (2007). The role of social anxiety in volunteering. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership, 18*, 41-58.
- Handy, F., & Greenspan, I. (2009)

Immigrant volunteering: A stepping stone to integration? *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly, 38,* 956-982.

Handy, F., Hustinx, L., Kang, C. H., Cnaan, R. A., Brudney, J., Haski-Leventhal, D., et al. (2010). A cross-cultural examination of student volunteering: Is it all about résumé building? *Nonprofit* and Voluntary Sector Quarterly, 39, 498-523.

Harris, M. (1996). 'An inner group of willing people': Volunteering in a religious context. *Social Policy & Administration, 30*, 54–68.

Herzog, A R., House, J., & Morgan, J. (1991). Relation of work and retirement to health and wellbeing. *Psychology of Aging*, *6*, 202-211.

Hodgkinson, V. A., & Weitzman, M. S. (1994). *Giving and volunteering in the United States 1994*. Washington, D.C.: Independent Sector.

Hoge, D. R., Zech, C., McNamara, P., & Donahue, M. J. (1998). The value of volunteers as resources for congregations. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 37*, 470-480.

Iannaccone, L. R. (1994). Why strict churches are strong? *American Journal* of Sociology, 99, 1180-1211.

Jacobs, D., Phalet, K., & Swyngedouw, M. (2004). Associational membership and political involvement among ethnic minority groups in Brussels. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30, 543-559.

Lee, Y., & Moon, S. (2011). Mainstream and ethnic volunteering by Korean immigrants in the United States. *Voluntas*. DOI 10.1007/s11266-010-9176-y.

Lincoln, C. E., & Mamiya, L. H. (1990). *The black church in the African-American experience*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Safrit, R. D., & Lopez, J. (2001). Exploring Hispanic American involvement in community leadership through volunteerism. *Journal of Leadership Studies*, 7, 3-19.

Musick, M. A., & Wilson, J. (2008). Volunteers: A social profile. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Park, J., & Smith, C. (2000). 'To whom has much been given . . .': Religious capital and community voluntarism among churchgoing Protestants. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 39*, 272-286.

Pearce, J. L. (1993). Volunteers: The organizational behavior of unpaid. London: Routledge.

Putnam, R. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

- Roehlkepartain, E. C., Naftali, E. D., & Musegades, L. (2000). *Growing up generous: Engaging youth in giving and serving.* Bethesda, MD: Alban Institute.
- Shye, S. (2010). The motivation to volunteer: A systematic quality of life theory. *Social Indicators Research, 98*, 183-200.

Sinha, J. W., Greenspan, I., & Handy, F. (2011). Volunteering and civic participation among immigrant members of ethnic congregations: Complementary not competitive. *Journal of Civil Society*, 7, 23-40.

Smith, C. (1998). American evangelicalism: Embattled and thriving. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Unruh, H. R., & Sider, R. J. (2005). Saving souls, serving society: Understanding the faith factor in church-based social ministry. New York: Oxford University Press.

ISSN 1942-728X

- Verba, S., Scholzman, K. L., & Brady, H. E. (1995). Voice and equality: Civic voluntarism in American politics. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
 Wilson, J. (2000). Volunteering. Annual Review of Sociology, 26, 215-240.
- Wilson, J., & Musick, M. (1999).
 Attachment to volunteering. Sociological Forum, 14, 243-272.
 Wineburg, R. J. (2001). A limited

partnership: The politics of religion, welfare, and social service. New York: Columbia University Press. Wuthnow, R. (1991). *Acts of compassion.*

Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

About the Authors

Itay Greenspan is a doctoral candidate of Social Welfare at the School of Social Policy and Practice, University of Pennsylvania. His areas of interest include nonprofit and voluntary organizations, volunteering among different population groups, and philanthropic foundations and nonprofit environmental organizations.

Jill Witmer Sinha is an Assistant Professor in Social Work with Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey. She studies the relationship between the public sector and non-profit organizations in social service provision with a special interest in faith-based and religious organizations.

Femida Handy is a Professor at the School of Social Policy and Practice at the University of Pennsylvania. Her research focuses on the economics of nonprofit organizations, volunteering, and international nongovernmental organizations.

Table 1

Characteristics of Survey Respondents (N=495)

Variable	% (SD)
Volunteering within the congregation	
Yes	76.9%
No	23.1%
Average number of volunteer activities within the congregation [range 0-8]	1.84 (1.72)
Congregation attendance (average times per month) [range 0-36]	5.1 (4.5)
Average years in the US [range 0-69 years]	16.7 (12.1)
Gender	
Male	48.6%
Female	51.4%
Average age [range 17-93]	42.5 (15.2)
Higher education	
Less than Bachelors	45.0%
Bachelors degree or higher	55.0%
Employment status	
Not employed (incl. retired and student)	21.9%
Employed	78.1%
Level of English	
No English or difficult to communicate	38.2%
Easy to communicate	61.8%

SD = Standard Deviation

Table 2

Dimension	Item description (I volunteer)	Factor Loadings (N=215)			Reliability Coefficient (Cronbach	Dimension Mean
		1	2	3	α)	
Instrumental – human capital	to get reference for employment or university admission	.890				
I	to fulfill government/school service requirements	.854			.909	2.73
	to enhance my resume	.839				
	to get work experience or to get a (better) job	.804				
	to learn more about US	.591				
Instrumental - Social capital	to make new friends			.736	-	3.49
Social influence	because my friends volunteer		.796			3.00
	because I was asked to volunteer		.768			
	because I was encouraged by my pastor / clergy to volunteer		.757		.803	
	to be appreciated by my colleagues / friends		.676			
Religious beliefs ^b	to satisfy my religious beliefs			.883	-	4.21

Volunteer Motivations: Factor Analysis, ^a Reliability, and Mean Values

^a Extraction method: principal component; Rotation method: Varimax with Kaiser normalization; converged in four iterations.

^b While the items for religious beliefs and instrumental social capital loaded together in the factor analysis, reliability testing was relatively low (α =.666), and the two items do not theoretically fit together, hence they are treated separately.

Table 3

Correlation of Motivations to Volunteer and Actual Volunteering Behaviors^a

	(VWC)	(NVA)	(RB)	(SI)	(ISC)	(IHC)	(Att)	(YUS)
Vol. within the congregation (VWC)	1							
No. of volunteer activities (NVA)	.590**	1						
Religious belief (RB)	.070	.145**	1					
Social influence (SI)	020	025	.269**	1				
Instrumental - Social capital (ISC)	.069	.157**	.501**	.419**	1			
Instrumental – Human capital (IHC)	134*	032	.307**	.664**	.499**	1		
Attendance (Att)	.106*	.116*	017	016	001	033	1	
Years in the US (YUS)	.119**	.113*	.118*	003	014	127*	.205**	1

* p<.05. ** p<.01 (all two-tailed).

a All values are Pearson r correlation coefficients. Pairwise matching of variables

Table 4

Linear Regression Model with Number of Volunteer Activities Within
The Congregation as Dependent Variable

	β ^a	S.E.
(Constant)	463	.649
Motivation: Religious belief	.192 (.124)	.114
Motivation: Social influence	.064 (0.37)	.143
Motivation: Instrumental – Social capital	.242* (.165)	.113
Motivation: Instrumental – Human capital	086 (057)	.132
Congregation attendance (times per month)	.079* (.164)	.032
Years in the US (cont.)	.012 (.082)	.010
Gender (1=Female)	169 -(.048)	.233
Higher education (1= Bachelors or higher)	.344 (.094)	.256
Employed (1=Yes)	.155 (.034)	.304
English (1=easy to communicate)	.327 (.082)	.282
Ν	22	.8
Adj. R ²	.0	70
F	2.7	719**

* p<.05, ** p<.01

^a Standardized coefficients are reported in parentheses

Table 5

Motivations to Volunteer – Comparison of Recent and Established Immigrants

	Recent N=78 Mean (SD)	Established N=411 Mean (SD)	t-test	df
Motivation: Religious belief	4.02 (1.21)	4.23 (1.14)	-1.126	339
Motivation: Social influence	3.36 (1.14)	2.95 (1.14)	2.163*	315
Motivation: Instrumental – Social capital	3.58 (1.24)	3.50 (1.27)	.373	309
Motivation: Instrumental – Human capital	3.27 (1.23)	2.66 (1.30)	2.900**	313
Congregation attendance (times per month)	3.82 (2.82)	5.31 (4.69)	-3.562*	138.208
Vol. within the congregation	.63 (.49)	.79 (.41)	-2.811**	93.893
No. of vol. activities	1.28 (1.52)	1.95 (1.74)	-3.102**	476
Vol. outside the congregation	.39 (.49)	.47 (.50)	-1.181	86.711
* n < 05 * * n < 01				

* p<.05, ** p<.01

a SD=Standard deviations in parentheses

Appendix A

Types of Volunteer Activities within the Congregation

	% reporting yes
Special event (serving meals, cooking, flower arrangements)	39.0
Training / education (Sunday school)	25.9
Maintenance / transportation (technical skills / physical labor)	22.6
Fundraising	22.0
Governance / management (committees, board)	21.6
Choir	20.8
Other	15.2
Administration (phone calls, bookkeeping)	13.1