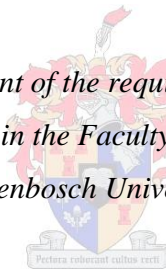# Understanding volunteering in South Africa: a mixed methods approach

by
Dineo Shirley Seabe

*Thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of*
*MA (Social Science Methods) in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences*
*at Stellenbosch University*

Supervisor: Mr. Jacob MJ du Plessis
Co-supervisor: Prof Ronelle Burger

December 2014

# Declaration

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

December 2014

**Acknowledgements**

Thank you to my family and friends for providing the love and support and words of encouragement. I would also like voice my appreciation for the support provided by my Fellow 'Mellons' and the Mellon Mays fellowship program as well as the Human Sciences Research Council. Lastly, I want to thank both my supervisors for helping to make this a reality.

# Abstract

The past two decades have seen a growing interest in volunteering in South Africa as the new democracy struggles with providing services while ensuring the economic and social inclusion of its populace. This interest is inspired by the desire, especially by government, to harness the benefits of volunteering to assist in dealing with the challenges of unemployment, poverty and inadequate levels of service delivery. However, because individual characteristics, needs and attitudes are linked to volunteering, it requires a careful understanding of its determinants and motivations if its potential for development is to be realised (Anheier & Salamon, 1999).

This research therefore investigated which human, social and cultural capital variables best explain volunteering in South Africa. The aim was to understand how the interaction of poverty, inequality, and religious adherence in the country influence the chances of volunteering, the choice of activity and the sense people make of their participation. The understanding of this interaction is important, because as much as volunteering is  "hailed as supporting democratic and participatory principles" the reality may be that it "perpetuates existing power imbalances", and thereby serves to entrench existing inequalities (Hustinx, Cnaan & Handy, 2010, p. 426).

To achieve the above aims the researcher adopted a holistic approach to the study of volunteering, with both an integrated theory and research design. Consequently, Wilson and Musick's (1997) integrated resources theory of volunteering guided the study. Additionally, in line with the research aims and theory, a sequential mixed methods design was employed, consisting of two phases. In research Phase I, the 2001 South African wave of the World Values Survey was examined through logistic and descriptive analysis to examine the patterns and determinants of volunteering. In research Phase II, the study investigated which human, social and cultural capital factors feature in volunteers' interpretations of their actions.

The findings of Phase I revealed that most South Africans partake in formal volunteering and prefer to do so in religious, community and health and sports organisations. Additionally, they showed that, true to the findings of other studies, human capital is an important determinant of volunteering. The results indicate that human capital factors such as educational attainment and income form the basis for certain groups to be excluded from volunteer activities.  Another interesting result among the human capital variables was the negative relationship between employment and volunteering. Prejudice and civic-mindedness were consistent positive predictors of volunteering among the social capital variables, while religiosity also came out as a significant predictor of volunteering.

Participants' narratives in research Phase II revealed that altruism and egoistic influences are important factors in decisions to volunteer.  This is evident in how they understood volunteering as being an expression of 'Ubuntu', but at the same time a means to employment.  Indeed, these two themes emerged as the most common themes in participants' constructions. Most participants noted giving back to their communities as a reason, yet some also mentioned volunteering as a means to survive the harsh township life of poverty, unemployment and crime and violence. This instrumentalising of volunteering was also evident in the participants' reasons to stay committed.

# Opsomming

Oor die afgelope twee dekades was daar 'n groeiende belangstelling in vrywilligheidswerk in Suid Afrika, soos die nuwe demokrasie sukkel om dienste te lewer asook ekonomiese en sosiale insluiting vir sy mense te verseker. Die belangstelling word ge-inspireër deur die begeerte, veral van die regering af, om die aktiwiteit se voordele om die probleme van werkloosheid, armoede en onvoldoende vlakke van diens- lewering te tuis. Egter, as gevolg van individuele karaktertrekke, behoeftes en houdings wat geheg is aan vrywilligheidswerk, is dit nodig vir 'n begrip van die bepalings en motivering agter dit, as dit die potensiaal het om ontwikkeling aan te spoor (Anheier & Salamon, 1999).

Met hierdie navorsing het ek ondersoek watter menselike, sosiale en kulturele veranderlikes vrywilligheidswerk in Suid Afrika die beste verduidelik. My doel is om te verstaan hoe die interaksie tussen armoede, ongelykhede en godsdienstige nakomste in die land, die kanse van vrywilligheidswerk, die keuse van aktiwiteit en die sin wat mense maak van hulle deelname impak. Dis belangrik om hierdie interaksie te verstaan, want alhoewel vrywilligheidswerk "[is] hailed as supporting democratic and participatory principles" die realiteit is dat "[it] perpetuates existing power imbalances", en deur dit word ongelykhede vergerger (Hustinx et al., 2010, p. 426).

Om die bogenoemde doelwitte te bereik, het ek 'n holistiese benadering van die studie van vrywilligheidswerk aangeneem, met beide 'n gëintegreerde teorie en navorsing ontwerp. Wilson en Musick's (1997) gëintegreerde hulpbronne teorie van vrywilligheidswerk het die studie gelei. In lyn met die navorsing se doelwitte en teorie, het ek 'n sekwensiële gemengde metodes ontwerp gebruik wat uit twee fase bestaan. In Fase I van die navorsing het ek die World Value Survey (2001) van Suid Afrika  ontleed in 'n logiese en beskrywende vorm om die patrone van die bepalings van vrywilligheids werk te ondersoek. In Fase II van die navorsing het ek die hulpbronne verwante  faktore wat te vore kom in vrywilliges se interpretasies van hul aksies, ondersoek.

Die resultate van Fase I wys dat meeste Suid Afrikaners deelneem aan formele vrywilligheidswerk en verkies om so te doen in 'n godsdientige, gemeenskaplike, gesondheids of sport organisasie.  Hulle wys ook dat, dieselfde soos in ander studies, menselike kapitaal 'n baie belangrike bepaling is van vrywilligheidswerk. Die resultate bewys dat menselike kapitaal faktore soos ovoeding en inkomste die rede is hoekom sekere groepe uitgesluit is uit vrywilligheidswerk aktiwiteite. 'n Ander interessante resultaat in die menselike faktore is dat daar 'n negatiewe verhouding is tussen mense wat werk en vrywilligheidswerk. A Vooroordeel en burgerlike gee was die enigste twee faktore wat konstante, positiewe veranderlikes van vrywilligheidswerk in verband met menselike kapitaal was. Godsdiens het ook sterk voorgekom as 'n rede vir vrywilligheidswerk, veral kerk bywoning.

Deelnemers se beskrywings in Fase II van die navorsing wys dat altrüisme en egoïstiese invloede  belangrike faktore is in die keuse om vrywillige werk te doen. Die getuienis van hierdie is in die feit dat hulle vrywillige

werk sien as 'n uitdrukking van 'Ubuntu' en op dieselfde tyd 'n manier om werk te bekom. Hierdie twee temas het na vore gekom uit  verduidelikings  vir hulle eerste vrywilligheidswerk. Baie  deelnemers het gesê dat hulle terug gee aan hulle gemeenskappe. Dit was nog 'n rede om vrywilligheidswerk te doen. Sommige het ook gesê dat vrywilligheidswerk een manier is om die swaar township lewe van armoede, werkloosheid, geweld en misdaad te oorleef.  Dit was ook 'n rede vir baie van die vrywilliges om getrou te bly aan vrywilligheidswerk.

# Table of Contents

# List of Figures

# List of Tables

# CHAPTER 1:   INTRODUCTION

## 1.1   Background

The past two decades have seen a growing interest in volunteering in South Africa, as the new democracy struggles with providing services while ensuring the economic and social inclusion of its populace. Driving the interest is the idea that volunteering has the potential to strengthen social and economic institutions and thus contribute to social cohesion. As a form of social capital, it promotes mutual responsibility among communities that results from the networks built through having mutual goals (Caprara, Mati, Obadare & Perold, 2012). There are also claims that it may have significant benefits for peace and reconciliation (Lough & Mati, 2012). However, because volunteering is linked to individual characteristics, needs and attitudes, it requires a careful understanding of its determinants and motivations if it is to have its potential for development realised (Anheier & Salamon, 1999).

In South Africa, as in other African countries, service and volunteering have always existed (Patel, 2007). They formed part of the different collectivist cultures, taking on different names and reflected in the phrases such as 'Umtu ngu mtu nga bantu'[1], which represent the spirit of reciprocity and the importance placed on community over and above the individual. Volunteering is therefore an integral part of moral obligations embodied in the systems of mutual help and service in African societies, that are revealed in the cultural norms of caring and social responsibility (Moleni & Gallagher, 2007, p. 41). This culture of mutual help and service is still an integral part of South African life, and the fact that 93% of people, including the poor and the rich, give time, money and other goods is an example of how it persists (Everatt, Habib, Maharaj & Nyar, 2005).

Since 1994, government has been at the forefront of promoting volunteering and 'civic service', a term adopted in place of 'national services', which was closely aligned to the "repressive and militaristic tendencies" of the apartheid government (Perold, Patel, Carapinha & Mohamed, 2007, p. 54). Government's intention is to institutionalise and thereby instrumentalise volunteer participation for the country's development, and at the same time deal with the challenge of unemployment amongst the youth. Government's actions therefore reflect its eagerness to harness service and volunteering for employment creation, the reduction of poverty, and to address service delivery challenges. The actions form part of the re-emerging social development approach that focuses on "pro-poor, people-centred development and collective action" (Patel & Wilson, 2004, p.

---

[1] This phrase forms the core of the African philosophy of Ubuntu and means "A person is a person through others"

365). Additionally, they are a supposedly a means to bring historically excluded groups closer to political, social and economic opportunities (Perold et al., 2007, p. 58).

These policies and programmes include national youth service, community service for health care professionals, service learning in higher education, community service in secondary schools, and more recently, the National Development Plan (Perold et al., 2007; NPC, 2011). The National Youth Service was first introduced in the Green Paper on National Youth Service, which culminated in the White Paper on National Youth Service in 1998, the National Youth Policy in 2000 and finally the launch of the National Youth Service in 2004 (Perold et al., 2007). Government's aim for the National Youth Service is the social and economic integration of the youth, with the hope that it will enhance their skills and create opportunities while they contribute to development and community 'upliftment' (Perold et al., 2007; Delaney, 2011).

During the same period, at the 90th anniversary of the African National Congress (ANC), the then president of the country, Thabo Mbeki, declared 2002 the "year of the volunteer" and called for South Africans to volunteer in the "spirit of letsema/lima"[2] (Twala, 2004, p. 184). According to Twala (2004), this resulted in the launch of the Letsema voluntary campaign and at the same time 'Vukuzenzele'[3]. The underlying aim of these campaigns was to encourage community participation, while simultaneously dealing with the unemployment problem in the country (Twala, 2004).

Compulsory community service for health professionals has been in effect since 1998 to help improve healthcare access to the underprivileged (Reid, 2002). Community health workers have also filled the gap left by skills shortages in the South African health sector (Schneider, Hlophe & Rensburg, 2008). Voluntary participation is also promoted in education through service learning in higher education and community service in secondary schools. More recently, the National Planning Commission noted the importance of civic participation and volunteering in the fulfilment of the National Development Plan: Vision for 2030 (NPC, 2011).

Currently volunteering is prevalent and even appears to be on the increase, either because of government's efforts, the volunteerism tradition that always existed in the country, or a combination of both. In 2002, Swilling and Russell estimated the number of volunteers to stand at 11%, while in 2005; Everatt and Solanki (2005) reported in their study on giving in the country that 17% of South Africans volunteer. More recently, Stats SA (2011) estimated that 48% (1193 of the 2499

---

[2] According to Twala (2004), 'letsema' and 'lima' are age-old traditions of collective voluntary action among the Sotho and Nguni people in the country. The practice of 'letsema' involved collective action by community members to perform a task for a particular household. Once the task was completed, the household would offer food and beverages to give thanks to the volunteers. The Ngunis had a similar practice of 'lima', derived from 'ukulima', which means to plant. However, it involved the collective cultivation of communal land (Twala, 2004).

[3] This is a Bantu phrase, which in English means, "Wake up and do for yourself".

participants in their survey) reported to have volunteered. Of these volunteers, 37% volunteered in formal organisations, 54% volunteered directly and 9% took part in both forms of volunteering (Stats SA, 2001). The time these volunteers offered amounted to 379 291 000 working hours in 12 months, equivalent to the contribution of 182 351 labour force participants working 40 hours per week (Stats SA, 2011).

## 1.2   Problem Statement

As the preceding section highlights, volunteering is prevalent and has always been part of South African life. It also forms part of the country's development strategies, as evidenced by the importance placed on it by policy makers. Despite the acknowledgement by policy makers of the importance of volunteering for development and it being an integral part of South African life, it has received little attention from South African academics. As consequence, there is "dearth of academic literature on the subject" (Everatt et al., 2005, p. 276). A review of existing literature reveals that most available studies follow an interpretive approach and analytical studies have been more descriptive in their analysis.

Examples of interpretive studies include Alexander's (2011) study on volunteer motives. Situated within Foucault's critical notions of governmentality and biopolitics, the study employed semi-structured interviews to examine how volunteers construct meaning out of their specific choice of volunteer organisation and population. There is also Wilkinson-Maposa, Fowler, Oliver-Evans and Mulenga's (2009) cross-national study entitled *The Poor Philanthropist: How and Why the Poor help each other*. Guided by Grounded Theory, the study employed focus group methodology to explore how and why 'horizontal philanthropy', termed 'philanthropy of community' (PoC), takes place; PoC is the helping behaviour exhibited among people of low socio-economic standing (Wilkinson-Maposa et al., 2009). Patel and Mupedziswa's (2007) exploratory and descriptive five-country study on service and volunteering in Southern Africa is another such example. Other interpretive studies have focused predominantly on motives of volunteers, especially those of community healthcare workers (Kironde & Klaasen, 2002; Mkanawire & Muula, 2005; Rdlach, 2009; Akintola, 2010).

A limited number of studies have contributed to the understanding of the scale, patterns and determinants of volunteering. These include Swilling and Russell's (2001) study on the size and scope of the non-profit sector in South Africa, which documented the contribution of volunteers, including their numbers and hours worked. In 2011, Stats SA (2011) also contributed knowledge on the number, as well as the socio-economic profiles of, volunteers through their Volunteer Activities Survey (VAS). More recently, Greif, Adamcyzyk and Felson (2011) provided an in-depth analysis

of the religious determinants of the likelihood to volunteer, as well as how the interaction of religion and patriarchy influence gender inequalities in volunteering.

Equally limited are studies that apply a mixed methods approach to the study of volunteering. Examples of such studies include the Youth Development Agency's (NYDA) (2012) quantitative, qualitative sequential mixed methods study on perceptions and motivations of youth volunteers. Everatt and Solanki (2005) also employed a sequential mixed methods design to explore the broad topic of giving. Their study examines determinants of contribution of time, financial resources and other goods; however, this study does not give much focus to the relationship between values and volunteering.

The study of volunteering in South Africa can therefore benefit from more research on the phenomenon. Research is still required to understand how the interaction of poverty, inequality, and religious adherence influence the likelihood to volunteer, the choice of activity and the sense people make of their participation. The likelihood to volunteer depends on the enthusiasm of volunteers, but also opportunities to participate and the ability to do so. Opportunity and ability are associated with socio-demographic and macro structural factors such as socioeconomic status and cultural norms, values and practices. For example, Haski-Leventhal (2009) argued that volunteering might not be that inclusive because it is an activity undertaken by the people with greater human and social resources.

Micro and macro-structural factors also form part of the decisions about choice of volunteer activity. For example, paternalism and gendered social roles have led to a greater prevalence of woman volunteers in caring and males in leadership roles. This is evidenced by the fact that most care giving volunteering is performed by women where they sometimes "work in dismal conditions, with no legal frameworks to protect their rights" (Caprara et al., 2011, p. 9).

Contextual factors and personal circumstances also contribute to the different reasons individuals give for their volunteer participation. People may choose to volunteer to express values of altruism, community or group identity, as found by a synthesis of the literature study and the researcher's own observations over time. Furthermore, the absence of adequate income and unemployment may lead an individual into volunteering as a coping strategy or as a pathway to paid employment. Consequently social norms, individual attitudes, values, and a perception of volunteering as being rewarding and feasible, are different elements that may motivate individuals to volunteer (Haski-Leventhal et al., 2009, p. 141).

4

A thorough understanding of what the outcomes of volunteering are for the individual volunteer, the beneficiaries and South African society therefore requires knowledge of these factors. This understanding is required because as much as volunteering is "hailed as supporting democratic and participatory principles", the reality may be that it "perpetuates existing power imbalances" and thereby serves to entrench existing inequalities (Hustinx et al., 2010, p. 426). As such, a better understanding of volunteering will help to avoid a positive bias about its outcomes and shed light on what it can really achieve.

In this study, the researcher thus aims to investigate how the South African context influences volunteering decisions. By context, the researcher refers to a meaning-giving whole with "interconnected dimensions", and the political, economic and cultural aspects that individuals are constantly creating (Kotze & Kotze, 2008, p. 86). These dimensions are firstly, the ecology of ideas, i.e. the way in which people observe and learn to observe the world around them, and secondly, the patterns of action that result from the ecology of ideas. Patterns of actions are the ways in which people approach their everyday lives, including decisions about volunteering. The last dimension is the process of interaction, that is, the "self-generating and self-preserving relationships" termed structure (Kotze & Kotze, 2008, p. 87). These structures include families, communities, and even voluntary organisations.

To achieve this aim, guided by Wilson and Musick's (1997) integrated resource theory, the researcher employed a sequential mixed methods design to examine how human, social and cultural capital influence volunteering in South Africa. The integrated nature of the theory helps to avoid missing variable bias. The theory combines "ontogenic" system variables such as socio-demographics as well as social capital and macro system variables, which include values and norms (Hustinx et al., 2010b, p.75).

Given the aims for the research and the theory that frames it, a mixed methods design held greater potential to provide better results, relative to singular methods, for this study. The use of the design assisted to measure overlapping as well as different facets, such that an elaborated understanding of volunteering in South Africa is achieved (Greene, Caracelli & Graham, 1989, p. 258). Thus it helped to examine both the objective determinants and the subjective meanings individuals place on volunteer participation.

With this study, the researcher therefore aimed to contribute to existing research on volunteering in the region, provide a holistic investigation of the determinants of volunteering, and highlight reasons for participation. It is holistic in that it investigates the multiple dimensions and influences of volunteering as part of a broad holistic question. Additionally, similar to Alexander's (2011)

study on volunteers in the child abuse sector, the researcher examined motives as meaning-making projects and not as antecedents to the volunteer action. They are meaning-making projects because they are "interactional and linguistic formulations that account for behaviour retrospectively", and "involve biographical work and invocation of experience in relation to a body of knowledge and understanding of the world" (Housley, 2008, p. 240). In this regard, the study contributes to the literature on motives that is to date biased towards a functional theory framing of motives. Furthermore, in this study the researcher viewed volunteering as a process. Pothof's (2011) opinion was that this is beneficial because it takes into account the "complex nature of volunteering as well as the way it unfolds as a process over time and in interaction with its environment" (2011 p. 12). What the study also contributes to is a more in-depth analysis of the determinants of volunteering based on a multi-variable analysis.

## 1.3  Research Questions

The main question this study will answer is, to what extent does human, social and cultural capital help explain volunteering in South Africa. In answering this question, the researcher aims to identify firstly the patterns and distribution of volunteering and the factors related to who volunteers, and secondly, to gain clarity on how these factors influence the explanations of volunteers in how they frame and make sense of their volunteering behaviour. In essence, the objective of this study is to answer the 'what', as well as the 'how', of volunteering in South Africa.

The 'what' of volunteering is covered in the questions: 1) What human, social and cultural capital factors are associated with the likelihood to volunteer in the country? and 2) What is the association between human, social and cultural capital and the choice of activity individuals decide to volunteer in? Consequently, in answering the first two questions the focus will be on the associations, patterns and relationships between volunteering, the choice of volunteer activity and the different forms of capital. Essentially the researcher hoped to uncover the strength of the relationship between the probability to volunteer and these capital variables. Additionally she aimed to discover whether these variables exert the same influence on different forms of volunteer activity, thus in a pragmatic sense answering questions on whether religion has the same influence on the likelihood to volunteer in health as in religious activities.

The 'how' of volunteering in South Africa is addressed in the third question: How does human, social and cultural capital feature in how individuals frame and explain their participation in volunteer activity? To provide a more detailed picture of the likelihood to volunteer, an examination of how people explain their participation was also important. This understanding will help illuminate the conversation on how human, social and cultural capital factors form part of

motivations of volunteers. In line with Symbolic Interaction theories, the researcher perceived motivations not as antecedents but constructions of people's sense-making projects about their actions. In addition, the study will assist to shed light on the pathways through which the various capital factors influence the likelihood to volunteer.

## 1.4   Volunteering Defined

*Volunteering is a complex phenomenon that has often defied definition, let alone measurement. Undertaken in leisure time, it is nevertheless a form of work. Pursued for no monetary compensation, it nevertheless produces both tangible and intangible benefits not only for its beneficiaries, but also for the volunteers. Since volunteering, supposed to be undertaken as a matter of free will, it is often motivated by a sense of personal, cultural, religious, or other obligation* (Salamon, Sokolowski & Haddock, 2011, p. 222).

What the above quote illustrates are the difficulties associated with the development of a suitable definition for volunteering that everyone agrees on and which encompasses the essential characteristics of what the activity entails. This is in part due to that it is a socially constructed concept. It has different meaning and causes from person to person and meanings change with each disciplinary perspective (Handy & Hustinx, 2009, p. 550).

For example, Wilson (2000) defined volunteering as "any activity in which time is given freely to benefit another person, group, or organization" (p. 215). This definition does not preclude the volunteer benefiting from the experience (Wilson, 2000), yet the definition does not stipulate the relationship between the volunteer and the beneficiary of the activity. The omission opens the opportunity for any activity, including those that benefit family, to be included, even though it is different to the help, inspired by obligation, offered to family members. That said, the stipulation that family be excluded from benefiting from an individual volunteering activity might not be that simple.  It would require a uniform definition of family that holds across all cultures - a feat that may prove a challenge especially in countries like South Africa where the definition of family extends beyond the boundaries of the nuclear family and shared name.

Salamon et al.'s (2011) definition helps overcome the difficulty of having a too broad or too narrow definition of the volunteer activity beneficiaries. They defined volunteering as "unpaid non-compulsory work; that is, time individuals give without pay to activities performed either through an organization or directly for others outside their own household" (p. 222). The merits of this definition include that it helps develop an operational basis for selection criteria that allow

7

distinguishing volunteering from paid employment and leisure activities. Additionally, operational criteria are useful for cross-national analysis, as its application requires no specific socio-cultural context. The operational criteria also allow for a broad spectrum of activities to be included, which could be formal and informal, in a variety of socio-economic settings.

This inclusion of informal activities in Salamon et al.'s (2011) definition is important because it helps draw a more accurate picture of the scope of volunteering that includes volunteering outside of formal organisations. Boyle and Sawyer (2010), in their qualitative study, argued that the perception that African American men are less likely to volunteer stems from a misunderstanding in the definition that results from the distinction made between formal and informal volunteering. The participants in the study indicated that they felt as if they were actively volunteering, but the activities they took part in do not fit the definition of volunteering in the traditional sense, because they did not happen within a formal organisation (Boyle & Sawyer, 2010, p. 49).

Salamon et al.'s (2011) definition also raises the contested issue of whether volunteering should be remunerated. Baxter-Tomkins and Wallace (2009) argued that the tenet that volunteering be unpaid "is far from clear cut" and requires clarity on what is to be considered remuneration (p. 1). This is especially true in the case of developing countries like South Africa, where volunteering may pose an extra financial burden on the poor who already have limited resources.

Therefore, while being mindful of the unresolved debates around the definition of volunteering and the South African context, this study adopts the Stats SA definition of volunteering. According to Stats SA (2011), volunteering is an "activity willingly performed for little or no payment, to provide assistance or promote a cause, either through an organisation or directly for someone outside one's own household or immediate family " (p. xvi). The concept of family refers to close relatives and those individuals to whom a volunteer feels a sense of obligation. They include parents (including spouse's parents), grandparents (including spouse's grandparents), siblings (brothers and sisters including spouse's siblings) and children (biological and adopted).

## 1.5  Chapter Overview

The research presented in this report is organised as follows. In chapter two, some of the available literature on volunteering is discussed, including the theory as well as empirical studies that have also engaged with the 'who' and 'why' questions of volunteering. In the third chapter the researcher provides a description of the mixed methods research design used and makes an argument for why it was the chosen research design for this study. In chapters four and five the researcher documents

the research process for Phase I and Phase II respectively. Lastly, chapter 6 concludes with a discussion of the findings and their implications.

# CHAPTER 2:   A REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON VOLUNTEERISM

## 2.1  Introduction

The available literature on volunteering from both developed and developing countries has increased in the recent past, reflecting the fascination in various disciplines with the practice. The result is a proliferation of theories and empirical studies that try to explain volunteering and its multi-dimensional and complex nature. One of the main questions that the field is concerned with is that of who is more likely to volunteer. Consequently, the pursuit is to uncover the factors most associated with the likelihood to volunteer. Wilson and Musick's (1997) integrated theory falls within this body of work.

The preoccupation is also with the question, 'Why do people who volunteer, volunteer?' Within this body of work, three disciplines have dominated namely economics, psychology and sociology. These disciplines propose different answers to explain why people will volunteer. The answers proposed by each reflect the different epistemological and ontological assumptions on which they are based, for example, economics uses a cost-benefit analysis to provide these answers because it assumes *homo economicus*, a rational economic agent, who makes decisions based on a weighing of the benefits and costs involved. Another discipline that mainly takes a positivist approach to the study of volunteering is psychology; consequently, the theorising of volunteering within this discipline departs from the premise of durable prosocial personality traits. Sociologists' answers, on the other hand, acknowledge the influence of individual traits on volunteering. However they go further and note the importance of social situations and contexts in their explanations of the "propensity and motivation to volunteer" (Handy & Hustinx, 2009, p. 554).

Some of this literature is discussed in this chapter, which commences with a discussion of the theory that guided this research, i.e. Wilson and Musick's (1997) resource theory that is modified take into account the importance of the African philosophy of 'Ubuntu' in the South African volunteering landscape. The discussion is followed by a description of the theories of volunteer motivations from various disciplines. A section on empirical studies of volunteer determinants and motivations follows thereafter and the chapter ends with concluding remarks.

## 2.1.1  Wilson &and Musick's (1997) integrated theory of volunteering

Wilson and Musick's (1997) theory suggests that human, social and cultural capital may help to address the problem of collective action, i.e. 'who volunteers and why?' The theory is based on three premises. First, that volunteering is a productive activity that occurs within a market, in which individuals who are more qualified are likely to participate. Consequently, human capital related aspects such as educational attainment, income and health would determine an individual's likelihood to volunteer. In support of the first premise, Smith's theory (1994), which is referred to as the 'dominant status model', captured the importance of human capital variables when he advanced the idea that people with a higher socio-economic status are more likely to volunteer because they are attractive as volunteers, and are thus more likely to be asked to volunteer.

Second, volunteering involves collective action; therefore, the decision to volunteer is to a certain degree determined by the actions and behaviours of others. As a result, volunteering will require social capital in the form of social networks to overcome the free rider[4] problem inherent in collective action.  Social embeddedness, the degree to which an individual is integrated into their society and community through social networks and ties (Wilson & Musick, 1998), is a resource required for volunteering. As a form of social capital, social ties and networks "make volunteer work more likely by fostering norms of generalized reciprocity, encouraging people to trust each other, and amplifying reputations" (Putnam, 1995, p. 67).

Third, volunteering is an activity guided by ethics and values, acquired from socialisation in different social institutions such as the church, community, family or school. Wilson and Musick (1997) termed these ethics and values 'cultural capital' because they are also resources required for volunteering. The concept of cultural capital employed in the theory was adapted from Bourdieu's (1986) notion of cultural capital. For Bourdieu, capital is a "force inscribed in the objectivity of things so that everything is not equally possible" (p. 241). Subsequently, cultural capital is "long lasting dispositions of mind and body" that are unconsciously acquired through socialisation, which vary with the time period, society and social class, and that determine the level of material and symbolic profits an individual enjoys in society (p. 241).

Wilson and Musick's (1997) notion of cultural capitals differs from Bourdieu's (1986) conception, as the focus is on moral values as cultural capital rather than appreciation of fine art or wine, for example, as illustrated in Bourdieu's (1986) writing. Chambre and Einolf's (2011) argument that cultural values positively influence volunteering confirms the idea that values and norms are

---

[4] The concept of a 'free rider' refers to individuals who enjoy the social benefits of a collective good or service without contributing to its production.

resources for volunteering. Given that, values are cultural capital required for volunteering, 'Ubuntu' is cultural capital and therefore a resource required for volunteering.

'Ubuntu' is a social philosophy prevalent in South Africa. Nussbaum (2003) defined it as "the capacity to express compassion, reciprocity, dignity, harmony and humanity in the interest of building and maintaining community" (Nussbaum, 2003, p. 21). When people volunteer, they may be reifying the values of 'Ubuntu' that "link the individual to the collective through brotherhood and sisterhood" (Swanson, 2007, p. 55). The notion of Ubuntu as cultural capital is therefore in line with Wilson's (2000) idea that individuals who are more likely to volunteer ascribe to the values and beliefs of community solidarity, altruism, compassion, caring about others and social responsibility (p. 219).

### 2.1.2   Theories of motivations to volunteer (MTV)

*Rational choice theories* suggest that public or private benefits may help to explain why individuals choose to volunteer. The foundation of these theories is economics and they assume a rational economic agent. Rational choice theories include exchange theory, utilitarian theory and volunteer dilemma (public goods) theory. Exchange theory concedes that individuals are not pure altruists but also care about the private benefits of volunteering. The utilitarian theory, also known as the private consumption model, also emphasises the role of benefits in volunteering, but suggests that individuals volunteer to achieve nonmaterial benefits such as experiencing personal satisfaction and a content, 'warm glow', from knowing that they have helped someone in need. The public goods theory suggests that individuals volunteer because of their genuine concern for others (Govenkar et al., 2002); therefore, altruism may explain volunteering among individuals. For rational choice theorists a cost-benefit calculus forms the basis of volunteering decisions and therefore individuals whose benefits outweigh the costs are more likely to volunteer (Wilson, 2000, p. 222).

The *functional approach* provides a mind in body, psychological understanding to volunteer motivations (Atsumi, 2004). According to its proponents, motivations precede the action of volunteering (Clary, Ridge, Stukas, Snyder, Copeland, Haugen & Meine, 1998, p. 1518). Consequently, individuals who are more likely to volunteer participate to fulfil psychological needs. These individuals are characterised by different personal characteristics than non-volunteers, which include the presence of pro-social personality traits (Ziemeck, 2003, p. 23). These traits are moral reasoning, positive self-esteem, extroversion, agreeableness and empathy (Bekker, 2005). They are dispositional characteristics - "enduring attributes of an individual" - that independently and or collectively influence volunteerism (Penner, 2002, p. 450). A product of this theory is the voluntary

function index (VFI), which includes six motivations[5] meant to explain volunteering decisions (Clary et al., 1998, p. 1517).

The extent to which motives precede the action of volunteering is still a debated issue. Atsumi (2004) reviewed the retrospective methods of the functional perspective and argued that it is not suitable for the study of motives because "people do not always have motivation in mind before they act" (p. 15). Additionally, "rather than retrieve motivations", people construct an interpretation of their actions that they perceive make sense to other members of society (p. 117). Housley and Fitzgerald (2008) also affirmed the importance of recognisability of the interpretations by other members in society in their assertion of "the primacy of social action in talk-in-interaction" (p. 241). Accordingly, Atsumi (2004) proposed social constructionism as being a better framework from which to understand volunteer motives.

Atsumi's (2004) argument therefore supports the proponents of *symbolic interactionists'* approach to the study of volunteer motivations. Symbolic interactionists dispute the idea that motivations are antecedents to volunteering and argue that as social constructions, motivations are the means through which individuals try to understand their volunteering action. Motivations are a reification of certain values embedded in the culture of volunteering. As such, motives are specifically talked about, giving meaning to and helping to shape behaviour (Wilson, 2000, p. 218). Therefore, social interaction determines when the specific talked about motive is appropriate (Musick & Wilson, 2008). Motivations are therefore not predispositions but part of a larger set of cultural understandings (Wilson, 2000).  Furthermore, they "connect an event with a biography" and they generate the event as part of a set of embodied experiences" (Blum & McHugh, 1971, p. 106).

## 2.2   Empirical Studies on Volunteering

### 2.2.1   Determinants of the likelihood to volunteer

While there is much debate over which factors to include in the study of volunteering, there is at least consensus about the inclusion of demographic factors. Wilson and Musick (1997) view is that these variables are significant not because of their direct influence on volunteerism, but, because they work indirectly, via their influence on the vital determinants of volunteering. They thus influence volunteering as mediators of the stock of capital an individual can acquire.

---

[5] The six functions fulfilled by volunteering proposed by Clary et al. (1998), which they formulated based on an empirical analysis, include: 1) Expression of altruistic values, 2) Fulfilling the desire to experience something new or to apply knowledge and skills that would otherwise remain dormant, 3) Satisfying one's need to socialise or to undertake activities with positive social rewards, 4) Career enhancing benefits, 5) Protecting the ego from negative feelings such as feeling guilty about being privileged, and 6) The enhancement and development of the ego (p. 1517).

Gender differences are salient in the most studies of volunteering and it is often illustrated that women volunteer more than men (Rankopo, Osei-Hwedie & Moroak, 2007; Taniguchi 2006). This gender differential seems to be explained by socialisation and gender role stereotypes because they raise the expectation that men, as heads of households, take part in gainful employment (Naidu Sliep & Dageid, 2012; Rankopo et al., 2007; Taniguchi, 2006). Similarly, women are expected to fill the role of caregiver and nurturer, which they embody and perform in their everyday activities such as care giving volunteering. For instance, volunteering for women home based caregivers in KwaZulu-Natal has been described as an expression of their identity based on the "collectivist cultural view of mothering in the community" (Naidu et al., 2012, p. 125).

What is also striking about this gender difference is that it exists even when gender is interacted with other variables. For example, it has been shown that unemployment significantly reduces the likelihood of male volunteering, but not female volunteering (Taniguchi, 2006, p. 94). Authors such as Wymer and Samu (2002, p. 983) disputed the general findings on gender difference and argued that more women volunteer because they have more discretionary time, but men on average volunteer more time. However, the validity of the authors' findings are concerning because their female sample was three times larger than the sample for males, and there are concerns about missing variable bias because the authors failed to account for other factors besides employment and motivations.

According to the complementarity theory, similarities within couples, results in a greater likelihood of them valuing and taking part in similar activities, including volunteering. This is why Rotolo and Wilson (2006) concluded that married individuals are more likely to volunteer, "Marriage has involved them in a close relationship in which the attitudes and activities of the other partner are bound to have a powerful influence" (p. 318). Other studies have found gender differences in the influence of marriage on the likelihood to volunteer.  Einolf and Philbrick (2014) concluded, "newly married women, but not men, are less likely to volunteer after marriage" and as a category are likely "to volunteer fewer hours" (2014, p. 583).

Likewise, the literature shows race to be a good predictor of volunteering, but the results are conditional and are often influenced by other factors, including socio-economic status, context and culture. The common assumption, especially in developed countries, is that Black people are less likely to volunteer, mainly due to the high probability of their being of low socio-economic status (Wilson & Musick 1997).  Yet in developing country studies such as Everatt et al.'s (2005), this was found not to be true. Their research reported that on average, Africans, who form the majority of the poor and unemployed, and Indians, volunteer more hours per month than Coloured and White

South Africans. This calls into question the inclusion of 'race', a contested social construction, as a variable to explain a person's likelihood to volunteer, because as the literature suggests, it may not be race that explains volunteering but other factors including context and culture.

There is evidence that the relationship between age and volunteering may be curvilinear, as volunteering increases with age, peaking at midlife and decreasing thereafter (Chambre & Einolf, 2011). The life course status may provide clarity on the relationship between volunteering and age, as evidence shows that people who are in the middle span of adult life, married and have children in the household, are more likely to volunteer (Sundeen, 1990).

Variables associated with human capital, such as income, employment status and educational attainments, are important to include in any study that aims to investigate volunteering. According to Wilson (2000, p. 222), education is the most consistent predictor of volunteering. In relation to this, Gestuizen and Scheepers (2012) identified cognitive competence to be the most influential factor in the relationship between education and volunteering (p. 75). In addition, education may have a positive effect on volunteering because individuals who are more educated are likely to have a greater awareness of societal issues as well as greater self-confidence to pursue these through volunteering.

Likewise, employment status has a significant influence on volunteering, however its net influence can only be determined if both its constraining and enabling influences are accounted for (Wilson & Musick, 1998). Employment may constrain volunteering because it limits the time that is available for non-work activities such as volunteering.  Employment may also have a positive influence on volunteering. This is because it is a form of social integration that enables greater information flow about volunteer opportunities, which increases the likelihood of being asked. Furthermore, due to the association between status and volunteering, one would expect people with high status jobs to be more likely to volunteer because they are more likely to be recruited (Wilson, 2000, p. 221).

Nevertheless, the extent to which employment negatively influences volunteering through pressure on time available for non-work related activities or positively influences it through networks is subject to other countless factors. Employment may limit the amount of time available to volunteer outside work, but volunteering may be encouraged by the company during work hours. Additionally, employment may have a positive effect on social integration, however whether this translates to volunteering will depend on the influence of the group on the individual and whether the values shared within the group encourage volunteering.

The results on the relationship between income and volunteering are inconclusive and tend to differ with context. Higher wages may mean a higher opportunity cost, which means that the likelihood of volunteering is reduced. A higher income also reflects a dominant status, which qualifies an individual for volunteer work and raises the probability that they will be asked. This may not be the case in developing countries, however. In South Africa it is evident that giving is not the domain of the wealthy, but rather part of the everyday life of South Africans, irrespective of wealth (Everatt & Solanski, 2005). Similarly, in Malawi most volunteers are impoverished (Moleni & Gallagher, 2007, p. 41). This was confirmed by Perold et al. (2007), who reported that volunteering is more prevalent among people of lower socio-economic status in Southern Africa. One should therefore clearly take the context of a particular region or country into consideration to gain a more accurate understanding of volunteering in a particular period and space, which will only be possible by providing the necessary evidence through research.

Other studies on motivations for volunteering have also considered the influence of social integration and the level of social networks and ties. Ryan, Agnitsch, Zhao and Mullick (2005) reported that greater community attachment through social ties leads to an increase in the likelihood to volunteer (Ryan et al., 2005, p. 306). The positive influence of social integration on volunteering may be the result of social obligation and empathy. According to Wilkinson-Maposa et al. (2005), empathy may be an important motivator and it is argued that people living in poverty might want to help because they understand what it means to be impoverished.

Religion as a form of cultural capital has a positive influence on volunteering because the "culture of benevolence is institutionalized in churches" (Musick & Wilson, 1997, p. 697). This positive influence of religion may be the result of internalised norms of altruism by religious individuals. It is also the result of religion being a form of bridging and bonding social capital that increases the chances of being recruited and being motivated to volunteer (Wilson & Musick, 1998, p. 811). Ruiter and de Graaf (2006), in their longitudinal cross-country study using the World Values Survey data, found that being religious increases the probability of volunteering, however this depends on the denomination. In studies on volunteering in Southern Africa, religion is also found to have a strong association with volunteering.

### 2.2.2  Motivations to volunteer (MTV)

Scholars of volunteering have also been fascinated with the "processes that move people to action" and long-term commitment (Clary et al., 1998, p. 1517). The concern is what drives people to apply personal resources and effort, for sustained periods, to an activity that holds no obvious rewards? What has also been a concern is the extent to which either altruistic or self-interested MTVs

16

dominate people's decisions to volunteer. Depending on the theoretical perspective, methods, people studied, and the context, scholars have provided different answers and insights.

A review of the empirical literature reveals two common findings that are evident in both developed and developing country empirical studies on motivations to volunteer. Firstly, volunteers have multiple motivations (Akintola, 2010; Kiptot & Franzel, 2014; Kawash, 2009; Swart, Seedat, & Sader, 2004). These motives may include a mix of building of human and social capital and wanting to give back to one's community, such as in the case of volunteer farmers in Kenya (Kawash, 2009). Kawash reached this conclusion based on an interpretive study consisting of field observations, interviews and focus group discussions, which examined the national, community and individual level factors that influence decisions to volunteer.

This mix of motives is not peculiar to Kenya. Akintola (2011) presented similar results based on research conducted in semi-rural KwaZulu-Natal. Guided by functional theory, his study comprised of semi-structured interviews with 57 participants. Its conclusion was that there are complex and multiple reasons for individuals' participation in volunteering, and in particular the area of community health workers (CHW), who volunteered because of concern for others and their community, the desire to acquire skills and personal growth. Attracting good things to themselves and heeding a religious call was also important in their decision to volunteer. Be that as it may, benefits from the experience related to career development and employment and the need to avoid idleness were the most frequently cited reasons for volunteering cited by the CHWs (Akintola, 2011)

Empirical studies have also highlighted the importance of career related motives in empirical studies of volunteering in the region. For example, a qualitative study in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) reported career related reasons as being a common MTV among volunteers. Culture and religion are also very important motivating influences (Patel, 2007, p. 14), which is not surprising given the importance of religious organisations in development and service delivery. Moreover, volunteering forms part of an age-old culture and tradition of help and mutual assistance in the region.

Secondly, concern for others and for oneself often guides the decision to volunteer, illustrating that altruistic and self-interested motives co-exist and are therefore not independent (Burns et al., 2006). This is also the case in South Africa, even though the circumstances of many volunteers might sometimes justify a more selfish approach to volunteering. For example, Takasugi and Lee (2012) reported that the desire to improve the standard of living and awareness of health in their communities were the main reasons given for volunteering by caregivers. Nevertheless, they also

mentioned that participants also cited various pecuniary and non-pecuniary related reasons, such as recognition, personal development and working conditions, as motivating factors (Takasugi & Lee, 2012).

Similarly, care for others is the main motivating factor for volunteer caregivers in Malawi, who volunteer because of the orphans they care for (Uny, 2008). However, religious duties, satisfaction derived from the activity and building social capital in case they too left orphans were other reasons why they volunteered (Uny, 2008). Uny reached these conclusions after an investigation into why impoverished people volunteered, which applied phenomenological analysis to data from semi-structured interviews conducted on a purposive sample of 14 volunteers. In a later study, Moleni and Gallangher (2010) confirmed a social security motivation among volunteers in Malawi. The study report also noted skills acquisition and material incentives such as programme equipment to be motivating factors.

Even though most empirical studies of MTVs have found volunteers to be influenced by a mix of altruistic and self-interested motivations, other studies have reported altruistic MTVs to be more important. Handy and Hustinx (2009), in their cross-country study, applied statistical analysis on a sample of 9482 students to determine the degree they need to signal good organisational citizenship to prospective employers inspires students to volunteer. True to their initial hypothesis, the authors uncovered that the curriculum vitae (CV) padding motive, an example of self-interested behaviour, is significantly but negatively related to volunteering. On the other hand, altruism has a positive and highly significant association.

Another concern of volunteering studies is why some people remain committed while others give up. The motivation behind this concern stems from the recognition of the importance of volunteers and the need to prevent attrition. This has especially been the case in Africa where a large number of social services, especially in the health sector, are delivered by voluntary organisations.

The research of Ludwick, Brenner, Kyomuhangi, Wotton and Kabakyenga (2013) examined factors that influence the retention of CHWs in Uganda. Through the study the authors uncovered that the outcomes of CHW's work, the training opportunities provided through the volunteer programme and being valued by their communities contributed more to sustained commitment than financial incentives. Booth, Segon and Shannassys's (2010) mixed method study incorporated grounded theory with an abductive strategy and a survey to triangulate identified different contributors to volunteer commitment. Their study participants noted the need for involvement and fulfilment as the main factors in their decision to remain volunteers.

On the other hand, Rdlach (2009) uncovered that egoistic MTVs dominated study participants' reasons for remaining volunteers. Based on ethnography, focus groups and interview data, Rdlach concluded that volunteers' trading of efforts for social capital motivated them to stay committed to their work with HIV patients in Zimbabwe. Additionally, the hope that volunteering would lead to future benefits, such as job opportunities or recognition, were also cited as important factors.

The decision to volunteer is a personal matter; however, exogenous influences such as ecological influences and other context-related factors impact volunteer decisions. Kiptot and Franzel (2014) concluded, "Certain motivational incentives will only suffice under particular circumstances and these vary in different contexts" (p. 233). Naidu, Slip and Dagied (2012) illustrated this point in their study that examined how home-based care volunteers' identities are shaped. The authors used narrative methods to collect and analyse data from semi-structured interviews conducted with 15 home-based caregivers in rural KwaZulu-Natal. Naidu et al. concluded that the dynamic mix of history, gender relations, culture and personal circumstances influence identity, which in turn influences volunteer motivations.

The level and quality of social capital also influence MTVs. Haski-Leventhal (2009) argued that socialisation and social interaction influence what people prioritise and even reflect in the words they use to explain their actions. As symbolic interactionism would explain, in the interaction with others through verbal and non-verbal cues we help shape our behaviour, ethics and worldviews. Consequently, whom people interact with and the degree of interaction is likely to influence their volunteering decisions. This explains Finkelstein's (2011) argument that "those with stronger social ties may tend to limit their volunteering to informal helping within their (own) networks" (p. 603). Stronger social ties heighten feelings of obligation, which are closely associated with informal help. Additionally, people will most likely engage in volunteering activities aligned with social expectations, which attract positive reactions from others. This is why being asked to volunteer, especially by significant others, has been found to be strong reason to volunteer.

Stewart and Weinstein (1997) argue, "Motivations for participation become meaningful in relation to the nature of involvement offered by the setting" (p. 810). This means that  the organisational context, the type of organisation, the organisational culture, as well as the activities engaged in also matter. Manatschal and Freitag's (2014) findings illustrate this point. After a Bayesian multi-level analysis of the 2009 Swiss Volunteer Survey data, the authors concluded that volunteer activity determines whether altruistic reciprocal or strategic reciprocal motives inspire volunteering.

Wilkinson-Maposa et al.'s study (2010) provided a holistic understanding of MTV in Southern Africa. Their findings revealed that helping decisions in Southern Africa among the poor consist of

three dimensions. The first dimension is the 'forces' that drive the desire to help, such as poverty and collective efforts to escape its harsh effects. The second is motivational drivers, which include empathy for a person in need, mutual assistance and reciprocity. The 'motivational drivers' provide the basis from which people decide to help and are "developed in different degrees within each person" (p. 50). The last dimension is the principles that govern "the act of helping" - the criteria used to determine whether the person is worthy of help and the protocols followed within helping relationships between the helper and the beneficiary of the help (p. 50).

## 2.3   Conclusion

The literature reviewed in this chapter illustrates the diversity present in the field of volunteering research that reflects its multi-dimensional and complex form. Various disciplines have theorised about the phenomenon, for example Wilson and Musick's (1997) integrated theory, with its foundations in sociology, attempted to provide answers to the question 'Who will volunteer?' The theory suggests that the mere willingness to volunteer alone does not guarantee that you will volunteer, because volunteering requires resources that are determined by its nature and characteristics. Because they are not equitable distributed among people, certain individuals who enjoy higher levels of these resources will have a greater chance of volunteering.

There are also theories that have tried to understand why people will volunteer; the ones reviewed in this chapter are from the economics, psychology and sociology disciplines. Theories of motivations in economics indicate that a person - a rational economic agent - has a greater chance of volunteering when their cost-benefit calculations show that the benefits to be gained from the activity outweigh the costs involved. These benefits may include pecuniary incentives or fulfilment - a 'warm glow' from knowing that their actions have benefited another person.

Functional theory has its foundation in psychology. The theory departs from the assumption that people have dispositional characteristics; pro-social personality traits that result in people who possess them being more likely to volunteer than people who do not possess them. Additionally, these pro-social individuals will volunteer to serve particular functions, which are listed in Clary et al.'s (1998) VFI. Social interactionism takes a different approach to that of functional theory in the study of volunteer motivations. According to the theory, motivations are not antecedents to volunteering, but constructions of the sense people make of their past, present and future actions.

The absence of a unifying theory to explain volunteer action is also reflected in the empirical studies of volunteering. This is not due to a lack of effort, but the multi-dimensional nature of

volunteering that is further complicated by the context and environment in which the activity takes place and the circumstances of the people who perform it.

Nonetheless, empirical studies that have tried to examine the factors that most closely relate to volunteering have produced different answers. What the researcher concluded about volunteering from this body of research is that it is difficult to formulate generalising statements about the factors that best explain volunteering. This is because the likelihood is high that they will differ by time, space and context. Consequently, the factors that will influence volunteering will not be the same in all contexts. Additionally, even if these factors are uniform across contexts, the manner and degree to which they will influence volunteering is likely to vary.

This influence of time, space and context also applies to the question of volunteer motivations. Despite this boundedness of motivations, there are two ideas that seem to have gained universality in the study of volunteer motivations. The first idea is that egoistic and altruistic motivations are interdependent and coexist on a continuum. Secondly, the initial reasons to volunteer put forward by volunteers and the reasons cited for sustained commitment are seldom the same.

Hustinx et al.'s (2010) use of the 'kaleidoscope' metaphor to describe volunteering thus provides a perfect description of volunteering, as reflected in this review. For the authors, the kaleidoscopic nature of volunteering makes it difficult to pin down the phenomenon as it takes myriad forms - just as the images and colours change by a movement of the instrument, so the changing nature of the environment and context influences volunteering (p. 85). The literature reviewed reveals that the multi-dimensional nature of volunteering calls for an equally multi-dimensional research approach, if the chances of understanding the phenomenon are to be improved.

# CHAPTER 3:   SEQUENTIAL MIXED METHODS DESIGN

## 3.1   Definition of mixed methods design

To investigate the influence of the different forms of capital on volunteering the researcher employed a mixed methods research design. Mixed methods design is defined as "the class of research where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts or language into a single study" (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 17). It is closely associated with the pragmatic paradigm, which does not mean that anything goes, but that research methods chosen should be those that offer the best chance of obtaining useful findings (Kelle, 2001; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

## 3.2   Why a mixed methods design?

Mixed methods design gained popularity in the aftermath of the 1980s 'Paradigm Wars', when it emerged as the 'Third Way'. It was borne through the rejection of the 'Incommensurability thesis', which states that methods cannot be combined because of the close link they have with paradigms, positivism and constructivism, which have incompatible epistemological and ontological foundations (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2010).

In choosing a mixed methods design the researcher joined its advocates in rejecting the 'Incommensurability thesis'. This thesis was rejected because it implies that paradigms dictate both the research design and method (Gorard, 2010). This is not the case, as by definition research design is not married to any specific paradigm, but is the approach adopted to organise research to increase the likelihood of generating evidence that provides defensible answers to research question (p. 239). Similarly, the choice of method is based on its ability to provide insights into the question with no philosophical loyalty to any alternative paradigm (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006).  Atkinson and Hammersley (1994), who in their discussion of ethnography argued, "there is no simple one-to-one relationship between ethnography and any given theoretical perspective" (p. 258), confirmed this.

Additionally, the 'Incommensurability thesis' divides research methods into an unusable quantitative, qualitative binary that is hard to maintain in the face of logic and evidence. This division suggests "a purity of method" that is impossible to maintain in social research (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006). Methods grouped under the quantitative and qualitative headings are not homogenous and thus cannot be described in the same way (Bergman, 2008). The dichotomous division of methods is thus a 'straw man building' that is the result of identity and ideological loyalties rather than the definition of boundaries of rather heterogeneous groups of methods (p. 19).

The researcher selected mixed methods as the preferred design because it will improve the interpretability, meaningfulness and validity of the research outcomes (Woolley, 2009). This is because of its 'methodological eclecticism' and the importance placed on the research question in choosing appropriate methods (Johnson & Ongwuegbuzie, 2004; Lieber & Weisner, 2010). Methodological eclecticism allowed the researcher the flexibility to choose methods such that she could exploit the strengths and reduce the biases in the chosen methods (Greene et al., 1989, p. 259). This is because methods are on a continuum, where numbers and words are accorded the same level of importance. Accordingly, a mixed methods study can include the collection of numeric as well as text information, as done in this study (Creswell, 2003, p. 20).

The researcher therefore based her decision upon careful consideration of the nature of the research problem and the best way to address it. The research problem is such that it requires methods both to understand general patterns of volunteering and its determinants, as well as the meanings individuals place on their volunteer participation. This is in line with Kelle's (2001) argument that within any science, methodological issues should "regard the nature of the investigated phenomenon first, and thereafter address the question, which method may be adequate to describe, explain or understand this phenomenon?" (p. 2).

## 3.3   Sequential mixed methods design

The mixed method design chosen is a sequential mixed methods design that consists of statistical and interpretive methods. Statistical methods will be included in Phase I of the research and will consist of descriptive and logistic analysis applied to secondary data from the South African wave of the World Values Survey. Both semi-structured interviews and participant observation will form part of Phase II of the study. Subsequently, in choosing these methods, the idea was to "provide alternative perspectives that when combined, go further towards an all-embracing vision of the subject", that covers both scale and "insight into the motivational factors that give rise to behaviour" (Descombe, 2010, p. 141).

The researcher therefore investigated associations between volunteering and different factors and the strengths of those relationships through statistical analysis. She also examined the process and thus the pathways of these relationships through interpretive analysis. Consequently the statistical and interpretive methods combined will assist to address the what, where and how of this study. Her choice of research design therefore provides "a means of bridging macro–micro levels of social analysis" (Woolley, 2009, p. 8). It also allowed her to make generalisations from the statistics and achieve a full understanding through in-depth interviews and participant observation (Bazeley, 2002).

### 3.3.1   Rationale for conducting a sequential mixed method study

The rationale for conducting a sequential mixed method study is significance enhancement; the mixing of methods to enhance statistical analysis (Collins, Onwuegbuzie & Sutton, 2006). Statistical analysis is enhanced by employing mixed methods for complementing the findings of the descriptive and logistic analysis and for development of the interpretive phase of the research. The interpretive analysis helps to elaborate, illustrate, enhance and clarify the findings of the statistical analysis. The researcher also used the statistical analysis to choose the sample and to formulate the instrument used, with the development of the interpretive phase.

### 3.3.2   Timing of integration

The findings from the two strands of research were integrated at the discussion stage of the research to create meta-inferences, with the purpose of providing more complete and insightful answers to the research questions.

### 3.3.3   Validity and quality assurance

In addition, to ensure the quality of meta-inference, separate procedures were used to ensure the reliability and validity of the logistic regression findings and the credibility and trustworthiness of the interview and participant observation findings. Other quality assurance procedures associated with sequential mixed methods are applied to ensure meta-inference quality, such as applying a systematic procedure for selecting participants for interviews, elaborating on unexpected statistical results, and observing interactions between the statistical and interpretive study strands (Ivankova, 2013, p. 2).

# CHAPTER 4:   RESEARCH PHASE I: LOGISTIC REGRESSION BASED ON THE WORLD VALUES SURVEY (WVS)

## 4.1   Introduction

In this chapter, the 'what' questions of volunteering are addressed with descriptive analysis and regression analysis using the 2001 wave of the World Values Survey (WVS). For an in-depth multi-variate perspective, logistic analysis is applied to measure the strength of the relationship between the likelihood to volunteer and selected human, social and cultural capital variables, and make inferences about these relationships. The chapter commences with a detailed description of the WVS data, explaining that this was the appropriate data for examining the question of correlates of volunteering in South Africa. Thereafter both the dependent and independent variables included in the study are described. The results and conclusion are presented in the last two sections of the chapter.

## 4.2   Method

### 4.2.1   Data and variables

*Data*

The WVS was used because it is well suited for the type of research questions this study sought to address. The WVS data includes the required demographic and socio-economic variables, but also, more importantly, subjective variables related to values and social and cultural attitudes. The 2001 wave data was selected because its question on volunteering appears to be clearer. The question asks respondents to indicate in which of 14 organisations they performed unpaid voluntary work. This question makes explicit reference to volunteering, unlike the comparable question in the 2006 questionnaire, which only asks if a respondent is actively involved in any of the organisations listed.

The WVS is a cross-national research study consisting of representative samples from 97 countries, representing 90% of the world population (WVS, 2001). The aim of the WVS is to examine changes in values and their impact on social and political life. The survey uses a standardised questionnaire to measure changing beliefs concerning religion, gender roles, work motivations, democracy, good governance, social capital, political participation, tolerance of other groups, environmental protection and subjective wellbeing. As such, it provides valuable information about important aspects of social change such as the values, beliefs and motivations of ordinary people. Additionally, the survey gathers demographic and socio-economic information such as education, income, employment status and class.

Data for the South African wave of the survey was collected during the period March 2001 and May 2001 from a random sample of 3000 individuals 16 years and older. The sampling frame of the survey was applied to achieve representativeness of the South African population. Consequently, 1302 respondents were Black, 900 White, 498 Coloured and 300 Indian. The final data set includes 2813 observations.

The sample was stratified by region, gender and community size. There was an equal representation of males and females and it included 60% of respondents from urban metropolitan areas (cities with populations greater than 250 000) and 40% from non-metropolitan areas, including cities, large towns, villages and rural areas. The urban, cities and town sample points were allocated according to community size, and where a definite size was not available, small, medium and large references were used as guidelines based on available information. Rural sample points were chosen first by selecting small towns in each province.  This was followed by interviews conducted within a 20km radius of the chosen small town.

*Variables*

## Table 4.1: Variables (WVS, 2001)

| Variable name | Variable Type and Coding | Survey item |
|---|---|---|
| **Dependent Variables** | | |
| General Volunteering | Dummy: 1 "yes" and 0 "no" | v54-v67 |
| Religious Volunteering | Dummy: 1 "yes" and 0 "no" | v55 |
| Sports Volunteering | Dummy: 1 "yes" and 0 "no" | V64 |
| Woman Volunteering | Dummy: 1 "yes" and 0 "no" | V65 |
| Professional and Political Volunteering | Dummy: 1 "yes" and 0 "no" | V57,v58,v60& v62 |
| Community and Health Volunteering | Dummy: 1 "yes" and 0 "no" | v54, v59 & v67 |
| Other Volunteering | Dummy: 1 "yes" and 0 "no" | v56,  v60, v61, v63& v66 |
| **Independent Variables** | | |
| *Control Variables* | | |
| Age | Continuous: 16- 98 years | V225 |
| Gender | Dummy: 1 "female" and 0 "male" | v223 |
| Race: | Dummies: White (ref cat), Black: 1 "yes " and 0 "no" Coloured: 1 "yes " and 0 "no" Indian: 1 "yes " and 0 "no" | v242 |
| Marital status | Dummy: 1 "yes " and 0 "no" | V106 |
| Number of Children | Count: 1-6 | v107 |
| *Human Capital* | | |
| Education | Dummy: no schooling (ref category) less than matric: 1 "yes " and 0 "no" matric: 1 "yes " and 0 "no" more than matric: 1 "yes " and 0 "no" | V226 |
| Income | Ordinal: 1 "up to R 1299" – 6 "R14000-R20000 plus" | v236 |
| Employment status | Dummy: 1 "employed " and 0 "unemployed" | v229 |
| Social class | Dummies: Upper : 1 "yes " and 0 "no" Middle: 1 "yes " and 0 "no" Working: 1 "yes " and 0 "no" Lower: 1 "yes" and 0 "no" | v235 |
| Self- reported health status | Rank:  1 "Poor";  2 "Fair"; 3 "Good"; 4 "Very good" | V12 |

| Variable name | Variable Type and Coding | Survey item |
|---|---|---|
| *Social Capital* | | |
| Time with family | Ordinal: 0 "not at all"; 1 "few times a year"; 2 "once/ twice monthly"; 3 "weekly" | V27 |
| Time with friends | Ordinal: 0 "not at all"; 1 "few times a year"; 2 "once/ twice monthly"; 3 "weekly" | V28 |
| Time with colleagues | Ordinal: 0 "not at all"; 1 "few times a year"; 2 "once/ twice monthly"; 3 "weekly" | V29 |
| Generalised trust | Dummy: 1 "yes " and 0 "no" | v25 |
| Prejudice index | Continuous: 0 "not prejudices"-1 "very prejudiced" | v69 ,v72, v73 , v76, v77 |
| Civic participation | Continuous: 0 "not civic minded" - 2 "very civic minded" | v134-v138 |
| *Cultural Capital* | | |
| Sharing | 1 "yes " and 0 "no" | V23 |
| Serving others | Ordinal: 0 "not at all important "; 1 "not very important"; 2 "somewhat important"; 3 "very important" | V10 |
| Importance of God | Ordinal : 1 "not at all important"-10 "very important" | V196 |
| Religious Identity | Dummies: Religious (ref category) Not religious: 1 "yes " and 0 "no" Atheist: 1 "yes " and 0 "no" | V186 |
| Frequency of prayer | Ordinal: 0= never;  – 6 =every day | V199 |
| Church attendance | Ordinal: 0= never – 6 => once a week | V185 |

In Table 4.1, the variables included in this study are presented, which were selected based on theory and existing literature, as well as the South African cultural and social context. They include a set of binary dependent variables to measure the likelihood of volunteering and the likelihood to volunteer in different organisations. The general volunteer dummy variable is constructed from survey items v54-v67; these are responses to the question, "For which (organisation), if any, are you currently doing unpaid voluntary work?" (WVS, 2001). Respondents could select any number of the 14 listed organisations. The responses were recoded one for the affirmative and zero if not mentioned. They were then combined to form a volunteering variable with 14 categories to reflect different forms of volunteering. The variable was then recoded into a dummy variable coded 1 if they were a volunteer and 0 if they were a non-volunteer.

The religious, sports and women volunteering dummy variables were also constructed from the recodes of survey items V55, V64 and V65, which were coded 1 if they mentioned having volunteered in these organisations and 0 if not. The professional and political, community and welfare and other volunteering dummies were created through a combination of different survey items. The professional and political dummy combined volunteering in unions, political,

professional and development and human rights organisations. The reason for combining these categories was that the organisations most often represent the interests of particular groups in society based on a specified characteristic.

The community and health dummy, on the other hand, combined the welfare, health and community organisations categories. These categories were combined because individuals who volunteer in these organisations are most often more likely to be motivated by altruism and concern for others. Lastly, the 'other' volunteering dummy combined volunteering in education and cultural organisation, peace, conservation and youth volunteering.  These organisations were grouped together in the 'other' category because of the small number of observations in each group.

The main aim with this work was to gauge the relative contribution of human, social and cultural capital to the likelihood of volunteering. The bulk of the variables therefore represented these dimensions. Demographic variables such as age, marital status, race and gender were included to control for heterogeneity that may have influenced coefficients. Marital status was also included as a binary variable.

Variables depicting socio-economic status such as income, education, social class and employment status were included as proxies for human capital.  Income was a categorical variable that ranged from one to six - the number of income categories included in the study. The categories were reduced from the initial 19 included in the survey. Thereafter the categories were recoded into dummy variables with 'income category one' as the reference category.

The education variable was also a set of dummy variables constructed from survey item v226. In the survey there were 12 education categories, however in this study these were reduced to four categories: no schooling (the reference category), less than matric, matric and post matric.  Social class was another variable included as a proxy for human capital.  The variable was constructed from responses to the question that asked respondents to self-identify in which class they perceived themselves to belong. In the questionnaire, respondents could choose from five categories, namely upper class, upper middle class, lower middle class, working class and lower class. However, for this research the middle class category was collapsed into one category resulting in four class categories.

The self-reported health status variable was a recode of survey item V12, where respondents were requested to identify if they thought their health was 1 "very good", 2 "good", 3 "fair", or 4 "poor". The categories were recoded 1 "poor", 2 "fair", 3 "good" and 4 "very good" to create an ordinal

variable which ranked self-reported health from 1 to 4. Employment status was also included as a dummy variable coded 1 if employed and 0 if unemployed.

The WVS also has a rich list of questions on social capital. Social networks were represented by time with family, time with friends and time with colleagues. The variables were recoded into ascending scale variables ranging from 0 to 3 to reflect the amount of time individuals spend within these networks.

Two variables were included as indicators of bridging social capital. Bridging social capital is crosscutting ties across individuals or groups it takes place when members of an internal group reach out to an external group to "seek access or support or to gain information" (Larsen, Harlan, Bolin, Hackett, Hope, Kirby, Nelson, Rex, & Wolf, 2004, p. 66). Bridging social capital is therefore different from bonding social capital in that bonding social capital occurs within in-groups or networks (Larsen, 2004).

The first of these variables is generalised trust. The variable is a dummy variable constructed from responses to the question "Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people?"(WVS, 2001).  The responses were recoded 1 if they responded 'yes' and 0 if 'no'. Prejudice, a score variable ranging from 0 to 1, which denotes the absence of bridging social capital, was included as the second bridging social capital variable. The prejudice variable was constructed from responses to the question, "Which of these groups would you not want as neighbours?" - Jews, Muslims, homosexuals, people of a different ethnicity and/or migrants. Respondents could choose any number of the above categories. For the study, the responses were recoded from 1 if 'yes' and 2 if 'no' to 1 if 'yes' and 0 if 'no'. The affirmative responses were then summed and divided by five. The result was an average prejudice score ranging from 0 to 1.

Civic mindedness was also included as a social capital variable. The variable was created from survey items v134 to v138. The question asked of respondents was "Have you ever done, might you or would you never take part in boycotts, signing petitions, demonstrations, and unofficial strikes and/or occupying buildings?" Respondents were scored 2 if they mentioned that they had taken part in an activity, 1 for 'might' and 0 for 'would never do'. The responses to the categories were then summed and divided by five to get the civic mindedness average score ranging from 0 'not civic minded' to 2 'very civic minded'.

The influence of cultural capital on volunteering was examined via a set of variables that reflected Ubuntu and another set that represented religiosity. The Ubuntu variables included 'sharing' and

'serving others'. Sharing was a dummy variable constructed from the question, which asked respondents if a particular value is important to confer onto children. The 'serving others' variable was created from responses to the question, 'How important is serving others in your life?' The choices were 'not at all', 'not very', 'rather' and 'very important'. The responses were recoded 0 for 'not at all', 1 for 'not very', 2 for 'rather' and 3 for 'very important'. The result was an ordinal variable ranging from 0 to 3.

Variables to reflect religiosity included 'The importance of God', which is included as an ordinal variable ranging from one to ten. Respondents were requested to use this scale to illustrate how important God is in their lives. Religious identity was included as a categorical variable with three categories -religious, non-religious and atheist. The categories were recoded into dummy variables with religious as the reference category. Other religiosity variables were ordinal variables 'frequency of prayer' and 'church attendance'. Frequency of prayer was constructed from survey item V199 - responses to the question "How often do you pray to God outside of religious services?" The responses were recoded into an ordinal ascending variable with six being the highest category: 0 for never, 1 for less often, 2 for several times a year, 3 for at least once a month, 4 for once a week, 5 for more than once a week, and 6 for every day. Church attendance was constructed in a similar manner from survey item V185, however the codes were 0 for never, 1 for less often, 2 for special days, 3 for more than once a year, 4 for once a month, 5 for once a week, and 6 for more than once a week.

### 4.2.2   Statistical Analysis

Logistic regression (also referred to as logit regression) was selected as the preferred analysis technique for this study. Logistic regression was designed to estimate the association between a binary outcome variable and explanatory variable, which may be continuous or categorical. Stated in simple terms, logistic regression predicts the probability of an event or a state as a function of explanatory factors. It estimates the logit of Y, the dependent variable, based on a number of characteristics (x). The logit is the natural logarithm (ln) of odds of Y, where odds are ratios of probabilities of Y happening to probabilities of Y not happening (Peng, Lee & Ingersol, 2002, p. 4). They form part of a broader category of estimators known as Generalised Linear Mixed Models (GLMM) maximum likelihood estimators (Vernon & Lambert, 2009). These estimators estimate the parameter value such that the probability of the observed data is the greatest value (Agresti, 2007).

Discriminatory analysis (DA) and the linear probability model (LPM), a variant of ordinary least squares (OLS), are also used for analysis with a binary dependent variable. The assumptions of both DA and LPM are however problematic (Peng, Lee & Ingersoll, 2002, p. 3). Discriminatory analysis and logit regressions have the same functional form (Pohar, Blas & Turk, 2004, p. 158), DA is nonetheless not suitable when the multi-variate normality with equal variances and covariance assumptions have been violated. This is the case with a binary outcome variable because factors that influence the probability will also lead to changes in the variances (Healy, 2006, p. 2).

The binary nature of the outcome variable also violates the linearity, normality, and continuity assumptions for OLS, that is the normal distribution and homogeneous error variance assumptions (Polhman & Leitner, 2003). Because of this violation, OLS estimators of a binary outcome will result in inefficient estimates and biased standard errors (Long, 1997). Additionally, linear models may lead to nonsensical values of probabilities that are greater than one or less than zero. This is because the functional form of linear models is such that the influence of a unit change in an explanatory variable is constant despite the magnitude of the variable (p. 39).

A logit model therefore has an advantage over DA and linear models because it does not require normally distributed dependent data or homogeneity of variances. Consequently, Pohlman and Leitner (2003) rightfully concluded, "If the purpose of the research is estimating probabilities of an outcome, logistic regression is the better model" (p. 124). Logit regression has an advantage over DA because it makes no assumptions about the distribution of the data. Additionally, logits have the ability to deal with the non-linearity of the binary variable by applying non-linear log transformation of the linear regression analysis (Park, 2013, p. 156). This results in a superior model specification that deals with the functional form problem that arises in linear models (Long, 1997, p. 39).

As noted, logistic analysis estimates the odds of the event of interest represented by $\pi(\chi) = E(Y\backslash\chi)$, the conditional mean of Y given $\chi$. It proceeds from probability analysis where the binary outcome is styled as the probability that the event of interest, in the case of this study volunteering, occurs. This probability is then depicted as:

$$Odds\ (Vol) = \left[\frac{\pi_i}{1-\pi_i}\right] \dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\ (1)$$

This is the "ratio of the probability to its complement" (Rodriguez, 2007, p. 6). To generate the logit function the odds are logged such that:

$$ln\left[\frac{\pi_i}{1-\pi_i}\right] = Logit\ (Vol) \dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\ (2)$$

Once the odds have been logged the probability to volunteer is defined in terms of:

$\pi_i = \frac{e^{\alpha+\beta\chi}}{1-e^{\alpha+\beta\chi}}$ Where e = 2.71828 is the base of the system of natural logarithms. Following from equation 2 the logit function of volunteering is:

$$Logit\ (Vol) = \ln\left[\frac{\pi(\chi)}{1-\pi(\chi)}\right]$$

$$= \ln\left[\frac{\frac{e^{\alpha+\beta\chi}}{1-e^{\alpha+\beta\chi}}}{\frac{e^{\alpha+\beta\chi}}{1-e^{\alpha+\beta\chi}}}\right]$$

$$= \alpha + \beta\chi \dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots (3)$$

The natural log transformation that takes place from equation 1 to 3 is what is required to ensure that the association between the binary dependent variable and independent variables is linear. Additionally, the transformation renders logistic models ideal for estimating binary outcomes (Kleinbaum & Klein, 2010). The upshot of the transformation is that it removes the floor restrictions because it maps probabilities for the entire real number line. Accordingly, the estimated probability in a logit function will always remain between zero and one. Additionally, the function retains most of the "desirable properties of the linear regression model", including that it is "linear in its parameters, continuous and allowed to range from infinity to negative infinity depending on the range of χ" (Homser & Lemeshow, 1989, p. 7).

The logit of the probability depicted in equation 3 is a linear function of the predictors. An s-shaped relationship between explanatory and dependent variables, a continuous logarithmic curve, represents the function (Healy, 2006). In the equation, χ represents a vector of explanatory variables that may influence volunteering: α represents the Y intercept and the regression coefficients by β. The logit regression coefficients are maximum likelihood estimates that are estimated iteratively (Polhman et al., 2003). These estimators estimate the likelihood, which is "the probability that observed values of the dependent variable will be predicted by the observed independent variable data" (Healy, 2006, p. 6). The coefficients inform us about the nature of the relationship between the probabilities and the explanatory variable, for example whether it is negative or positive, and the strength of that relationship. The greater β is than zero, the greater the independent variable values the greater the logit of Y and the converse is true. Thus the null hypothesis tested in a logit model is whether β equals zero. Rejecting the null hypothesis implies that a linear relationship exists between X and the logit of Y.

Logit analysis has only one assumption that should be verified - the binomial distribution of errors and conditional mean of the dichotomous outcome. According to Peng and So (2002), the "assumption is satisfied as long as the same probability is maintained across the range of predictor variables" (p. 35). The assumption may be taken to be robust as long as the sample is random; hence, observations are independent of each other (Peng & So 2002).

As desirable as the logit form is for the analysis of binary outcome models, interpretation of the coefficients can be complex. Therefore to ease interpretation, the logit results are presented as the marginal effects of each independent variable on the likelihood to volunteer. The marginal effect of the independent variable is "the partial derivative, which is the ratio of the change in y to the change in x, when the change in x is infinitely small" (Long, 1997, p. 5); it is the slope of the logistic curve at a particular point holding all other variables constant.

### 4.2.3   Ethics

Ethical considerations are not directly relevant to this phase of the research because secondary data from the World Values Survey (2001) is used for the analysis. All ethical procedures would have been the responsibility of Markinor, the organisation contracted to conduct the South African leg of the survey in 2001. Additionally, the data is freely available and downloadable from the World Values Survey Association (WVSA) website, on condition that it is used for non-commercial purposes and that it is not redistributed. An additional condition is that "correct citations are provided and sent to the World Values Survey Associations for each publication of results based in part or entirely on these data files. This citation will be made freely available" (WVSA, 2014). Therefore no copyright violations have been committed by using the World Values Survey data for this study.

## 4.3   Findings: Determinants of Volunteering

### 4.3.1  Descriptive statistics

A table with the descriptive statistics is included in the appendices but discussed here. The profile for the sample of respondents reflects the demographics in South Africa. Within the sample 72% of respondents were Black, 13% White, 10% Coloured and 3% Indian. In terms of gender breakdown, 48% were female and 52% male. Additionally, the mean age of respondents was 35 years and 47% were married.

Furthermore, the average survey respondent had some form of schooling and belonged to households with lower incomes but self-identified as middle class, even though close to more than 40% had no form of employment. Fifty-one percent of respondents reported to have an education qualification less than matric, 28% had completed matric and 16% reported to have a post matric qualification. The respondents also belonged to low income households who lived on approximately R3000 a month. Despite this most self–identified as middle class, with 37% reporting to belong in this class category. This proportion is about 5% and 12% points higher than the 29% who self-identified as working class and 24% as low class.  One of the main development challenges South Africa is dealing with is unemployment and this was reflected in the data. Only 42% of respondents reported to have some form of employment. The mean health status category of 3.1 (excellent) illustrates that respondents reported to be in good health.

In terms of the social capital indicators, respondents appeared to value time with friends and family more than time with colleagues. The respondents also had low mean prejudice (0.288 on scale of 0-1), generalised trust (0.11 on scale of 0-1) and civic participation (0.61 on a scale of 0-2) scores.

Additionally, 28% of respondents thought that sharing is an important value to bestow onto children. They also expressed that serving others is an important value, with the mean score being 2.4 on scale of 1-3. With a mean of 4.9 (on a scale of 0-6), prayer appears to be a frequently practiced religious ritual compared to church attendance, which had a mean score of 3.9 (on a scale of 0-6). In addition, 75% percent of respondents self-identified as religious compared to 17% who self-identified as not religious and 2% as atheist. The respondents also indicated that God is very important in their life (score 9.1 on a scale of 1-10).

## 4.3.2   The likelihood to volunteer

The findings of the descriptive analysis on weighted data revealed that most South Africans volunteer, with 61% of respondents volunteering their time to benefit others in 2001. This amount is higher than the 17% reported by Everatt and Solanki (2005) and the 47.8%[1] reported by Stats SA (2010). These surveys were conducted at different points in time, however.  Therefore these differences may reflect changes in volunteering over time. This is unlikely because the three data points would show very big fluctuations over time if interpreted as a comparable time series. It is more plausible that these differences were driven by how the volunteering question was posed in the respective surveys. In the WVS questionnaire, the question included no timeframe, whereas in the Everatt and Solanki (2005) and Stats SA (2010) surveys, the question asked whether the volunteering had taken place within the last month. It is therefore not unreasonable to assume that the WVS may have captured people who volunteer but had not done so for a long time before the survey took place.

In terms of racial differences, in 2001 a greater proportion of the Black South Africans volunteered compared to White, Indian and Coloured South Africans. Among Black people, 65% volunteered compared to 57% White, 43% Indians and 41% of Coloured.
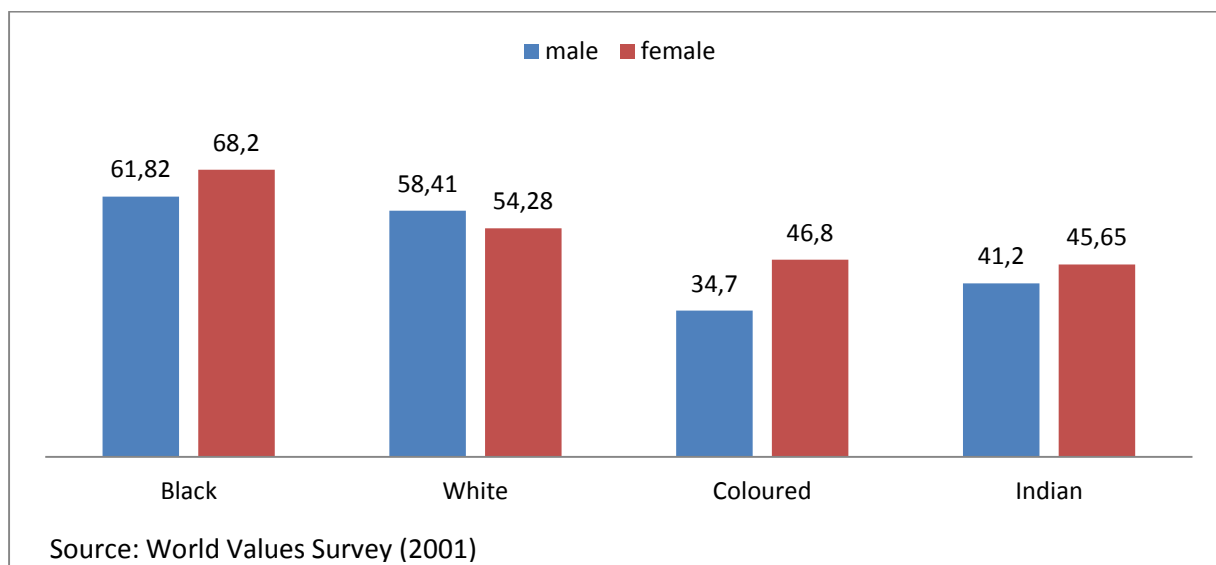


**Figure 4.1: Likelihood to volunteer by gender and race**

There are also gender differences in the likelihood to volunteer within the different races. Figure 4.1 illustrates that the greatest gender difference occurs between males (34.7%) and females (46.8%)

---

[1] Percentage computed from Stats SA VAS (2011), which reported that 1193 of the 2466 people survey mentioned to have volunteered.

within the Coloured sample. This difference is less within the Black sample (6%) and even smaller within the White (4%) and Indian (4%) race groups. Furthermore, except for the White subgroup, females of other races volunteer more than their male counterparts.
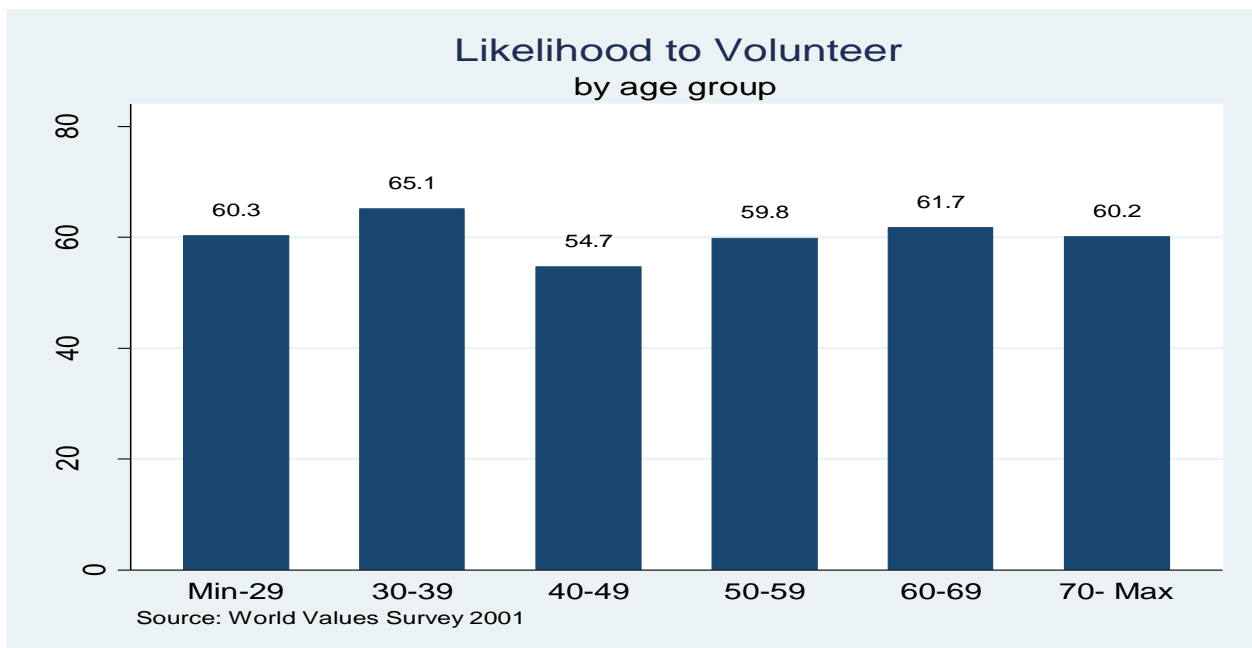


**Figure 4.2: Likelihood to volunteer by age group**

Descriptive analysis of the data, as illustrated in Figure 4.2, also revealed differences in the likelihood to volunteer between different age groups, with the 30-39 age group appearing to have a greater likelihood to volunteer compared to the other groups. However, further significant tests through a one-way analysis of variance, followed by Bonferroni, Scheffe and Sidak's multiple comparisons, showed different outcomes. The only significant difference in the likelihood to volunteer exists between the 30-39 and 50-59 age groups. An individual belonging to the former age group is an estimated 6% points more likely to volunteer than one belonging to the latter group. The multiple comparison test of the differences in probabilities of volunteering between the groups show that this difference is significant at 0.005, 0.024 and 0.005 levels of significance respectively.
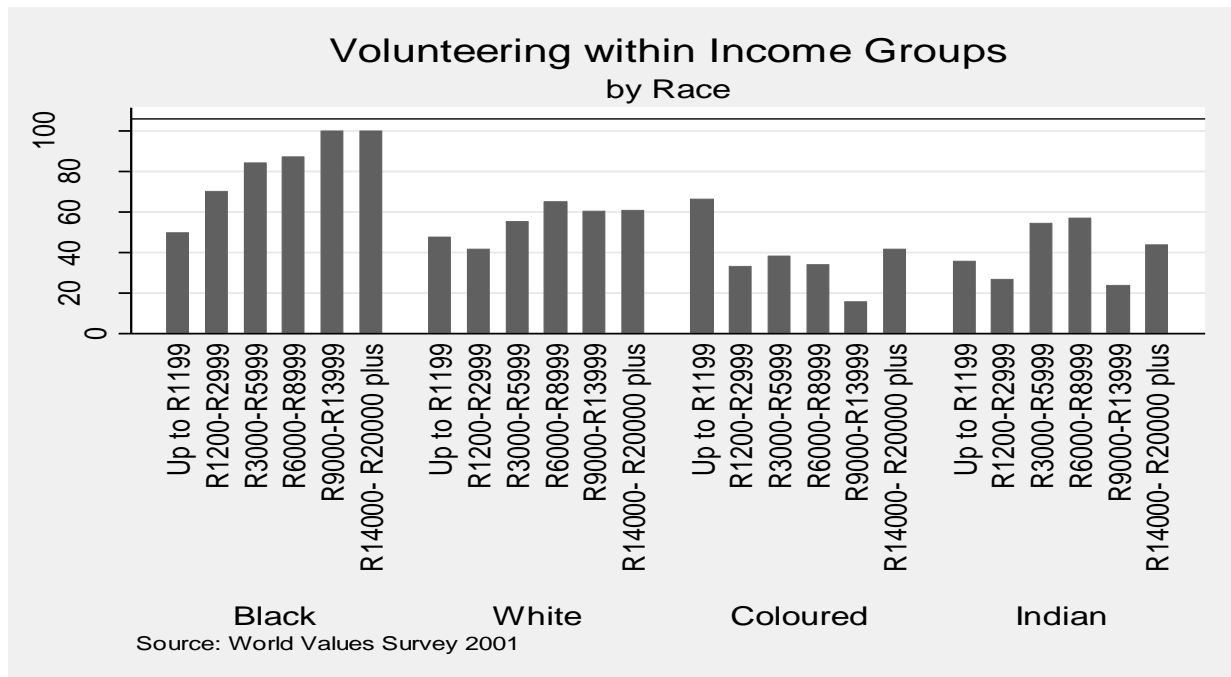
**Figure 4.3: Likelihood to volunteer by income and race**

Further differences in volunteering were revealed when household income was taken into consideration. The data presented in Figure 4.3 illustrates a more pronounced positive relationship between the likelihood to volunteer and income within the Black race group than in the other race groups. Fifty percent of Black respondents in the lowest income group volunteer, compared to 70% in the second lowest, 84% and 87% in the third and fourth and 100% in the two highest income groups. Focussing on White South Africans, the data showed that the higher income groups are more likely to volunteer than the lower income groups. This is contrary to the relationship between income and likelihood to volunteer amongst Coloured South Africans. Sixty six percent of Coloured individuals in the lowest income group volunteer – a much higher proportion of volunteers than found at higher income groups. Among Indians, there is a greater likelihood to volunteer if they belong in the two middle-income categories.

## Likelihood to Volunteering
### by Education Category

Source: World Values Survey 2001
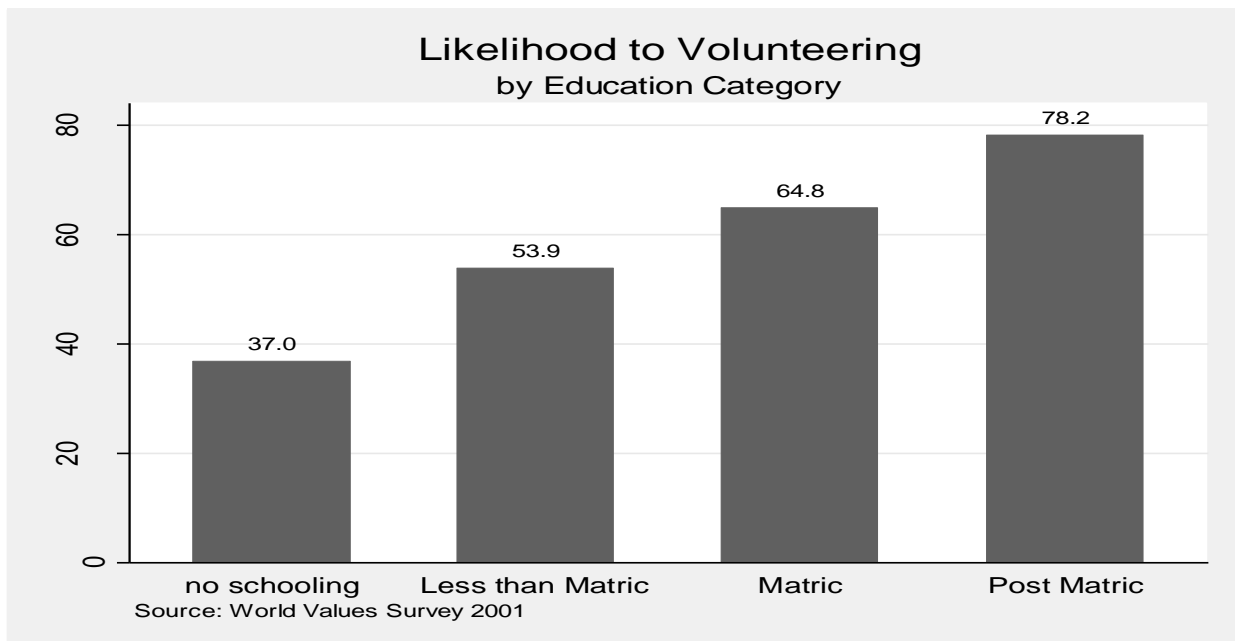
**Figure 4.4: Likelihood to volunteer by educational attainment**

Figure 4.4 illustrates a positive relationship between educational attainment and the likelihood to volunteer. Seventy eight percent of people with a post matric qualification volunteer, which is 13, 24 and 42 percentage points higher than for people with matric, less than matric and no schooling respectively. The relationship between class and the likelihood to volunteer also reflected a positive association between human capital and volunteering. Only 47% of people who identified as lower class reported volunteering compared to 69% who identified as working class, 65% as middle class and 55% as upper class. These two findings suggest that Smith's (1994) dominant status theory also holds in South Africa.

## Prejudice Score
### by Volunteering and Race
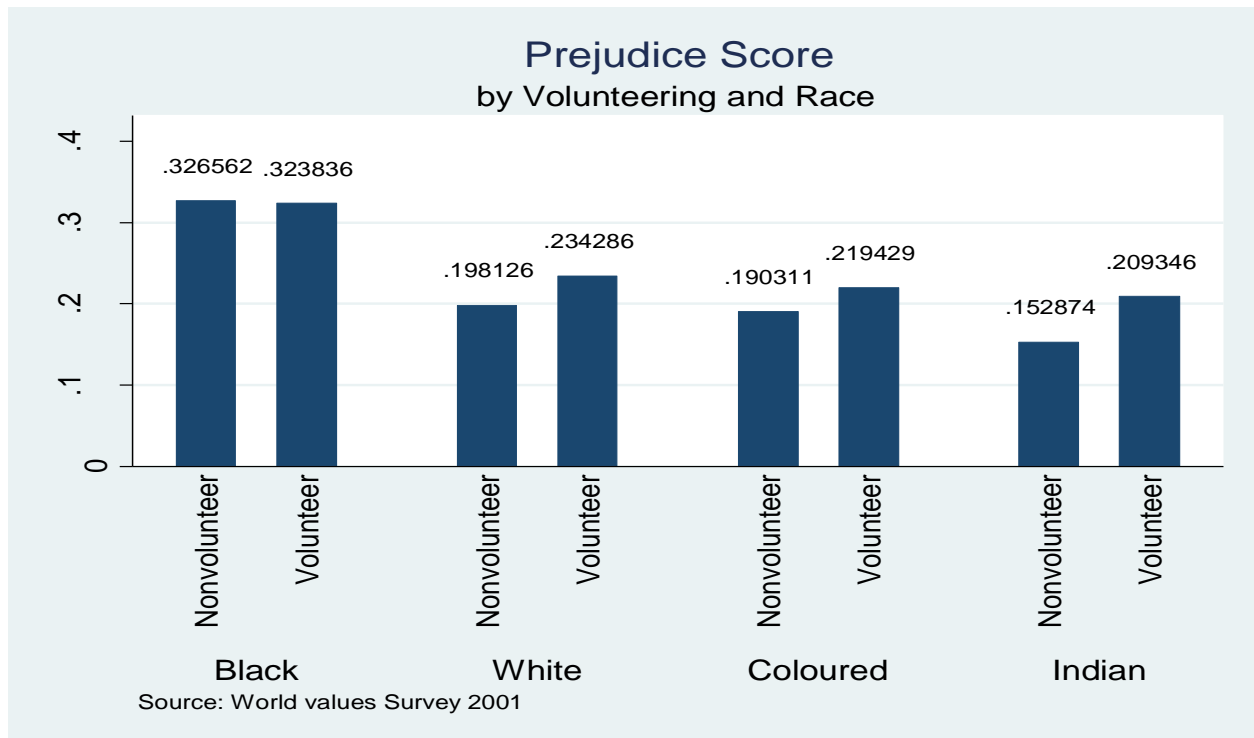


**Figure 4.5: Prejudice score by volunteering and race**

Most of the social capital variables such as those that measure the extent of networks and generalised trust are well theorised about and extensively tested, but this is not the case for the prejudice variable included in this study. It was therefore important to explore this measure further, including how it differs between volunteers and non-volunteers within races. The results of this exploration are depicted in Figure 4.5, which shows that the Black race group scored high on prejudice compared to the other races. Additionally, there is little difference between the scores of volunteers and non-volunteers within this group relative to the other race categories. Within the other racial categories volunteers appear to be more prejudiced than non-volunteers are. This could be evidence of bonding rather than bridging social capital, i.e. individuals volunteer for social purposes but their social circles are narrowly defined to include only their own respective race groups.
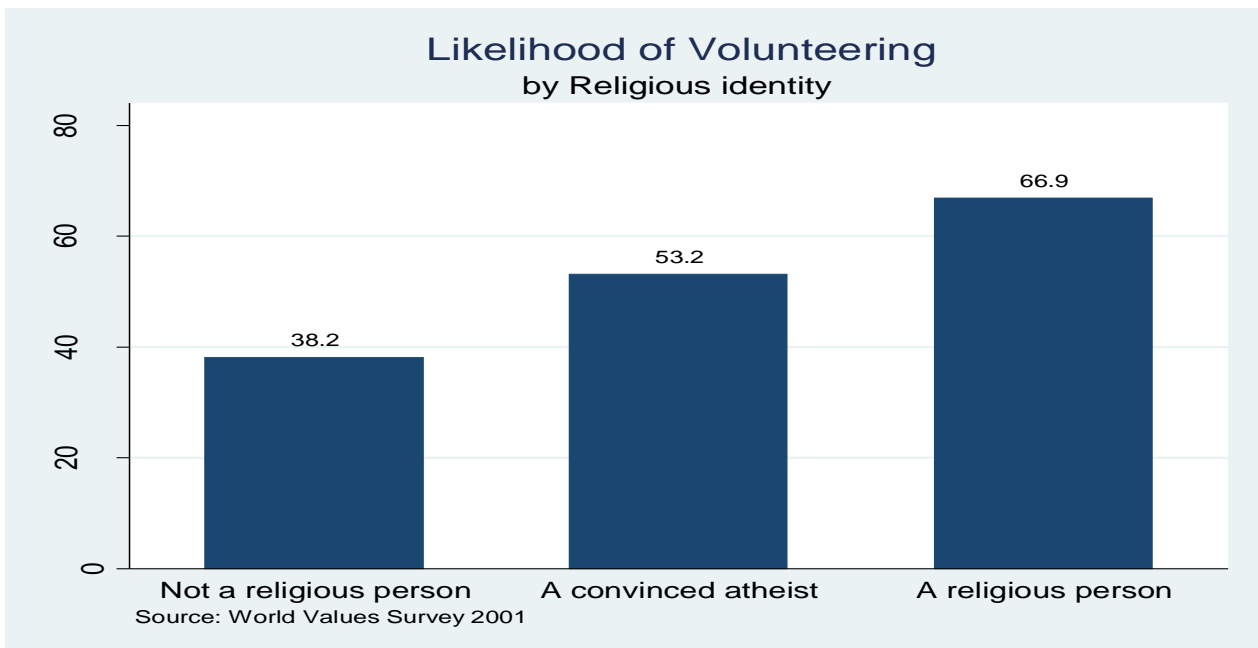
**Figure 4.6: Likelihood to volunteer by religious identity**

Studies on volunteering in the region have noted that religion and associated practices are important influences on volunteering. The data presented in Figure 4.6 provides evidence of this, as there is a greater likelihood to volunteer if a respondent self-identified as religious compared to when they self-identified as non-religious or atheist. Sixty seven percent of people who identified as religious volunteer, compared to only 53% of those who identified as atheist and 38% who identified as non-religious. What is interesting in Figure 4.6 is that people who completely refute the existence of a deity are more likely to volunteer (52.3 %) than non-religious people (38.2 %).
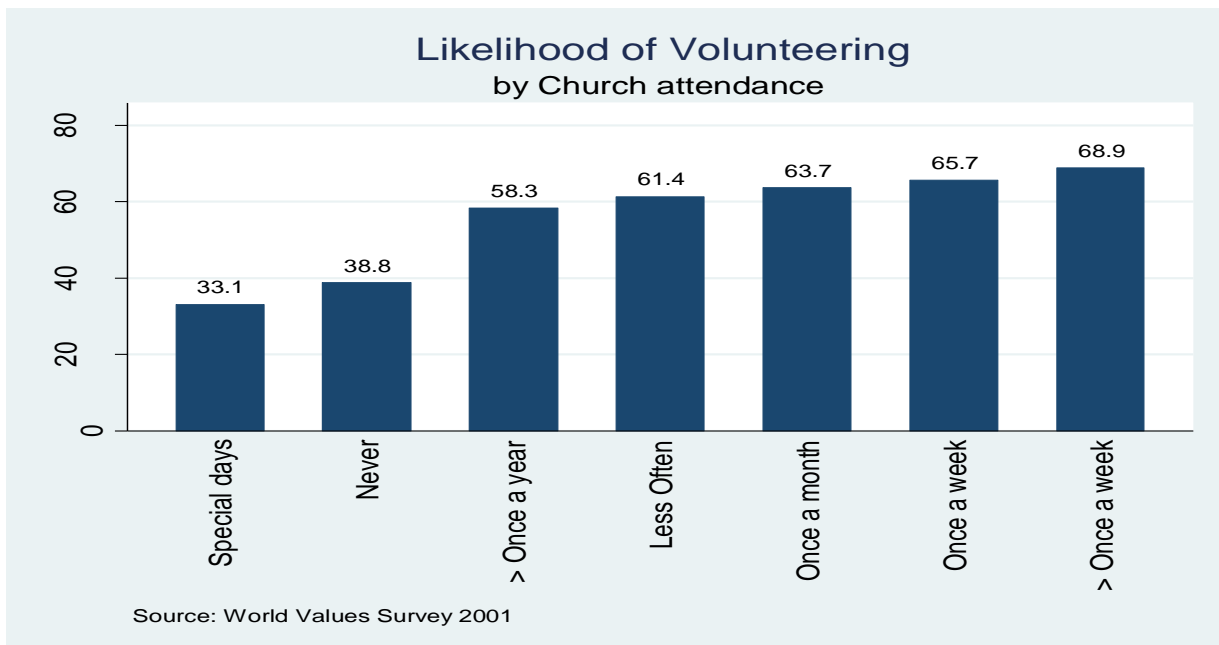
**Figure 4.7: Likelihood to volunteer by church attendance**

The likelihood to volunteer also appears to be greater among regular church attendees. Figure 4.7 shows this positive relationship, with 69% of individuals who attend church more than once a week volunteering. Those who attend once a week (67%), once a month (64%), less often (61%) and once a year 58% follow them. On the other hand, individuals who never attend (38%) or only attend church on special occasions (33%) have a lower likelihood to volunteer.
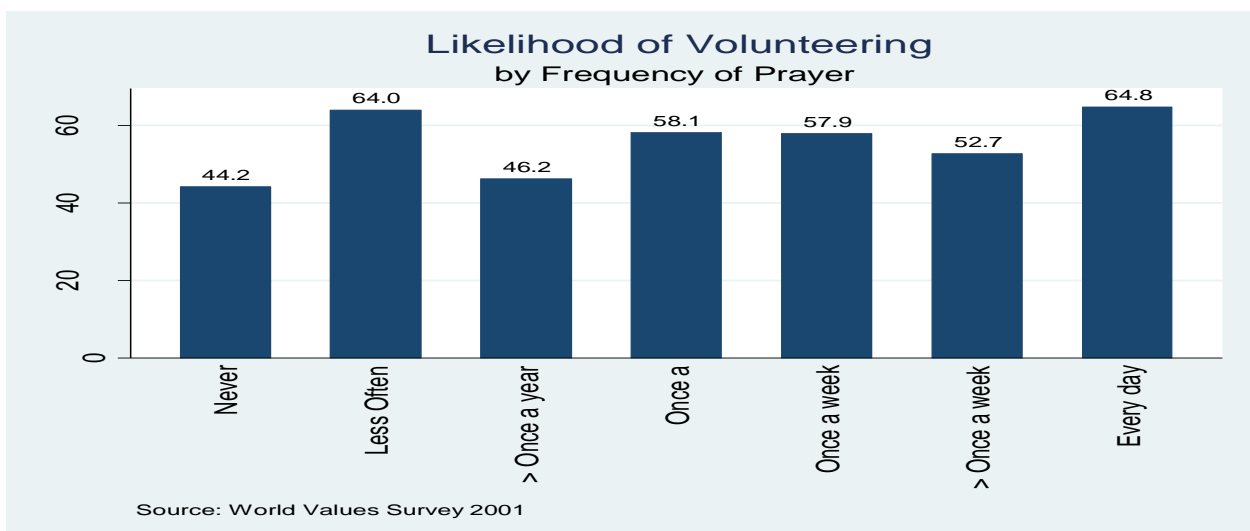


**Figure 4.8: Likelihood to volunteer by frequency of prayer**

Figure 4.8 illustrates that the highest percentage of volunteers is found among respondents who pray every day (65%) and those who pray less often (64%). Conversely, the least percentage of volunteers is found among respondents who never pray (44%) or who pray only once a year (46.2%).

**Table 4.2: Marginal effect of human, social and cultural capital on the likelihood to volunteer**

| | Model 1 Human Capital | | Model 2 Social Capital | | Model 3 Cultural Capital | | Model 4 Full | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | dy/dx | St Err | dy/dx | Std Err | dy/dx | Std Err | dy/dx | Std Err |
| Demographic | | | | | | | | |
| Black | 0.26*** | 0.15 | 0.05*** | 0.01 | 0.09*** | 0.01 | 0.17*** | 0.01 |
| Coloured | -0.27 | 0.17 | -0.18*** | 0.02 | -0.17*** | 0.02 | -0.14*** | 0.2 |
| Indian | -0.43** | 0.03 | -0.09*** | 0.02 | -0.15*** | 0.02 | -0.11*** | 0.02 |
| Age | 0.002*** | 0.000 | -0.001** | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.002*** | 0.00 |
| Children | 0.004 | .003 | -0.01 | 0.003 | -0.01 | 0.003 | -0.00 | 0.00 |
| Married | 0.03*** | .010 | 0.06*** | 0.01 | 0.07*** | 0.01 | 0.02** | 0.01 |
| Female | 0.07*** | 0.01 | 0.11*** | 0.01 | 0.001 | 0.01 | 0.03*** | 0.01 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| **Human Capital** | | | | | | | | |
| Upper class(rf ) | | | | | | | | |
| Mid class | 0.14*** | 0.01 | | | | | 0.10*** | 0.02 |
| Working class | 0.16*** | 0.01 | | | | | 0.13*** | 0.02 |
| Low class | -0.04** | 0.01 | | | | | -0.02** | 0.02 |
| No schooling(rf) | | | | | | | | |
| Less than matric | 0.03 | 0.03 | | | | | 0.002 | 0.02 |
| Matric | 0.15*** | 0.03 | | | | | 0.10*** | 0.03 |
| Post matric | 0.28*** | 0.03 | | | | | 0.23*** | 0.03 |
| Health status | 0.001 | 0.005 | | | | | -0.00 | 0.00 |
| Employed | -0.08*** | 0.01 | | | | | -0.03*** | 0.01 |
| Income6(rf) | | | | | | | | |
| Income1 | 0.05*** | 0.01 | | | | | 0.03*** | 0.01 |
| Income2 | 0.04*** | 0.01 | | | | | 0.03*** | 0.00 |
| Income3 | 0.06*** | 0.005 | | | | | 0.07*** | 0.01 |
| Income4 | 0.04*** | 0.005 | | | | | 0.01*** | 0.00 |
| Income5 | 0.02*** | 0.004 | | | | | 0.01*** | 0.00 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| **Social Capital** | | | | | | | | |
| Time with friends | | | -0.02*** | 0.005 | | | -0.003 | 0.004 |
| Time with family | | | 0.03*** | 0.005 | | | 0.005 | 0.005 |
| Time with colleagues | | | 0.001 | 0.004 | | | 0.01** | 0.003 |
| Prejudice | | | 0.09*** | 0.014 | | | 0.12*** | 0.013 |
| Generalised trust | | | -0.7 | 0.01 | | | -0.02 | 0.01 |
| Civic mindedness | | | 0.19*** | 0.01 | | | 0.18*** | 0.01 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| **Cultural Capital** | | | | | | | | |
| Sharing | | | | | -0.08*** | 0.01 | -0.7*** | 0.01 |
| Serving others | | | | | 0.03*** | 0.01 | -0.01 | 0.01 |
| Importance of God | | | | | 0.6*** | 0.002 | 0.05*** | 0.002 |
| Church attendance | | | | | 0.02*** | 0.003 | 0.03*** | 0.002 |
| Frequency of prayer | | | | | -0.03*** | 0.003 | -0.01** | 0.003 |
| Religious(rf) | | | | | | | | |
| Not religious | | | | | -0.19*** | 0.01 | -0.16*** | 0.01 |
| Atheist | | | | | -0.21*** | 0.03 | -0.09*** | 0.02 |

* P<0.05, ** P<0.01, *** P<0.001
Source: WVS, 2001

In Table 2 the marginal effects from the estimated logit models are presented. The results indicate that Black respondents' probability to volunteer is higher than that of their white counterparts. This result is consistent and significant above the 95% level of significance across all models. The opposite is true for Coloureds and Indians, where the probability to volunteer is less than that of the White race group. The influence of age on the likelihood to volunteer appears to be minimal. Being married, on the other hand, appears to have a considerable and consistent significant influence on the likelihood to volunteer.

The probability to volunteer is higher for females than for males in the human and social capital models, but the coefficient becomes insignificant in the cultural capital and full model. This change could be because females tend to be more religious than males, for example, more females (87%) think God is very important in their lives compared to males (68%).

The logit findings presented in Table 2 also indicate that individuals who self-identified as middle and working class have a greater chance of volunteering than those who identified as upper class. The differences are significant and are robust to the inclusion of social and cultural factors, as shown in the full model. Individuals who self-identified as low class volunteer less than the people who identified as upper class, however the result is insignificant in both the human capital and full models.

The logit result for the influence of education gives credence to the argument that education has a consistent influence on the likelihood to volunteer. The odds of volunteering for individuals with some form of education, even less than matric, is consistently higher than people with no schooling. The results also show that the more education one has the greater one's probability to volunteer. As such they are consistent with the results reported by Stats SA (2010), which showed that the volunteering rate[2] is 8.1% for people with a tertiary qualification, which is higher than the 3.3% for people who have completed secondary school, 2.9% for those who have some secondary school education and 2.2% for people with no schooling (Stats SA, 2010). This positive relationship between education and the likelihood to volunteer has raised concerns that lack of required skills or education is a barrier to volunteering in formal organisations (CIVICUS, 2011, p. 3).

Theory notes that the relationship between employment status and volunteering is ambiguous. On one hand, the networks formed through employment may increase knowledge of opportunities to volunteer and thus the probability to volunteer, yet because less time remains for other activities, employment may decrease the probability to volunteer. The logit results in this study reflect the

---

[2] The volunteering rate is "computed by dividing the number of volunteers identified by the population aged 15 years and older during the reference period" ( Stats SA, 2011, p. vii)

latter. The results presented in column 4 show that the probability to volunteer is 3% points less when employed than when unemployed. The result is significant at a 99% level of significance.

Household income also has a positive and significant influence on the likelihood to volunteer; this is the case even when other confounding factors are controlled for. Individuals who belong to income categories two, three, four and five have a greater likelihood of volunteering compared to those in income category one, however their income appears to positively influence the probability to volunteer up to a certain point, because high-income individuals volunteer less than those in income group one do.

In terms of social capital variables, civic-mindedness and prejudice variables have a stable significant influence on volunteering. As expected, being civic minded increases the odds of volunteering. The results confirm that those who are actively engaged in community and civic life are more likely to volunteer, however being prejudiced also increases the odds of volunteering. This could be because prejudiced people do volunteer, but do so within groups they approve of. As such, the positive relationship reflects more bonding rather than bridging social capital.

Time spent with networks, a proxy for social embeddedness, has no stable influence on general volunteering. For example, initially time with friends had a significant negative relationship with the probability to volunteer, however it lost significance in the general model. Similarly, time with family started off positively and significantly related to the probability to volunteer, but lost significance in the general model. The same applied to time spent with colleagues; however, the variables started insignificantly and gained significance when other factors were accounted for.

The evidence of cultural capital has been mixed, with some of the assumptions made about the influence of cultural capital being confirmed and some refuted. The coefficient on the sharing value revealed, in both the cultural capital and the full model, that individuals who think sharing is an important value are less likely to volunteer. Serving others, another proxy for 'Ubuntu', has a positive influence on the probability to volunteer, but the coefficient is insignificant in the full model. These results were not expected as sharing and serving others reflect 'Ubuntu', which theory and empirical studies suggest to be positively related to volunteering (Swanson, 2007).

The results for the influence of religiosity are as expected and confirm the positive effects of religion on volunteering. Respondents who noted God to be important in their lives as well as individuals who attend church frequently are more likely to volunteer. In terms of religious identity, individuals who self-identified as not religious and atheists have a considerably lower probability to volunteer than individuals who self-identified as religious. Another measure of religiosity,

frequency of prayer, appears to influence the probability to volunteer negatively; praying frequently reduces an individual's likelihood to volunteer. A number of factors can help explain the positive influence of religiosity on volunteering. Firstly, selfless behaviour is encouraged by different religions. As reported by Everatt et al. (2005), 84% of their respondents were required by their faith to give to the poor. Religiosity can also influence the odds of volunteering indirectly through the networks created through church membership, which could help explain the positive relationship between church attendance and volunteering.

### 4.3.3   Choice of volunteer activity

There is also evidence of preferences for certain volunteer organisations. Religious organisations are the most preferred, with 36% of volunteers choosing this form of organisation. This finding confirms the results of other studies on volunteering in the region. For example, in a 2005 study on giving in South Africa, it was reported that it is the most preferred form of volunteering in the country (Everatt et al., 2005). This was also confirmed in the 2011 report on the State of Civil Society, where it was stated that the majority of formal volunteering takes place in religious organisations (CIVICUS, 2011). Two other popular causes among volunteers include community and health and sports organisations. Seventeen percent of respondents noted volunteering in community and health organisations, and 14% in sports organisations.

The findings also provided evidence that particular groups are over represented in one form of volunteer organisations but not in others. For example, in examining the relationship between demographic variables and the choice of voluntary organisations, religious organisations came out as the most preferred voluntary organisation for respondents across races, except for the Coloured race. The Coloured race group prefer to volunteer in sports-related activities, with 48% noting that they volunteer in this type of activity. Additionally, Indians (52%) prefer religious activities the most. They are followed by Whites (30%) and Blacks (28%) respectively.

The descriptive findings also confirm previous studies on the relationship between gender and choice of volunteer activity. The finding that 11% of males compared to 2% of females volunteer in professional and political organisations provides evidence that women are less represented in higher stakes professional activities that have greater prestige and opportunities for social mobility (Marincowitz, Jackson & Fehrsen, 2004). Another finding that is confirmed is the over representation of women in care activities related to community wellbeing and health; 23% of women volunteer in community and health organisations compared to 13% of males.
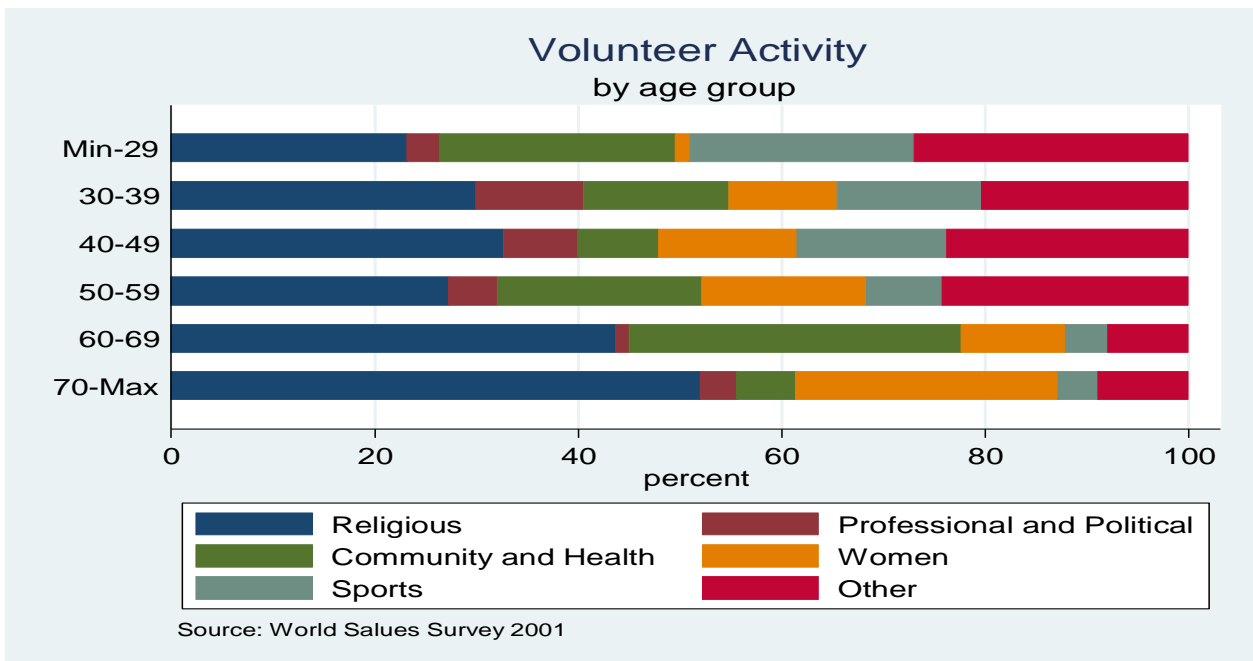
**Figure 4.9: Choice of volunteer activity by age group**

Another interesting association is that between age and choice of activity. As Figure 4.9 illustrates, respondents in the lowest age category have an almost equal likelihood to volunteer in religious, community and health, and sports organisations, however they are minimally represented in women's and professional and political organisations.
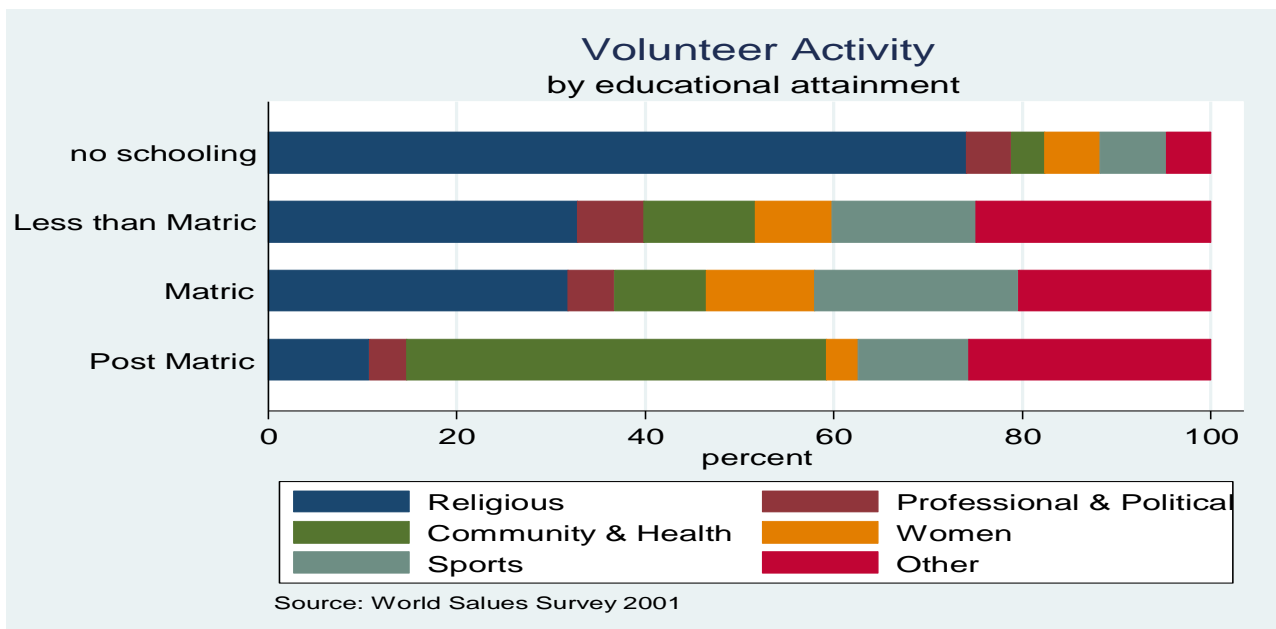


**Figure 4.10: Choice of volunteer activity by educational attainment**

Just as in Wilson and Musick (1997)'s study, the findings suggest that education has a secularising effect. Figure 4.10 illustrates a negative relationship between educational level and the likelihood to volunteer in religious organisations. Seventy four percent of people with no schooling volunteer in these organisations compared to 33% with less than matric, 33% with matric and 25% with post matric qualifications. On the other hand, educational attainment appears to have a positive relationship with the likelihood to volunteer in community and health related activities. Four percent of individuals with no schooling volunteer in community and health related activities, but the percentage increases to 45% for people with post matric qualifications.
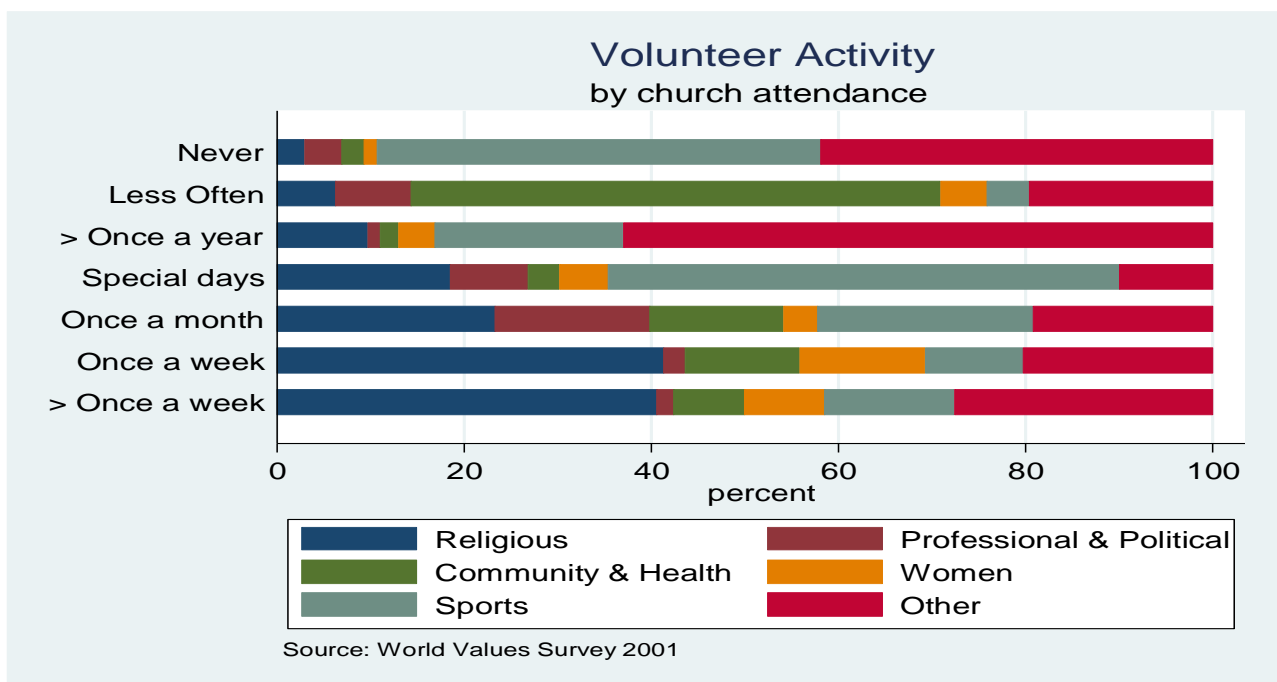


**Figure 4.11: Choice of volunteer activity by church attendance**

The descriptive and logit findings of the previous section showed that church attendance has a significant positive influence on the likelihood to volunteer, but the question remains whether this influence holds and is the same for all volunteer activities. Figure 4.11 illustrates that church attendance influences choice of volunteer organisation; individuals who never attend church or who only attend on special occasions are more likely to volunteer in sports-related activities, while individuals who attend church less often volunteer more in community and health-related activities. What is also evident from Figure 4.11 is the positive relationship between church attendance and volunteering in religious organisations.

## Table 4.3: Marginal effects of human, social and cultural capital on the likelihood to volunteer in different organisations

| Variables | Model 1 Religious | | Model 2 Com & Health | | Model 3 Sports | | Model 4 Prof & Pol | | Model 5 Women | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | dy/dx | St Err | dy/dx | Std E | dy/dx | Std E | dy/dx | Std E | dy/dx | Std E |
| **Demographics** | | | | | | | | | | |
| Black | 0.09*** | 0.01 | 0.04*** | 0.01 | -0.01 | 0.01 | 0.05*** | 0.01 | 0.08*** | 0.01 |
| Coloured | -0.14*** | 0.02 | -0.07*** | 0.01 | 0.07** | 0.012 | -0.13*** | 0.02 | 0.04*** | 0.01 |
| Indian | -0.05** | 0.02 | -0.03* | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.02 | -0.13*** | 0.03 | -0.03 | 0.02 |
| Age | 0.002*** | 0.00 | 0.002*** | 0.00 | -0.002*** | 0.00 | -0.003 | 0.00 | 0.002 | 0.00 |
| Children | -0.01*** | 0.00 | 0.002 | 0.002 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.004** | 0.001 | 0.01*** | 0.001 |
| Married | 0.09*** | 0.01 | -0.002 | 0.01 | -0.04*** | 0.01 | 0.02*** | 0.01 | 0.01* | 0.004 |
| Female | 0.08*** | 0.01 | 0.02*** | 0.01 | -0.14*** | 0.01 | -0.08*** | 0.01 | 0.20*** | 0.01 |
| **Human Capital** | | | | | | | | | | |
| Upper class(rf ) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mid class | 0.004 | 0.02 | -0.14*** | 0.01 | 0.12*** | 0.012 | -0.03*** | 0.01 | 0.06*** | 0.01 |
| Working class | -0.06*** | 0.01 | -0.02** | 0.01 | 0.09*** | 0.013 | 0.004 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 |
| Low class | -0.05*** | 0.02 | -0.13*** | 0.01 | 0.004 | 0.01 | -0.05*** | 0.01 | 0.04*** | 0.01 |
| No schooling(rf) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Less than matric | -0.09*** | 0.02 | 0.12*** | 0.03 | 0.21*** | 0.05 | -0.02 | 0.01 | 0.06*** | 0.01 |
| Matric | -0.07*** | 0.02 | 0.13*** | 0.03 | 0.27*** | 0.05 | -0.01 | 0.01 | 0.10*** | 0.01 |
| Post matric | -0.02 | 0.02 | 0.28*** | 0.03 | 0.27*** | 0.05 | 0.004 | 0.01 | 0.09** | 0.01 |
| Health status | 0.01 | 0.00 | -0.2*** | 0.003 | -0.003 | 0.003 | 0.002 | 0.03 | -0.004 | 0.002 |
| Employed | 0.01 | 0.01 | -0.03*** | 0.01 | -0.08*** | 0.01 | -0.03*** | 0.01 | 0.04*** | 0.005 |
| Income1(rf) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Income2 | 0.03*** | 0.00 | 0.04*** | 0.00 | -0.05*** | 0.004 | 0.01*** | 0.003 | 0.003 | 0.002 |
| Income3 | 0.03*** | 0.00 | 0.02*** | 0.00 | 0.002 | 0.002 | -0.00 | 0.00 | 0.02*** | 0.001 |
| Income4 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.005 | 0.004 | -0.01*** | 0.003 | 0.01*** | 0.002 | -0.002 | 0.003 |
| Income5 | -0.03*** | 0.004 | 0.04*** | 0.002 | -0.02*** | 0.003 | 0.02*** | 0.002 | -0.01** | 0.003 |
| Income6 | -0.004 | 0.003 | -0.01** | 0.004 | 0.01** | 0.002 | 0.01*** | 0.002 | 0.01*** | 0.001 |
| **Social capital** | | | | | | | | | | |
| Time with friends | 0.02*** | 0.003 | -0.006* | 0.003 | -0.02*** | 0.003 | -0.01** | 0.002 | -0.01*** | 0.001 |
| Time with family | 0.004 | 0.004 | 0.02*** | 0.004 | -0.02*** | 0.004 | -0.3*** | 0.002 | 0.01** | 0.002 |
| Time with colleagues | -0.000 | 0.003 | 0.001 | 0.003 | 0.01*** | 0.002 | 0.05*** | 0.002 | 0.002 | 0.001 |
| Prejudice | 0.15*** | 0.01 | 0.02* | 0.01 | 0.04*** | 0.01 | -0.07*** | 0.01 | 0.02*** | 0.01 |
| Generalised trust | -0.03*** | 0.01 | -0.05*** | 0.01 | -0.03*** | 0.01 | 0.08*** | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.006 |
| Civic mindedness | 0.09*** | 0.01 | -0.01 | 0.01 | 0.10*** | 0.01 | 0.10*** | 0.004 | 0.04*** | 0.004 |
| **Cultural capital** | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sharing | -0.03*** | 0.01 | -0.002 | 0.01 | 0.03*** | 0.01 | -0.01** | 0.01 | -0.005 | 0.004 |
| Serving others | 0.002 | 0.005 | 0.001 | 0.005 | -0.002 | 0.004 | -0.00 | 0.00 | -0.007** | 0.002 |
| Importance of God | 0.04*** | 0.002 | 0.01*** | 0.002 | 0.05*** | 0.003 | 0.02 | 0.001 | -0.01*** | 0.001 |
| Freq of prayer | 0.04*** | 0.003 | -0.02*** | 0.002 | 0.03*** | 0.002 | -0.001 | 0.002 | -0.01*** | 0.001 |
| Church attendance | 0.07*** | 0.003 | 0.005** | 0.002 | -0.03*** | 0.001 | 0.02*** | 0.002 | 0.02*** | 0.002 |
| Religious(rf) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not religious | -0.13*** | 0.01 | -0.13*** | 0.01 | 0.03*** | 0.01 | 0.03*** | 0.01 | 0.03*** | 0.01 |
| Atheist | -0.43*** | 0.05 | -0.27*** | 0.06 | 0.05** | 0.02 | 0.10*** | 0.014 | -0.11*** | 0.02 |

* P<0.05, ** P<0.01, *** P<0.001
Source: WVS (2001)

One significant finding, presented in Table 4.3, is that the Black race group's likelihood to volunteer is greater than that of White respondents for all organisations. However, the coefficient of this variable in the sports model is insignificant. This is because, as revealed in the previous section, Coloureds have a greater representation in sports organisations compared to the other race groups. They also have a greater likelihood to volunteer in women's organisation compared to Whites,

while Indians have a higher likelihood to volunteer in religious and sports organisations compared to Whites.

As it was for general volunteering, age still has minimal influence on volunteering. A positive and significant relationship exists between age and volunteering in religious, community and health and women's organisations, however this influence is negligible and no greater than 0.2% for religious and community and health organisations. On the other hand, the variable has a negative influence on the odds of volunteering in sports organisations. The negative relationship is intuitive because of the nature of activities, which require physical health that comes mostly with youth.

Married individuals have a greater likelihood, compared to their unmarried counterparts, to volunteer in religious, professional and political and women's organisations. These results are all significant at a 99% level of significance. The likelihood to volunteer in religious, community and health and women's organisations is also greater for females compared to males.  Men's likelihood to volunteer in sports and political and professional activities is greater than that of females.

The marginal effect results for the class dummy variables illustrate that the individuals who self-identified as middle class have a greater likelihood than those who identified as upper class, to volunteer in sports and women's organisations. However, their odds of volunteering in community and health organisations and professional and political activities is less than those of respondents who identified as upper class. On the other hand, individuals who self-identified as working class have a greater likelihood to volunteer in religious and community and health organisations relative to the upper class. Lower class individuals only have a greater likelihood to volunteer in women's organisations compared to the upper class.

In all forms of volunteering except for religious and political and professional activities, individuals with some form of education are more likely to volunteer. What is interesting about the influence of educational attainment is that the likelihood of people with some form of education to volunteer in religious organisations is less than that of people with no form of schooling. The converse appears to be true for all other forms of volunteering except for political and professional organisations. On the other hand, health status appears only to have a negative significant influence on the odds of volunteering in sports organisations. Employed individuals have less odds of volunteering in different organisations, except for women's organisations, compared to unemployed individuals. The influence of income, on the other hand, seems to depend on the income category one belongs to.

Social capital variables also have different influences on the likelihood to volunteer depending on the focus of organisation. For example, a positive and significant relationship is only evident between time spent with friends and the odds of volunteering in religious organisations. However, the relationship between volunteering in these organisations and time spent with family is insignificant. Time spent with family appears only to have a positive influence on volunteering in community and health and women's organisations. On the other hand, time with colleagues only has a positive significant influence on the odds of volunteering in political and professional and sports organisations. Civic mindedness, another variable that reflects social networks, has a positive association with all forms of volunteering, except for in community and health organisations.

This study also investigated the influence of the presence and absence of bringing social capital on the likelihood of volunteering in different organisation. The results show that prejudice, the absence of bridging social capital, increases the odds of volunteering in all but professional and political organisations. Conversely, generalised trust, the presence of bridging social capital, has the opposite effect. However, the generalised trust result in Model 5 is insignificant. This opposite influence of the two variables on volunteering is noteworthy because the results of one give credence to the results of the other variable. Prejudiced individuals are likely not to trust strangers because of their beliefs and preconceptions. One could therefore argue that these are effectively two sides of the same coin.

The analysis of the relationship between cultural capital and choice of volunteer organisation also reveals that resources do not influence volunteering in different organisations in a similar manner. For example, sharing, one of the proxies for 'Ubuntu', is only positively associated with volunteering in sports organisations. On the contrary, serving others, another proxy for 'Ubuntu', has a significant negative relationship with volunteering at women's organisations.

Naturally all religious variables have a positive influence on the odds of volunteering in religious organisations, but they have differing influences on the odds of volunteering in other organisations. For example, a unit increase in the ranking of how important God is in one's life increases the odds of volunteering in community and health organisations and sports organisations by 1% points and 5% points respectively. Yet a unit increase in this variable decreases the odds of volunteering in women's organisations by 1% point. Frequency of prayer also increases the odds of volunteering in sports organisations while it decreases the odds of volunteering in community and health, and women's organisations by 3% points and 1% point respectively.

Church attendance appears to have a positive effect on all forms of volunteering and a negative effect on the odds of volunteering in sports. Self-identifying as religious relative to agnostic or atheist also appears to have a negative effect on the odds of volunteering in sports organisations. The negative effect of church attendance could be because church attendance and sports-related activities take place mostly on weekends and after working hours.  Individuals who self-identify as religious could have less time for sports volunteering because of time constraints, as they spend more of their leisure time in church.

Individuals who self-identified as agnostic and atheist also have greater odds of volunteering in professional and political organisations and women-related activities relative to those who identified as religious. Besides volunteering in religious organisations, self-identifying as religious also has a positive influence for volunteering in community and health organisations.

## 4.4   Conclusion

In this chapter, the researcher set out to examine the influence of resources on the probability of volunteering and on the choice of volunteer organisation. Both the descriptive and logit analysis revealed that most South Africans partake in formal volunteering and prefer to do so in religious, community and health and sports organisations. Furthermore, certain personal, social and economic factors influence the distribution of volunteering, such that the level of human, social and cultural resources a person enjoys determines whether they will volunteer. These resources also influence the type of organisation a person will select to offer their help to.

# CHAPTER 5:   RESEARCH PHASE II: INTERVIEWS AND PARTICIPANT OBSERVATIONS

## 5.1  Introduction

In this chapter, the second research question is addressed: 'How does human, social and cultural capital feature in how individuals frame and explain their participation in volunteer activity?' As Wilson and Musick (1997) noted, volunteering is a productive, collective and ethical activity that requires human, social and cultural resources. The statistical analysis provided insights concerning which factors related to these resources, correlate with the likelihood to volunteer in South Africa. It showed that a person with high levels of human, social and religious capital has a greater chance of volunteering. Additionally, the analysis revealed that this does not hold for all voluntary organisations, as such different human, social and cultural capital factors correlate differently with different forms of volunteering. The analysis only provided insight on the direction and extent of the relationships; it is still unclear as to how these factors come to influence the likelihood to volunteer.

The researcher thus aimed to explore the processes that lead to volunteering and therefore the pathways through which the different forms of capital influence the likelihood to volunteer. In so doing, the intention was to shed light on how ability and opportunity, as well as culture and religion, feature in how volunteers frame and understand their volunteer participation. As such, the researcher will attempt to uncover the clusters of motive vocabularies used by volunteers to explain their participation in voluntary activities. Motives defined as "accepted justifications for present, future, or past programs or acts", which are socially situated and can thus be viewed as part of an individual's social roles (Mills, 1940, p. 907).

To address the research question posed, the researcher employed semi-structured interviews and participant observations conducted during weekly one-day visits that occurred between January 2014 and May 2014 at JL Zwane centre and other NGOs in Gugulethu. The methods are in line with interpretive sociology, which is more favourable to uncovering these subjectivities. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2000), interpretive research "consists of a set material practices that make the world visible" and studies things in their natural setting, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomenon in terms of the meanings people bring to them (p. 3). It does this by transforming "the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self" (p. 3).

As a socially constructed concept that has different meanings for different people, volunteering also requires an idiosyncratic approach to understand it, and therefore an understanding that takes into account that people may have different interpretations for phenomena that are framed by their worldviews and subjectivities. The researcher chose these methods as complementary to the aggregated statistical approach followed in Phase I, which is detached from the subjective realities of individual actors. As Puddephatt and Prus (2007) pointed out, statistical data, "including those focusing directly on attitudes and preferences, miss the final and more determinative cause of human behaviour - the process of minded, deliberative, and adjustive activity" (p. 268).

These methods were thus chosen because the researcher respects the idea that a person is a reflexive agent who "designate different objects to himself, giving them meaning, judging their suitability to his action, and making decisions on the basis of the judgment" (Hier, 2005, p. 95), while acting within the structural parameters that provide the situations for his actions. Furthermore, she selected the methods because they possess the potential to provide knowledge on "processes as they unfold in real time," (Puddephatt & Prus, 2007, p. 267)

This chapter is divided into two parts: the methods and findings sections. The methods part commences with a sub-section that details the data collection methods and sampling procedures. It also provides a justification for them and discusses the semi-structured instrument. What follows is a description of network thematic analysis, the technique used for data reduction. A discussion on the ethical procedures followed and the researcher's role in the research concludes this section.

In the second part of the chapter, the findings and conclusions derived from the interviews and participant observation data are presented. A subsection on the background of volunteering describes the context that has given rise to the need for volunteering and the nature of voluntary organisations and volunteering in Gugulethu. After this description, a detailed discussion of how volunteering is understood by volunteers and their perceptions of how it is understood by others within their communities follows. The subsection concludes with a discussion on the cluster of motive vocabularies employed by participants to explain their volunteering decisions, including the initial decision to volunteer and the decision to commit for long periods.

## 5.2   Method and Sample

### 5.2.1   Methods

#### 5.2.1.1   Semi-structured interviews

As noted previously, semi-structured interviews were one of the methods used in this phase of the research. Becker and Geer (1957) described them as "when the interviewer explores many facets of his interviewee's concerns, treating subjects as they come up in conversation, pursuing interesting leads, allowing his imagination and ingenuity full rein." (p. 27). This data collection method was used to collect participants' accounts of their volunteer participation. Different current and historical circumstances influence the decision to volunteer; it is the volunteer only who can truly identify which is the most significant.

Semi-structured interviews were thus chosen to provide room for participants to construct and narrate the process they underwent when volunteering, while the researcher assisted them in that construction. The semi-structured interview method empowers the participant to choose and narrate the story that makes the most logical sense. The method also allows participants to converse openly and freely about what they deem important and it gives them room to drive the interview process. As consequence, they were able to highlight the factors of most significance in their decision for volunteering. Additionally, this interview method was chosen to have autonomy and flexibility to guide the data collection process in a direction that allowed for a more comprehensive understanding of volunteering.

The instrument employed was an interview guide[1] with questions intended as guidelines rather than a schedule to be administered verbatim and in the same sequence. The guide served as a reminder of topics to cover in order to collect adequate material to answer the research question. A few key questions were asked of each participant, which included their understanding of what volunteering is and how their communities understand volunteering. Understanding how volunteers conceptualise volunteer action is important because it influences their decisions to become volunteers and to commit to the process.

Other questions were also asked to understand the manner and extent to which different forms of capital influence the decisions around volunteering. For example, included in the guide was a question that covered how participants became volunteers. This question on process was asked to understand the importance of different forms of capital in how participants became volunteers.

---

1 Copy of interview guide included in appendices.

Questions on what influenced their decisions were also asked, as was one on what they thought would positively influence others to volunteer. Both these questions were included in order to understand what participants considered important influences on volunteering.

Polkinghorne (2005, p. 139) warned that to gain a "rich and inclusive account of a participant's experience", the investigator should be aware of certain factors that may constrain participants' recollections and make provisions accordingly. Participants may be self-conscious about their replies or the acceptability of their answers. Furthermore, participants may be apprehensive about revealing personal experiences and feelings to a stranger. Taken together these constraints may make it difficult to move past surface responses to questions. It is therefore important to build a rapport with participants so that they are open and comfortable to sharing personal information.

Participants' access to their experiences is also not a straightforward exercise; it often requires a retrospective recollection and memories are "not infallible" (p. 139). Polkinghorne (2005) therefore argued that it is important to ask the right questions because "the presence and variety of questions" influences what a participant can recollect (p. 143). Additionally, access to participants may also be constrained by the fact that the language they use is limited to their vocabulary pool.  That is why, besides using prompts during the interview to solicit further information and explanation, as well as to verify accuracy of statements, the researcher also used participant observation as another data collection method in this phase.

### 5.2.1.2   Participant observation

Participant observation complemented the semi-structured interviews and thus aided meeting the research objective of providing a holistic picture of volunteering that takes into account the influence of context.  The method is "a way to collect data in a relatively unstructured manner", and involves observing and participating in "the common and uncommon activities of people being studied" (Dewalt & Dewalt, 1998, p. 260). This is why Mulhall (2003) finds the method to be a useful strategy to "capture context and process" as well as "the influence of physical environment" on people's actions and decisions as well as their interactions (p. 307).

According to Kawulich (2005), "with participation there is more involvement in the activities under study, so there is likely to be better interpretation of what happened and why" (p. 3).  For this reason, the advantages of the method for this research were that it helped to draw inferences about the whole picture of volunteering, which included how community and organisational context

influence the conceptualisation of volunteering as well as the need for and to participate in volunteer activity.

Blumer (2005) argued that since the participant is making the interpretation, the process has to be seen from his standpoint (p. 97). Thus, the observations assisted to bring the researcher closer to understanding the participants' point of views, and to empathise with them (Dewalt & Dewalt 1998). Through participant observation, the researcher was also able to verify the congruence of the participants' actions and accounts, something that may not have been possible through "interviewing alone" (Becker & Gee, 1957, p. 31). Active participation also provided an opportunity for the researcher to prepare for the interviews. While it is preferable to conduct more than one interview in order to maximise the effectiveness of the interview method in soliciting information, because of time limitations more than one interview with each participant was not possible. Hence, the researcher used the field visits to build rapport, which is when the interaction between the interviewer and participant happens in a respectful and thoughtful manner "that allows the informant to tell his or her story" (Dewalt & Dewalt, 1998, p. 268). The method therefore aided the build-up to the interview process. The method also assisted the interview process in that it provided the researcher with a platform to introduce some of the topics covered during the interviews, which gave the participants time to reflect on the topics beforehand.



**Figure 5.1 JL Zwane Centre**

Participant observation included active observation in a faith-based organisation, observations of the community and NGOs, and a literature review. After receiving permission to conduct the study, the researcher visited and took part in the daily activities of volunteers at the JL Zwane centre, pictured above. The centre is situated on a hill on Fezeka Street, not far from the Gugulethu Sports Complex, another hub of voluntary and community activity. The centre is on the property of the JL Zwane Church. It is a large building but blends into the neighbourhood, which comprises of single story, four roomed family houses, with bathrooms outside. However, the clock on the top of the centre does tower above the rest of the buildings.

Inside the building has a reception area that includes a sitting area and a counter manned by the centre secretary. Also at the front of the building are four offices and a bathroom for visitors. The researcher discovered this on one of her visits to the centre, when after using the bathroom, the kitchen manager called her to the side and informed her that the next time she had to use the bathroom at the back as the one in front was reserved for visitors. Initially, the information caught her by surprise, but after a number of visits she realised that the rule formed part of a broader hierarchal and rules based culture at the centre.

The kitchen is another space in the organisation reserved only for particular groups; only volunteers who work in the kitchen are allowed into the space. When the rest of the staff need something they stay only for brief periods or stand at one of the counters and ask for what they are looking for from one of the volunteers in the kitchen. Nevertheless, the space is where most of the activities take place in the building, because that is also where most of the volunteers take their breaks and have their meals at a large rectangular stainless steel table located at the centre. The kitchen, the table, and the interactions that occur among volunteers give the centre a homely feel. Indeed, as one of the kitchen staff volunteers, the researcher did feel like she was at home and not at work. This is because of the conversations that included sharing jokes, advice, personal stories and events, as well as discussions about finding solutions to personal issues and challenges.

Food is the focal point of all interactions and there are daily rituals that take place centred around food. For example, on most mornings after the cleaning has happened, preparation for the daily lunch has taken place and the pots are cooking, arrangements would be made for someone to go buy amaGwinya (fat cakes) to have with tea or another beverage. Most of the people at the centre, including the volunteers, Minister and Centre Manager would take part in the ritual, however the Minister and Manager would have theirs in their offices. Lunchtime also had its own routine. The rest of the building is made up of a hall and rooms lined around the open courtyard at the centre of the building.

The researcher's visits took place on Thursdays and Fridays from March 2014 until the end of May 2014. On these days she arrived around nine o'clock in the morning, which was later than the rest of the volunteers who started work at seven and sometimes earlier. The activities she participated in at the centre included helping to prepare daily meals and cleaning. On some occasions she walked around the community within the vicinity of the church. These walks proved beneficial in terms of uncovering organisations active in the community, for understanding the daily activities of people within the community, as well as the underlying community dynamics.

As part of the observation process, the researcher also reviewed copies of the weekly community newspapers, Vukani and City Vision. These are free newspapers circulated once a week in Gugulethu and other Black townships located within the greater Cape Town area. Media24 is responsible for the distribution of City Vision, which is supposed to take place every Thursday, but some of the community members complained that this is not always the case. The paper has a tabloid style and covers current news of the communities in which it is circulated. These include sensationalist stories of crime, violence and local scandals, however it also covers feel good stories about charity. The government also uses the paper to make important announcements to their target communities. Vukani also has similar content; it is only different to City Vision in that it is delivered on a Friday. This process of reading these local papers was insightful in providing a broader picture of what was happening within the community, both the negative and positive.  The aim of reviewing the newspapers was to find material related to volunteering and collective action within the community.

Informal conversations with volunteers and NGO officials also formed part of this process. These conversations were beneficial in that they provided valuable information for understanding the voluntary sector in Gugulethu. As mentioned previously, they were also used to prepare for the interview process. Taking photographs initially formed part of the process. They did not form part of the data collection process because some participants did not feel comfortable with being photographed when I asked them. Secondly, it would have also been a challenge to ensure the anonymity of participants. The researcher also received numerous warnings about safety, which made her apprehensive about walking around with valuables including a camera and a phone.

The data collected during observations was recorded using field notes. In these notes, information on the physical context, especially of the voluntary organisations visited, was recorded. The notes on the observations conducted at the JL Zwane centre, where most of the observations took place, covered the roles volunteers play within the organisation. They also included notes on how volunteers interact with each other and with other people in the organisations. The researcher

further recorded notes on her personal reflections and analytical thoughts on interesting occurrences and events. The notes were beneficial to her sense making of the data collection process and the findings. They also assisted in providing illustrations for some of the narratives provided by participants.

### 5.2.2  Sample

The interviews and participant observations took place in Gugulethu, a suburb on the Cape Flats southeast of Cape Town. Nine respondents were purposively sampled for this study, which consisted of eight current volunteers and one former volunteer, who is now an NGO official. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with all the participants. In some instances, informal conversations took place with some of the respondents during the weekly field visits. Thematic analysis was employed to analyse the data collected through the interviews and the notes taken during field visits. The researcher purposively chose Gugulethu as the location because of her familiarity with the township people, languages and cultures. Her familiarity with the area facilitated her ability to maximise her insider perspective to achieve inside outside legitimation (Onwuegbuzie & Johnson, 2006). In addition, because she came from Gugulethu she felt safer observing this community, rather than another community with similar crime and violence issues, where she was unknown.

The sampling of interview participants happened in two stages. The first phase involved a snowball sampling of voluntary organisations active in the community that worked with volunteers. This was necessary because the aim was to include in the interviews individuals who volunteered in religious, community and health and sports organisations. The statistical analysis revealed that these were the three organisations most preferred by volunteers.  Information about these type of organisations is often not readily available, nor are they easily accessible. The challenge of finding and locating organisations was significantly reduced by following a strategy of finding them through other organisations visited, which had more knowledge about them than individuals did. The organisations included in the sample were all involved in different activities, which were included under religious, sports, and community and health categories.

The second stage involved purposive sampling of participants through the identified organisations. According to Collins (2010), a purposive sample is justified when the researcher argues that the selected cases will yield sufficient depth of information or produce a unique perspective (p. 357). The reason for choosing a purposive sample for this research was to ensure the necessary depth of information, as well as to understand volunteering from different perspectives and organisational backgrounds.

The sampling procedures followed resulted in a static sample size of nine participants. The researcher considered the smaller sample size sufficient, based on the aim to "fill out the structure and character" of the volunteering experience, and not to formulate "generalising principles" or to uncover the distribution of volunteering (Polkinghorne, 2005, p. 139). Consequently, it was argued that the participants selected held the potential to illuminate some of their experiences through presenting as information-rich cases, from which one could learn from and gain much understanding from their experiences as volunteers, as well as their motivations for volunteering.

### 5.2.3  Ethics

Given that qualitative research involves human subjects and the investigator entering into their space and realities, it is important that measures be put in place to minimise the likelihood of harm to the participant. To that end, Christians (2005) noted four ethical guidelines to follow when conducting qualitative research. The first is that it is important to obtain informed consent from the participant; the second and third are that deception should be avoided and accuracy of information should be ensured because "fabrications, fraudulent material, omissions, and contrivances are both unscientific and unethical" (p. 145); and the fourth, that privacy and confidentiality of the participants should be protected to control for unwanted exposure and the consequences thereof.

The researcher adhered to the following procedures to ensure that the study is ethical. Each participant signed an informed consent form; two forms were drafted and participants had a choice between an English or an isiXhosa version. The first version covered consent to in-depth interviews and the second participants' consent to being observed. The researcher requested informed consent to show respect for the participant and the fact that she was mindful of the participants' right to be well informed about the nature and consequence of the research (Christian, 2005).

The form also informed participants of the nature and objectives of the study and clarified their role in it. It also clarified the benefits of participating for themselves and other participants. This clarification of benefits was important in order that participants did not have false expectations about what they could benefit from the research. Given the high unemployment rate in Gugulethu, participants could easily mistake questions around the topic of volunteering to be part of a recruitment drive. This was evident in the pilot interviews, where the researcher had to clarify the purpose of the research and state that there were no financial benefits or employment being offered.

Additionally, the consent form also informed participants of their rights concerning privacy and confidentiality, as well as that there were no foreseeable dangers associated with participation. To protect the privacy and confidentiality of participants, alphanumeric codes were used. This research

was therefore conducted in an empathetic and non-exploitative manner that tried to minimise harm to participants, who had given their full consent for their participation (Stiles, 1993, p. 593).

### 5.2.4  Analysis

To ensure meaningful and useful results, thematic network analysis was used to analyse the written accounts from the semi-structured interviews and participant observations. Thematic network analysis is a method to structure narrative data, and depicts the themes uncovered in thematic analysis (Attride- Sterling, 2001, p. 387). The analyses commenced with the coding of information contained in the interview transcripts using Atlis.ti. This process yielded 60 codes, which were then reduced to 16 code families, which were further reduced to seven themes related to volunteering in the Gugulethu community. During the analysis process, the researcher wrote memos to capture her thoughts and ideas that emerged from the data. As such, the analysis process involved data reduction, which is "reducing the dimensionality" of the qualitative data through, for example, thematic analysis, coding and memo writing (Qnwuegbuzie & Teddlie, 2003).

To ensure accuracy of findings and the quality of inferences derived from the interview transcripts, a number of procedures were followed. These included member checking or participant review. Interview transcripts were forwarded to participants to verify the validity of the information captured. Additionally, participants were informed of the availability of the final thesis report should they so request one.

### 5.2.5  Role of Researcher

The researcher played multiple roles within the research setting.. She acted as co-constructor during the semi-structured interviews as well as an active participant observer at the JL Zwane Centre, where she took on the role of a general worker volunteer. As a general worker volunteer, she participated in doing all the duties and followed all protocols aligned to this role. These duties included the preparation of meals, the washing of dishes and keeping up the overall cleanliness of the kitchen area.

According to Punch (1994) "the actual conduct and success in the field can be affected by a myriad of factors, including age, gender, status, education and ethnic background" (p. 83). Ethnic background did not pose a challenge for the researcher. The differences in age, gender, status and education between some of the participants and the researcher required her to conduct herself in a manner that reduced possible negative effects. For example, she showed humility by using appropriate titles for individuals (e.g. 'Tata' and 'Bhuti' for elderly males and 'Sisi' and 'Mama' for elderly females).

## 5.3   Findings

### 5.3.1   Background to Volunteering in Gugulethu

According to Patel (2007), the nature and direction of services and volunteering in Africa is the result of the historical, socioeconomic and political contexts. It is thus important to provide a brief background on the community context.  Gugulethu was created in 1958 to house some of the surplus Black migrant population, who were mostly from the then Xhosa homelands.  Currently, it has a population of 98 468 individuals and 29 577 households, with an average size of three individuals per household (Stats SA, 2011).  The majority of the population is Black African. As is the case in most Black townships in South Africa, Gugulethu is characterised by high unemployment and poverty. Forty percent of the labour force is unemployed and 71% of households live on a monthly income of R3 200 or less. Furthermore, only 37% of individuals aged 20 years and older have completed Grade 12 or higher (Stats SA, 2011). Added to this is the high prevalence of HIV, which currently stands at 29% of the population.

Accounts by participants and the community newspapers revealed that crime and violence are additional challenges faced by the community. For example, the researcher came across 'Family's Gory Grief', 'Taxi Boss Gunned Down' (City Vision, 2 May, 2014), 'Killed for a cigarette' (City Vision, 23 May 2014) and other similar headlines in the community newspapers. In a period of a week she encountered two individuals who mentioned they had been robbed within that week. Furthermore, one woman, who was known by the researcher, was brutally killed by her partner with whom she shared a child. The community members and NGO officials the researcher had brief conversations with blamed substance abuse, especially crystal methamphetamine (tik), for the surge in crime in the community.

Nevertheless, what was also documented in the newspapers was the theme of voluntary action that has emerged as part of the solution to some of these challenges experienced by or perceived within the community. Examples of this were evident in other headlines that included 'Reformed criminals helping youth avoid life of evil: Making the right Choices' (Vukani, 1 May 2014). Other stories reflected the voluntary spirit in the community. They included one on the 'Collective of local personalities using their influential power to promote positive change' (Vukani, 15 May 2014); and another on a Freedom Day event organised by the youth of the local Anglican Church for children in an effort to give back to the community (Vukani, 1 May 2014). Yet another story documented the launch of the Amandla EduFootball Safe hub, which is a holistic programme that includes sports, tutoring and life skills services for children, at one of the local high schools (Vukani, 15 May 2014).

The researcher's observations also uncovered the existence of numerous voluntary organisations with various social functions in Gugulethu, which differed by form and by the number and type of activities.  The JL Zwane Centre, a religious organisation, is one example of such an organisation. The JL Zwane Memorial Church, Gugulethu community and the Department of Industrial Psychology at the University of Stellenbosch collaborated to establish the centre in 1994 in response to some of the needs in the community (JL Zwane Centre, 2010). The core programmes at the centre include HIV/AIDS care, nutrition, a support group, a Hospice and an after-school feeding and study programme. During the researcher's visits, plans were also underway to reopen the library, and as part of the process, the centre holds volunteer days, when volunteers come for a day to assist with the classification of the library books. The JL Zwane Centre operates its programmes from its own building, which is on the grounds of the JL Zwane Memorial Church. This is in contrast to the premises of the other organisations visited, which more typically consisted of one or two-roomed offices located in a community centre or government building.

The researcher also discovered welfare, health, advocacy and sports organisations. These organisations were secular, of which three were local branches of regional non-profits and two were community-based organisations. The Gugulethu branch of Sonke Gender Justice (based in Cape Town) uses advocacy and outreach strategies to promote gender equality, prevent gender-based violence, and to help reduce the spread of HIV (Sonke Gender Justice, 2014). Africa Unite is also a branch of a regional organisation with a similar focus as Sonke. Africa Unite is different to Sonke in that the organisation also directs their attention at vulnerable children of school going age (Africa Unite, 2014). Their activities include an afterschool and an outreach and education programme, where they educate children about gender-based violence, which they found to be prevalent among them (V005).

The existence of the Football for Hope organisations also came to the researcher's attention, but she did not have the opportunity to visit it due to time constraints. Football for Hope forms part of the Fédération Internationale de Football Association's (FIFA) social responsibility programme, and the initiative is run by FIFA in partnership with community-based organisations around the globe. Its aims are to empower young people with the life skills necessary to cope with the challenges in their respective communities (FIFA, 2014). According to the informant who told the researcher about the organisation, the initiative aims to empower young people through sports. Football for Hope is an example of how multi-national institutions and corporations have infiltrated the voluntary sector in the 21st century and how they are starting to drive volunteering. Other community-based organisations include Hizani Sakhe, a community health organisation, and Realistic, a rehabilitation programme for former substance abusers and gangsters.

The common feature among the organisations was their reliance on volunteer labour. Volunteers carry out various tasks within the organisations, which range from menial duties that require little skill to more complex tasks that require specialised skills. As such, in most visited organisations there was no skills requirement mentioned for participation. Only one organisation noted being selective about whom they recruited as volunteers; they preferred more educated, preferably qualified, psychologists and social workers because of the nature of their activities. The official at the organisation noted, "We deal with very sensitive issues, these boys have done and have been through some horrific things, so we can't just let anyone talk to them; they need professionals" (OF002). The officials consequently noted that they work mostly with volunteers from the surrounding universities.

The researcher's interactions with informants from some organisations revealed that the use of volunteer labour is not a justifiable means of satisfying or fulfilling the organisation's labour demand. It appears as if the high unemployment and poverty levels within the community are constructed as a means to address these "issues" within the community through volunteering, which also becomes an objective for volunteer recruitment. Volunteer participation becomes an avenue for providing opportunities for the unemployed and other socially and economically excluded groups in the community. The youth, who form the majority of the 40% unemployed in the community, thus supply most of the volunteer labour. This focus on youth as a source for volunteers is a conscious decision on the part of organisations, for example, at the JL Zwane Centre volunteering opportunities are deliberately offered with the aim of empowering and transferring skills to youth who are considered unemployable because of a lack of work skills and having limited work experience (JL Zwane, 2010).

Volunteering is therefore a means to engage youth in 'constructive activities', which are perceived to be in shortage. As one respondent noted "Most of iitownships zethu (our townships) there is not a lot that is happening, people are just sitting around in the corners barobha abantu (robbing people), abanye (some) are doing drugs, abantu (people) are falling into gangsterism and all of that, ezi (those) activities zingekho (that are not) constructive" (V006).

Because volunteering is targeted at unemployed marginalised people, paying stipends has become a norm among organisations in Gugulethu (V005). An organisation that is not paying stipends for volunteering appears to be the exception to the rule. Even in the cases where stipends in the form of cash payments are not available, there would be some material non-financial benefits to offset some of the participant's costs. At JL Zwane Centre, for example, a daily lunch and food parcel to take home is provided.

### 5.3.2   Participants' profile

The participants interviewed for this study shared many similarities but also had some differences. All participants except one were less than 35 years old. There were also an equal proportion of male, females among participants - four out of the eight interviewed volunteers were female, and four were male. All participants had some form of schooling; three out of the eight had a post matric qualification or were in the process of obtaining one, four had a matric and only one participant had not completed matric. Three of the participants were unemployed, two were students and three were employed. The two employed participants (V005 and V006) came to be employed because of their volunteer activities.

Participants also differed by the volunteer activities they were involved in and most had multiple volunteering roles. For example, one participant volunteered as a library assistant but performed other administrative and general tasks within the organisation when the need arose. Another volunteered as a mentor to former gang members, a community organiser and a researcher, while another was a soccer coach but also volunteered as a peer facilitator and educator. Two of the participants volunteered as community mobilisers and facilitators. The remaining participants were general workers responsible for the preparation of meals and cleaning. Additionally, only two of the volunteers interviewed had prior volunteering experience before their current activity. For one of these participants, their previous experience inspired their current volunteering.

Despite this diversity, they did share some commonalities. The volunteer activities participants engaged in contributed directly or indirectly to community wellbeing, and as consequence served some form of social function. This has significance for the classification of volunteer activities as even a sport volunteer can serve a social function and contribute to community wellbeing. Another commonality shared by most of the activities, except the general work, was that they required skills, and as consequence, some form of education or training, to perform. This suggests that formal volunteer opportunities in the community may be biased towards individuals who are more educated.  Indeed, the participants sampled had each completed at least 10 years of schooling.

### 5.3.3   Understanding of volunteering

### 5.3.3.1   'Old' Volunteerism: volunteering as altruism and reification of Ubuntu

The first understanding of volunteering that emerged was that it is an altruistic act motivated by compassion - something from your heart done without the expectation of pay. As a consequence, most participants highlighted the giving of time, helping others and non-payment as key features of volunteering. This is captured in one participant's understanding, "kukuzinikela ungalindelanga

mvuzo at the very same time uzam' uncedisana nabantu (it is the offering of yourself with no expectation of payment at the very same time it is trying to help other people)" (V001). Another participant went even further by identifying the beneficiary of volunteer acts as "people that can't do things for themselves" (V006).

As part of this understanding, participants also noted the non-obligatory nature of the act. However, even though this was the perception, most of them noted that it is an activity inspired by a sense of responsibility towards one's community. The quotes below from one of the interviewees illustrate these conflicting views. The participant explained that "if somebody helps you even with your school work and they are not your parents and they are not your family they are not necessarily supposed to do that. They are not forced to do that. They could have done something better with their time but they chose to help you" (V002). The participant further noted that you volunteer because, "we always owe the community something" (V002).

In explaining this sense of responsibility towards ones community, the participant appealed to the principle of serial reciprocity, one of the pillars of 'Ubuntu'. The perception is that you are who you are because of others in the community, therefore one feels a sense of responsibility towards the community driven by the need to reciprocate what others have done for you. As the participant put it, "we are not only raised by our own parents but we are also raised by the community. Therefore you always feel that somebody has done something for you so you want to do something also for someone else" (V002).

Additionally, participants perceived that a person is socialised into this Ubuntu inspired volunteering through upbringing and religious teachings. Religious teachings also offer guidance on why and how to perform acts of altruism. This quote illustrates this - "I think it goes back to Ubuntu and e.g. here at church there is something called stewardship. As part of this we are told that to God you do not only have to offer money but you can contribute with your time" (V003).

One of the participants labelled this form of volunteering 'old' volunteerism, which is different from 'new' volunteerism in that "this individual ('new' volunteer) says let me find a job to help escape circumstances, the other one ('old' volunteer) says do something so that everybody escapes" (V002).

### 5.3.3.2   'New' volunteerism: volunteering as employment agency without guarantee

What was also common among participants' understanding of volunteering is that it leads to or contributes to paid employment and is thus "an employment agency without any guarantee" (V002). The participants perceived this 'new volunteerism' as a "second best option"; something done

"when no other alternatives are available for employment or learning" (Perold, Carapinha & Mohamed, 2006, p. 45). This view is illustrated in the following quotes "Here in volunteering you get work experience and from there you get an opportunity to get employment, you sign a contract in an organisation" (V001).

Participants also thought that volunteering leads to employment through either its signalling effect on one's curriculum vitae or the skills and experience gained. One of the participants was of the opinion that "xa umntu ebona ukuba ubuvolontiya uyabona ukuba uyakufun' ukusebenza qha ubungenamsebenzi (When someone sees that you were volunteering they can see that you want to work but you did not have work.)" (V005). Thus the participants also perceived volunteering as a means to signal good organisational citizenship.

This materialistic view of volunteering is not peculiar to Gugulethu. Other studies on volunteering in the country, region and continent have reported the same phenomenon, especially among the youth (Graham et al., 2013; Moleni & Gallagher, 2007; NYDA, 2012). The volunteering policy environment and discourse are one of the factors that have contributed to the proliferation of this view. Since 1994, the South African government has promoted service and volunteering with the aim of building human capital while inculcating a culture of 'Ubuntu' among youth.

Currently the government still perpetuates this view. The MEC of Community and Safety, JP Smit, gave a statement to the local newspaper, which made it clear that people who have volunteered in their communities would get first preference when employment opportunities arise. The MEC announced that, "In the future, volunteers will be the first to be considered for permanent jobs." (Vukani, 1 May 2014). Besides government's perpetuation of this view, experience also supports it; indeed, the employed participants did become employed through volunteering.

Additionally, in the researcher's personal experience during her high school years, they were encouraged to offer their time to private companies as a means to gain experience and employment. It appears that this promotion of volunteering is still prevalent because one of the participants noted that "Abantu endathetha nabo bathi ukuba awu affordi ukuya esikolweni okanye awuna bursary go to an NGO and do something and pha kula NGO you will get iskill. At the same time you can end up usistaff upeye iimali ezinjengemali (People I spoke to, say, if you don't afford to go to school or you don't have a bursary, go to an NGO and do something and at that NGO you will get a skill. At the same time you can end up being a staff member earning a lot of money" (V005).

Given the high poverty and unemployment levels in the country, some authors are of the opinion that this view of volunteering should be encouraged (Graham et al., 2013). However, there may be

negative consequences for the retention of volunteers, as people may get discouraged and stop their volunteer activity if employment opportunities do not arise. One of the NGO officials was sensitive to this potential danger and highlighted the importance of transparency when dealing with volunteers. The participant cited that in his organisation when recruiting volunteers they informed them that the organisation "doesn't employ is not an employing agent" (V008).

The official was of the opinion that transparency is important for managing expectations to avoid disillusionment and to build trust with volunteers. This is because "once you promise them that ok guys we going to give you umsebenzi (jobs) people will always be looking for umsebenzi (jobs) once you don't give for a period of three months baye baqonde ukuba bayaqhathwa (they understand that they are being fooled) then they lose trust" (V008).

### 5.3.3.3   NGOs should meet volunteers halfway

The contested issue of stipends also came up during the interviews and participants had different views on whether they should be available. Some thought that volunteering should be a reciprocal engagement between volunteers and organisation. One even wished, "if only ii-organisations bezikwazi uku-meetana nabantu abavolontiyayo (could meet people that volunteer) half way, that would be marvellous" (V006).  They thought that some form of compensation and/or recognition for the time and effort given is warranted, as volunteers are likely to be unemployed and impoverished in the same way as the beneficiaries of their services.

Furthermore, volunteers are in most instances charged with responsibilities equivalent to those of paid employees, but they perform them without pay. The following quote highlights this and the key role played by volunteers in organisations and the dedication to the work, despite them not receiving remuneration.  "Volunteers are doing what staff members do.  But, kengoku bona bayenza voluntarily and ngabantu abazii key role players naba understandayo ukuba kwenzeka ntoni phi so that i-organisation izokwazi uku plana accordingly (But, now they (volunteers) do it voluntarily and they are people who are key role players and who understand what is happening where. So that the organisation is able to plan accordingly). So these people are more than helpful with their time, and always they show dedication and interest" (V008).

Besides ameliorating some of the negative effects of poverty and unemployment, the other perception is that stipends may improve the attractiveness of the activity to potential volunteers. As one participant exclaimed when asked what would attract people to volunteer, "they would come in numbers" if they knew stipends were available (V001). The conclusion the researcher deduced from

the participants' narratives was, "People in the township are scared of volunteering since they are not working" (V006).

Financial and/or in kind compensation is therefore seen as necessary because "some have children and have families to feed. Others want their life to be like everyone else's; they do not want to suffer" (V001). For example, one participant noted, "You can buy yourself toiletries, you can add where is short at the house" (V004). Another was of the opinion that stipends help alleviate the appearance of being unemployed and a mere volunteer among your peers (V005). As the participant put it, "I can change my hairstyle so that people don't notice uba ndiya (that I am) volunteer" (V005). The participant thought it important to do this to avoid demotivating utterances from peers that could affect their performance and thus their chances at paid employment.

Two of the participants were of the opinion that availability and expectation of stipends is a problem. They thought that "sixabise imali ngaphezu kunomntu (we value money more than people)" (V003). Their view was that helping people should not be about money but something greater, but "most people value imali (money) more than ichange" (OF001).

The issue of whether volunteering is still volunteering when financial incentives are involved also came up in an informal conversation with a CBO official employed at an organisation with generous stipends of R3800. On my visit to the organisation to enquire about volunteering opportunities offered, the official told me "we have volunteers and we call them volunteers, but some people have an issue with that. They tell us they can't be volunteers if they get R3800" (OF003).

### 5.3.4   Volunteering not properly understood in the community

According to Haski-Leventhal (2009), "People are social entities whose interactions with others shapes their behaviour, beliefs, values and world views" (p. 281). It was therefore important to include a question on how volunteering is conceived in the communities in which the participants reside. Participants unanimously shared the view that members of their communities do not value volunteering. As one NGO official put it, "People they don't see umcimbi wevolunteering (this issue of volunteering) as something important" (OF001). The participants further recounted stories of how, people will tell you "uwasta ngexesha lakkho (You are wasting your time)" and "hamba uyokufuna umsebenzi. (Go look for a job)" (V005).

However, these negative statements appeared to originate more from peers rather than the more mature segments of the community, as the following quote suggests, "I met abantu abaninzi, abanye

baske bayithathe kancinci umntu ayenze indlalo into… Amajita[2] when it comes to into yobuvolontiya aveske akuxelele into yokuba awanokuvolontiya for seven years engafumani mali. (I met a lot of people, some belittle it (volunteering) and turn it into a joke… Amajita when it comes to volunteering they just tell you that you can't volunteer for seven years and not get money)" (V007).

Participants attributed these condescending attitudes towards volunteering to a lack of understanding and information. They thought that the people in the community view volunteering only as an activity without payment, or 'free labour'. One of the participants explained that people are ignorant of other benefits that may accrue to the volunteer, "Bava ela agama lithi volunteer (they hear the word volunteer) and think you won't get nothing for uku volunteer" (V005).

Besides thinking that community members lacked the understanding that there is something to gain, they also thought that community members are ignorant of the social benefits and purpose of volunteers. The NGO official passionately explained, "Abayi-understi isource yokuyenza le nto ukuba yonke le nto siyenzela ibenefit yecommunity. (They don't understand the source of doing this, that all of this we do it for the benefit of the community)" (OF001). He further added, "You understand ukuthi sinee-needs (that we, the community, have needs) but it is impossible for iorganisation can employ yonke iGugulethu to do that work, definitely we employ few people then few people badinga uku-assistwa (need to be assisted) by rest of the people" (OF001). The official's statement suggests that he is of the opinion that the notion of offering your labour to a formal organisation with no financial benefits does not make sense to some people, "usebenza njani ungabatalwa (How do you work without getting paid)?"

The main reasons participants provided for the perceived ignorance in Gugulethu are lack of information and materialism linked to 'old' township culture. The perception is that people from the 'old' township have an exaggerated sense of importance and therefore perceive themselves as being more knowledgeable, especially relative to people from the 'new' township. The result is that they are unwilling to learn from others or to be informed, and even lack the initiative to seek information. A consequence of this is a lack of information about volunteering.

"*They don't know that you get skills and exposed, the little that they know is that awubhatalwa qha (you don't get paid). Because abaziphi xesha to find out ukuba if banga volontiya yintoni enye abanoyifumana. Baninzi abantu abahleli apha abangaphangeliyo abanokuza bazokubuza apha kuthi about ukuvolontiya. Abayezni iresearch. (They don't give themselves time to find out what else*

---

[2]Name is township slang, which means group of guys, mostly used by the young males when they refer to each other

*they would benefit from volunteering. There are many people sitting unemployed that could come to us and ask about volunteering.  They don't do research)"* (V005).

*"Asifuni ukufundiswa, sisoloko sicinga ukuba siyazi whereas singazi, I think nantso into thina sisoloko sineengqondo zethu kuba singabase Gugulethu we think we better and all that singafuni ukufunda.( I think we don't want to be taught, we always think ukuba siyazi, whereas we don't know, I think that is it. We have our own mentality because we are from Gugulethu, we think we are better and all that, and then we don't want to learn)"* (V003).

Other participants expressed similar views; however, one noted that this is not peculiar to Gugulethu but the Black race in general. The perception is that not valuing education or being informed is something endemic in the Black population in general. One of the participants used a Xhosa proverb to explain this 'problematic' behaviour: "Kukho intetho ethi kwaXhosa ukuba ufuna ukufihla imali yifake encwadini, yinyani (There is a saying in Xhosa, 'if you want to hide money from a black person hide it in a book. It is true!)" (V008).

The culture of materialism, another feature of 'Old Township', is another reason cited for the ignorance and lack of appreciation for volunteering. The perception is that volunteering, as an activity done without remuneration, is at odds with the culture of materialism in the community. Work is work and is valued if it is remunerated because then you can acquire material goods (fancy car, clothes, and drink expensive alcohol etc.).

As one respondent noted, "The political points we've got is as follows: abantu balapha eGugulethu abayiboni ivolunteering as into angayenza umntu (people here in Gugulethu don't see volunteering as something they can do), they will tell no I see myself working because I need to drive this car, and I see myself wearing this kind of i-attire. Comparism nokuba ingingqi yethu at least it's little bit formal than ezi township zakomaaKhayelitsha (Comparism, that our area at least, it's little bit more formal than these townships of Khayelitsha)" (V008).

However, the same participant provided another explanation with less generalisations and stereotypes. He explained that volunteering might be less popular in Gugulethu compared to areas such as Khayelitsha, where there is a greater and more visible number of CBOs, NGOs and other voluntary organisations.  He noted that this is because "there is no kind of ifunding esourciweyo (funding sourced) to those areas because khange kubekho abantu ababe (there are no people) willing to be on the forefront babezii (to be) champions and have power to be influential in the community" (V008). The participant ascribed this to the fractured voluntary sector within Gugulethu caused by competition among existing organisations. The researcher's observations and

informal conversations with other NGO officials suggest this to be a more plausible explanation for the lack of enthusiasm in the community. After all, the level of volunteering in a community depends on how well the activity is legitimised, funded and organised (Haddad, 2004).

### 5.3.5  Volunteers' understanding of their participation

The results on how participants explained and understood their engagement reveal the complex nature of the decision to volunteer and the challenge of attributing participation to one particular motivating influence.  It is important to note that participants did not have a readily available answer when asked about their decision to volunteer. Additionally, participants combined reasons for the initial volunteering decision with those for their sustained commitment. As such, the findings provide evidence that volunteer motivations cannot be perceived as one-dimensional or static.

Interactions of various factors at an individual and societal level inform decisions to volunteer. Which of these dominate and the way and extent they influence volunteering decisions changes over time, and as a result, the initial reasons to volunteer and those for sustained commitment are seldom the same.

What was also revealed in the findings is the instrumental value of formal and informal networks in how participants became volunteers. Some of the participants received requests to volunteer from informal networks such as friends, while for others, informal networks provided information about an organisation's activities. The decision to volunteer was taken after getting involved and realising the value of the activities for the participants and their communities. For the participants volunteering in the religious organisation, church membership was an important factor in their path to volunteering. All of the church members became informed about volunteer opportunities during Sunday worship sessions. These findings highlight the importance of formal and informal social networks, and thus social capital in being informed about volunteer opportunities and being asked to participate.

Two other important points were revealed in the findings. Firstly, in most instances where participants were introduced, informed or requested to volunteer, volunteering was portrayed as a means to be economically and socially included and to avoid idleness. The following quotes illustrate this point.

"*I was actually approached by my lecturer who knew I was looking for a job and he said I must go and volunteer there I will get a certificate blah blah blah*" (V002).

"u*Mfundisi told me I should come keep myself busy here at church, with one of the activities (computer etc.) while I am looking for a school (college). He said that I should not isolate myself but come to the centre to keep busy*" (V009).

Given that most of the study participants were youths, this portrayal of volunteering can be seen within the thinking that problems affecting the youth such as "unemployment, lack of education and life skills, marginalisation and risky behaviour" can be addressed by volunteering (Moleni & Gallagher, 2007, p. 43). Indeed, some of the narratives provided by the participants reveal that volunteering, to them, was a means to change the way they were living and to become productive and contributing individuals. This leads to the second important point illustrated in the findings, which is the influence of life histories and current social and personal circumstances in participants' decisions to volunteer and to commit to the activity.

### 5.3.5.1   Reasons for initial decision to volunteer

Most of the participants could not readily provide reasons for their initial decision. This could be because, for most of them, the opportunity to volunteer presented itself and they took it because they had nothing else to do. Despite this, the findings reveal a need to survive and give back or contribute to change in the community as the common motives for taking the opportunity.

*Survival and efforts to be included*

One of the themes that emerged from the findings is that volunteering is instrumentalised as a survival tool. Some of the participants took advantage of the social networks provided by the volunteer organisation as a means of coping with the challenges brought about by unemployment. One participant from the religious organisation described how the church was a place where "each and every one who is not having something or is suffering with something, if s/he comes here (church) we do have that opportunity that we help her or him". She added that she was surviving on the social support provided (V004). The researcher's observations at the organisation confirmed this; volunteers at the organisation were provided with lunch daily and even took some meals home for dinner. Additionally, weekly they received pockets of potatoes, onions and other vegetables to prepare meals at home.

Another unemployed participant explained that he decided to be a volunteer at the organisation because he "ndayibona as i-opportunity, ndayithatha (saw an opportunity and took it)" (V001). This suggests that volunteering is an alternative to idleness and being unproductive in the township, a behaviour that is shunned by the community, especially the elders.

Surviving the negative effects of township life is another theme that emerged as a motive, especially among the young men who are considered to be more susceptible to gangsterism, substance abuse and other anti-social behaviours. This is evident in the following quote, where the participant describes his volunteering as means to escape negative township influences and as a change from his previous life of gangsterism.

"*Ndiqale ndatraina, and ukutraina ndayithand' into, ukuyithanda kwam yabasegazini ukuba no akhonto ndiyenzayo elokishini... Bendikade ndikwizinto zee gangsters, ndisenza yonke into elapha phandle but now ndina two years ingqondo yam ayisekho kweza zinto (I started with training and I loved it. When I loved it, it was in my blood that I am not doing anything in the township... I used to be in these things of gangsters, doing everything that is out there but now it's been two years and my mind is no longer there)*" (V007).

The participant also noted wanting to learn, a point he made to the organisation when he started volunteering, as another reason for his participation. He explained that, "Nabo ndabaxelela ukuba ndize ngokuzofunda apha, bendisithanda isikolo ukukhula kwam (I also told them (organisation officials) that I have come here to learn, I used to love school when I was growing up)" (V007).

### *Giving back and contributing to change*

Giving back and contributing to positive change in the community is a common theme that emerged when participants spoke about their volunteering. As much as the evidence suggests that this giving back and contributing is aimed at the public good, participants also had a vested interest in seeing the betterment of the community. This gives credence to the interdependence of altruistic and egoistic motives. It also provides a premise for the argument that the altruistic, self-interest binary should rather be portrayed as an altruism continuum, with maximum enhancement of self and maximum enhancement of others at the two extremes (Haski-Leventhal, 2009).

Contributing to the betterment of the community as a motive appeared to be inspired by different influences, for example leaving a better community for future generations informed some of the participants' decisions to volunteer. The following quote illustrates this point: "Since I decided to be a volunteer apha (here) it's because I have a son ona (who is) one year two months. So, nda decida ukuba andizokwazi ukuthatha umntana wam ndimse emaxhoseni kuba abanye abantu bayabahambisa abantwana babo kuba bebabalekisa kwii gangstars (Since, I decided that I will not be able to send my child to the rural areas, because some people send their children there to take them away from gangsterism). Therefore, that is why I decided to be a volunteer to make a change

kwicommunity, to myself, nasemntaneni wam siya benefita sobathathu (to my child. All three of us benefit)".

The participant further added, "Ininzi ichange ekufuneka yenzekile but le change ayizofuna mntu mnye ifuna many people, many organisations.  Eyona nto indenza ndi volunteer is to change imind set and the behaviour yabantwana abasakhulayo. (There is a lot of change that needs to happen but this change will not just need one person, it will need many people, many organisations. The one thing that makes me volunteer is to change the mind set and the behaviour of children" (V005). The participant's statement suggests that by volunteering, she also understood her actions as contributing to the collective effort required to deal with the social problems in the community.

Cultural capital in the form of religious as well as philosophical and ideological beliefs also underpinned some of the other participants' motives. For example, one participant from the religious organisation mentioned that, "Xa ujoina kubakho iiclass ufundiswe ngestewardship, so ndaqonda nam it is the way of giving back, andinamali, andiphangeli ndingumfundi but it is the way yoba ndigive back to the community. (When you join there are classes where you learn about stewardship, so I thought that it's a way of giving back, I don't have money I don't work, I am a student, but it's a way for me to give back to the community)" (V003).

During a prior informal conversation with the participant she also mentioned, "I came here to organise the library so that other young people can come and use it. We do not have a lot of opportunities and a lot of the young people like me don't have much support. So, we need to help each other" (V003). This statement by the participant illustrates the reification of values of reciprocity and altruism characteristic of Ubuntu, the notion that 'I am because you are', as another means by which she framed the understanding of her participation. The statement consequently confirms the finding that individuals in excluded and marginalised communities often volunteer, formally or informally, as part of a system of mutual help and assistance (Wilkson-Maposa, 2010).

In the narrative of another participant, who also cited the need to contribute in explaining his volunteer actions, multiple motives were evident. These motives included firstly, personal development, "I'm still a psychologist to a certain degree at heart, I still want to understand a human, so that as I go about addressing issues, I address issues with a deeper understanding" (V002). Secondly, a lack of fulfilment in gainful employment: "When I'm volunteering as a researcher for instance, I'm using information in a manner that I like, so in a way I'm compensating the lack at work, that's why" (V002).

Additionally, these motives were underpinned by cultural capital, his philosophical and ideological beliefs of Ubuntu and Africanism. The participant noted, "My volunteering is of activism in nature… philosophical they come from Ubuntu... In addition, it comes from my ideology of at least try to help the fellow Africans like me to at least move to a certain space that is better than yesterday. So it's moved by ideology and the love of my people… I'm always inspired by people like Robert Sobukwe, and particularly Steve Biko, who had programmes" (V002).

The participant further added a statement that provided another example of serial reciprocity. He explained his volunteering decisions as being based on, "Why don't I have four boys to model and when I succeed we will model others, maybe by the time I die I would have helped 20 who will also help another 20 and maybe in a million years 30 million/billion shall have been helped" (V002).

### 5.3.5.2  Motive for sustained commitment

*"I'm not gonna stop, I will always volunteer" (V006).*

The above statement echoes the sentiments of all but one of the volunteers interviewed. Most of the participants revealed that they had been volunteers for long periods, the shortest being six months. Intrinsic and extrinsic benefits appear to be influential in most of their decisions to stay committed.

*Religious Motivation*

Only one participant cited religious factors in understanding her sustained commitment. To her volunteering, is a way to appreciate "izinto ezi right ezenzeka kuwe (the good things that happen to you)" (V003). These good things the participant attributed to God's grace. Consequently, being appreciative of what God has done for her is how she understood her staying committed to volunteering. Nevertheless, this is not the only explanation she provided; she also attributed her volunteering to wanting to be different and sympathy to those less fortunate than her, which is within her nature. As she put it, "As much as ndiyithanda ilokishi mandohluke ndingasoloko ndikwela gquba liyi- one...To me into yokunceda abantu I think ilapha kuwe entliziyweni, for example, kubabuhlungu xa ndibona omye umntu esokola ndibe ndinayo into (As much as I love the township, I have to be different and not always be in the same group…to me this thing of helping people is in your heart. For example, it is painful for me when I see a person suffering whereas I have something" (V003).

*Intrinsic benefits*

73

Intrinsic benefits derived from volunteering are a popular theme that emerged from participants' narratives about their sustained commitment. Of these fulfilment was the most common, however again participants also cited other explanations which were equally important. One of the participants noted that she even enjoyed coming every day like paid staff because "sidibana naba bantwana on daily basis and I like what I'm doing and ndifuna ukubona ne change (we meet with children on a daily basis and I like what I am doing and I want to see change)" (V005). The participant's statement shows altruism as another factor that influenced her sustained commitment. It also reveals the importance of a volunteer being involved in activities in which they are passionate about as an important aspect for fulfilment. In this case, the participant was passionate about children.

The importance of the alignment of activity with the volunteer's own interest for fulfilment, and by extension sustained commitment, is also evident in the following quote. "I'm working as well but the only job I'm enjoying mostly is this one, I'm passionate about it even emaphupheni am (in my dreams) I wanted to be a psychiatrist" (V006). This participant further cited seeing the need, value and benefits of the organisations activities in his explanation for volunteering, as shown in the following statement:

*"We've seen ukuba there is a need for le nto siyenzayo kwiicommunities zethu even nakuthi coz it inspires us, it motivate us, and it grooms us… Sendibona apha kuma ukuba ndiphila kweza changes... Ukuvolunteer kundincede kakhulu kuncede nabantu and I can't believe.  Actually, apho ndikhoyo ndisebenza uba ndifuna at the end of the month ndikwazi ukuprovida for ifamily yam. (We have seen that there is a need for what we are doing in our communities, even for us. It inspires us it grooms us… I have already seen that I live with those changes…Volunteering helped me a lot and it also helps people and I cannot believe. Actually where I am, I only work because I want at the end of the month to be able to provide for my family)"* (V006).

*Extrinsic benefits*

Extrinsic benefits derived from the social capital formed through volunteering are another dominant theme in how volunteers explained their prolonged participation. One participant cited the support he received from church members when his shack burnt down in constructing the reason for remaining a volunteer (V001). In the following quote, he further describes other social support he receives and how it has motivated him to remain a volunteer. "Like, iindlel' ezininzi ke banobubele like uyakhuthazwa kwizinto ezininzi... iyakhuthaza ngehlobo lokuba into abandenzela yona zange

ndiyilindele, yaba yisurprize. (Like, you get help in many ways. They are caring, like, they motivate you in a lot of ways. It is motivating in a way that what they did for me I did not expect, it was a surprise)" (V001).

The following quote by another participant volunteering at the church organisation provides another example of the support received from the church network. "So if uyakwazi ukunyamezela (if you able to endure) each and every time uphuma apha (you go out of) eJ.L.Zwane, you go out with something even our Reverend is very motivating person. He can motivate us when he's preaching, he does motivate everyone" (V004).

In this instance, the participant also highlights the encouragement provided by the Reverend as one of the benefits gained if you are able to endure and remain committed.  Observations and informal conversations with volunteers at the JL Zwane Centre confirmed this. In the informal conversations with volunteers and during the interviews, the Reverend emerged as a father figure. He provided encouragement and social, and in some instances financial support. However, most importantly, he made everyone feel important and valued. What the researcher could infer from their statements is that they had someone on their side, a champion, which appeared to be very important to them.

The family-like relationship formed at the Centre is therefore a major theme that emerged in the religious organisation's volunteers' explanations of their commitment.  The following statement by one of the volunteers further confirms this, "This is like my home. I am happy here. I arrive in the morning and leave at late in the afternoon. Ayikho into enokwenza ndiyekhe ukhuza apha, kumnandi apha (There is nothing that could make me stop coming here, it's nice here)" (V009).

Support provided to volunteers is not peculiar to the religious organisation. For example an official at the other NGO visited noted that they informed their volunteers that "Sonke seeks to work with you guys with ithemba lokuba (the hope that) you will get employed one day either at Sonke or other organisations because we need to invest in you, make sure that we capacitate you" (OF001).

One of the volunteers at Sonke confirmed the official's statements but further cited the benefit of merely being involved in the organisation's activities as a reason for being committed. For the participant volunteering, the organisation is the best alternative in the options he perceives he has.

 "*So, mna ngendlela endizi chosele ngayo ndibone ukuba it's better ndibe kweli cala lika Sonke instead of ukuba ndicontinuishe with gangsters coz I know u-life weegangsters, ndineminyaka ndiwenza, ndineminyaka ndihlel' ejele…No one ebeye wayondihlangula, iye yandim othi mandiphinde ndiqale ekuqaleni ndacinga ukuba it's better ndibambelele kweli cala. (For me, the way I have chosen for myself. I saw that it's better to be on the side of Sonke instead of continuing*

*with gangsters.  Coz, I know the life of gangsters, I have been living it for years, I have spent years in jail… No one came to rescue me, it was again me who told himself, let me start over and I thought it's better to hold on to this side (Sonke)"* (V007).

## 5.4  Conclusion

The findings uncovered through thematic analysis provide evidence of how individuals construct meanings and explanations for their own actions and those of others. Additionally, they reveal how they use personal experience, context and common discourse around a particular subject to provide what they perceive as acceptable explanations for behaviours and actions.

Participants' constructions of their views on volunteering, what it means to them and their communities, as well as their reasons for participation, included two conceptualisations: the conceptualisation of volunteering as 'Ubuntu' and that of volunteering as an activity with benefits that may even include paid employment.  As a consequence, participants were of the view that within their communities, community members do not understand the activity because they lack these two conceptualisations of activity. Most of the participants appealed to principles of Ubuntu, such as altruism, empathy and reciprocity, in their constructions. Consequently, volunteering as the offering of one's time to benefit others with no expectation of pay permeated participants' understanding of what volunteering is as well as explanations for their actions. Volunteering as a reciprocal engagement with benefits and relief for the volunteer is another common theme that forms part of this understanding.

Participants also viewed volunteering as an activity that leads to, or at least contributes towards, paid employment. The view is that through volunteering one can either gain paid employment or the skills and experience to improve the possibility of obtaining such employment. This was a common theme in both how they understood volunteering and in their explanations of their volunteering behaviour. Consequently, altruism and self-interest existed side by side in participants' constructions. As such, as much as the participants highlighted the benefit of helping others as an important contributor to volunteering, they also highlighted egoistic influences as important factors.

# CHAPTER 6:   DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

## 6.1   Introduction

This research aimed to investigate which human, social and cultural capital variables best explain volunteering in South Africa. To this end, the researcher proposed a multi-dimensional approach to the study of volunteering that examines its determinants and distribution, as well as the resource-related factors that feature in volunteers' interpretations of their actions. The study attempted to answer three questions: firstly, what human, social, and cultural capital factors are associated with the likelihood to volunteer? Secondly, do these factors have the same degree and form of association with all forms of volunteering? Thirdly, how does human, social and cultural capital feature in how volunteers make sense of their participation?

A sequential mixed methods design was chosen that consisted of statistical and interpretive methods to fulfil the research's aims and to provide the best answers to the research questions. The design comprised of two phases. Phase I of the study consisted of descriptive and logistic analysis of secondary data from the 2001 South African wave of the World Values Survey. Phase II included data collection through semi-structured interviews and participant observation, which was then analysed using thematic analysis. In combining the methods the aim was to use statistical and interpretive methods to address the what, where and how of volunteering in South Africa.

The product of this research and thus the answers to the proposed research questions and their implications are presented in this discussion.

## 6.2   Discussion

### 6.2.1   What human, social and cultural capital factors are associated with the likelihood to volunteer in the country?

Before a discussion of the factors associated with the likelihood to volunteer is presented, it is important to note that the findings revealed that the majority of South Africans engage in formal voluntary activities for the benefit of others. The culture of 'Ubuntu' and age-old traditions of collective action could account for this prevalence. This also includes the deliberate efforts by government through policies and programmes to promote the activity of volunteering.

In modelling the likelihood to volunteer, the researcher controlled for demographic variables such as race, age, gender, number of children and marital status. The findings indicate that only race, marital status and gender influence the likelihood to volunteer. In terms of the race variables, only

Blacks have a greater probability to volunteer relative to Whites. These results are in line with other reports on volunteering in the country (Everatt, 2005). A point of concern is the contradictory findings of Stats SA (2011), which claimed that Whites have a higher volunteering rate relative to Blacks. Volunteering could have increased among the Whites relative to Blacks since 2001 and 2005, however the VAS has been criticised for capturing an imprecise picture of volunteering in the country (NYDA, 2013).

The results also indicate that the chances are higher that you will volunteer if you are female and married. This dropped when controls for cultural capital (particularly religiosity) were included, however. This could be because female volunteers are more religious than males, as evidenced by their more frequent church attendance and participation in other religious rituals. Other demographic variables had no or minimal influence on the probability to volunteer, i.e. there is no evidence of a relationship between volunteering and number of children, and age has a miniscule positive relationship with volunteering. This could have been the result of the functional form because the relationship between volunteering and age is theorised to be curvy-linear, but there were little change in the results when the functional form was adjusted.

The results also indicate that human capital has an influence on the likelihood to volunteer mainly that to a certain degree, human capital helps to entrench the inequalities that already exist in South Africa rather than changes them. Middle class and working class individuals have a higher probability to volunteer than upper class individuals do, but if participants self-identified as lower class, the probability to volunteer was less than that of the upper class. A similar pattern is also evident when looking at the influence of income - the likelihood to volunteer is greater for higher income groups relative to income1, the lowest income group, but lower than income6, the highest income group. This convex relationship between the probability to volunteer and these two human capital variables can be explained by income having a positive effect on volunteering, up to the point where the opportunity cost of volunteering becomes too high, i.e. the amount of wages forgone per hour of volunteering may be too high for high-income individuals to justify volunteering.

The positive relationship between education and volunteering further illustrates that the differentiated distribution of human capital may lead to the exclusion of certain groups, mainly the poor and uneducated, from formal volunteering. There is also evidence to suggest a negative relationship between employment and volunteering.

In terms of the influence of social capital**,** the findings indicate a consistent positive relationship between prejudice and civic-mindedness. A possible explanation, given the high unemployment and poverty context of the country, could be that people perceive volunteering as work and therefore personal prejudice does not influence their decisions to volunteer. The positive prejudice variable could also reflect bonding social capital, which means that prejudiced people volunteer, but do so within their closed networks. Time spent with work colleagues is also a positive influence on the likelihood to volunteer.

The findings also indicate religious capital to be more important for volunteering compared to cultural capital in general. Both proxies for Ubuntu had no influence on volunteering when human and social capital factors were adjusted for in the general model. This may be the result of the incorrect proxies chosen to represent Ubuntu, however it could be also because that Ubuntu may have a minimal influence on the likelihood to volunteer. The influence of religion appears to occur more through its social capital effect rather than its influence on values of altruism. This is because church attendance is the only religiosity variable that has a consistent influence on volunteering besides the Importance of God variable. Greif (2011) argued that people can perform religious rituals with no significant meaning attached to them and therefore not embody living Godly. If this line of reasoning is followed, then the influence of church attendance on volunteering could be indirect via the networks and opportunities it creates for volunteering.

## 6.2.2   What is the association between human, social and cultural capital and the choice of volunteer organisation?

The research also investigated whether level of resources influenced the likelihood to volunteer similarly for all forms of volunteering. The findings indicated that firstly, South Africans prefer to offer their services mostly to religious, community and health, and sports organisations. Other studies have confirmed the influence of religion on volunteering and the prevalence of volunteering in religious organisations, therefore it is not surprising that this is the most preferred form of volunteering. Furthermore, religious organisations have been involved in voluntary associations and delivering of services to the poor dating back to the colonial missionaries and the fight for a democratic South Africa. The prevalent use of CHWs in the health sector due to human resource challenges could account for the prevalence of volunteering in community and health organisations. Service delivery challenges in other sectors and the limited capacity of government to address these increasingly result in communities having to rely on voluntary groups, who in turn rely on volunteers, to provide their services.

Secondly, although religious, community and health, and sports organisations are the most preferred organisations for volunteering, an in-depth examination reveals differences in voluntary organisation preference based on demographic factors and level of resources. The findings showed that Blacks are more likely to volunteer in all except for sports organisations, whereas Coloureds are predominantly represented in sports organisations. Gender differences are also evident; females have a greater chance of volunteering in religious, community, health and women's organisations, but the chances diminish for professional, political and sports organisations. In addition, the results suggest a gender bias in volunteer organisations through the exclusion of females from professional and political organisations, as well as organisations perceived to enjoy more prestige, recognition, and greater chances of upward mobility. Being married only matters for volunteering in religious, professional and political, and women's organisations.

Human, social and cultural capital factors also do not exert the same influence on different forms of volunteering. The positive relationship evident between general volunteering and income, class and education does not hold for all organisations. Religious organisations are more likely to accommodate uneducated individuals and only individuals in household income groups two and three have a greater likelihood to volunteer in these organisations compared to people in income group one. Employment's negative relationship with volunteering remained unchanged, except for the women's organisation model.

The findings also indicated that prejudice positively influences all forms of volunteering except for volunteering in professional and political organisations. Even though the generalised trust variable is insignificant for general volunteering, when examining its influence on volunteering in different organisations it appears to mirror the opposite influence of prejudice. The other social capital factors are also only important for volunteering in particular organisations. For example, time spent with friends is negatively related to the likelihood to volunteer in all except religious organisations. This suggests that volunteering may be a substitute for time spent with friends, except for in religious organisations where your friends may be part of your church networks. The fact that some of the interview participants volunteered to escape the negative influence of peers may also provide an explanation for the negative relationship. Additionally, the Phase II finding that volunteers encountered negative attitudes towards their volunteering from their peers, at least in the Gugulethu case, also provides an explanation for this negative relationship.

Time spent with family, on the other hand, improves the chances of volunteering in community, health and women's organisations. This may be because these activities are seen as the women's

domain and women are more likely to consider family important because of gender role stereotypes. This conjecture is given further credence by the fact that time with family is negatively associated with the probability to volunteer in sports and professional and political organisations, which were earlier revealed to be the domain of mostly male volunteers. Time spent with colleagues appears to be important for volunteering in sports and professional and political organisations.

Again, the results show that the factors that influence the probability to volunteer are not uniform across all voluntary organisations. For example, the findings on the effect of Ubuntu show that sharing had no significant relationship with general volunteering, but reveal that it has a negative one with all forms of volunteering except sports organisations. Serving others, on the other hand, only has a significant relationship with volunteering in women's organisations, but a negative one. This result could be explained by the fact that women's organisations may attract feminists who do not value serving others or who have negative perceptions about casting women in roles of servitude.

Church attendance also has a positive relationship with all forms of volunteering except for sports. This could be because these activities are more likely to take place at the same time, mostly during weekends and in the evenings during weekdays, which suggest that the two may be substitutes for the other. The probability to volunteer in sports and in political and professional organisations is also greater for atheists and non-religious individuals, relative to individuals who identified as religious. In the case of volunteering at women's organisations, people who self-identified as non-religious have a greater likelihood to volunteer in these organisations compared to those who identified as religious, but atheists had a lesser likelihood to volunteer in these organisations compared to religious individuals.

### 6.2.3  How does human, social and cultural capital feature in how individuals frame and explain their participation in volunteer activity?

How human, social and cultural factors feature in volunteers' interpretation of volunteering and how they made meaning of their participation can be best understood within the framework of Hustinx and Lammertyn's (2003) reflexive volunteering. The reflexive volunteer uses volunteering as a "tool to cope with biographical uncertainties and personal problems" while remaining compassionate and dutiful (p. 174).

The context of unemployment and poverty, coupled with crime and violence, especially against woman, as well as a high HIV prevalence in Gugulethu, has created a need for voluntary

organisations and volunteers. However, the Phase II findings suggest that it has also created a need to volunteer because individuals have limited livelihood options. This explains why both altruism and egoism simultaneously feature in how interview participants define volunteering and how they explain their voluntary participation. The levels of poverty and unemployment also explain why most of the participants in Phase II were of the view that in kind or monetary compensation in the form of stipends is justified.

Participants understood volunteering as the reifying of Ubuntu and offering one's time and effort to benefit people in need. As part of this understanding, they also perceived it as an act of reciprocity motivated by feelings of obligation, which involves giving back to the community. However, participants also perceived volunteering as path to gainful employment and livelihood. These two conceptualisations of volunteering also permeated into how they explained their participation and formed the background from which different forms of capital featured in their narratives.

To illustrate the above point, human capital featured in participants' sense making projects in that volunteering is a means to employ human capital in the absence of other viable alternatives. Consequently, poverty, unemployment and idleness figured prominently in how participants explained their volunteering. How human capital-related factors featured in participants' narratives also revealed insights about the negative relationship between employment and volunteering indicated in Phase I. Firstly, as suggested by the interview findings, the understanding of volunteering as an alternative livelihood strategy may have led unemployed individuals to self-select into the activity.

Additionally, organisations purposively initiating volunteer programmes to deal with unemployment may have also contributed to this self-selection. Secondly, the hours that some organisations require volunteers to work and the expectations placed on them might be difficult to meet as an employed person. Some of the participants noted that they worked full time staff equivalent hours, and at the religious organisation, the volunteers even started as early as six in the morning on some days.

Educational attainment also figured in the participants' narratives. All of the participants had at least 11 years of education, however for some it was a challenge to transform this into gainful employment because of personal current and historical circumstances. Some could not obtain employment because they had not completed schooling while others had had behavioural issues such as substance abuse and other anti-social behaviours. The result of this is that they chose to volunteer to escape their circumstances. Volunteering was thus a tool to escape poverty, idleness

and anti-social behaviour. This suggests that volunteering is a form of reintegration strategy for individuals, especially youth, who were previously socially and economically excluded.

Social capital featured in participants' sense making in that it was through their formal, and for some informal, networks that they received requests and information about volunteer opportunities. Social capital also featured prominently in why volunteers stayed committed for periods as long as seven years. The social, economic and psychological support provided by the networks formed during volunteering is a main theme that emerged in why volunteers stayed committed. As such, the volunteering environment provided the social and personal support they lacked from their home environments. Furthermore, the volunteering provided a form of rehabilitation programme for the youth that wanted to change their circumstances.

Even though Phase I did not reveal evidence of Ubuntu being a resource for volunteering, the findings of Phase II revealed that it is indeed an important resource. Ubuntu figured prominently in how interview participants understood volunteering, and most saw the action as acting out its related values of reciprocity and altruism. The majority of the participants mentioned giving back to the community as one of their reasons for volunteering. The participants felt a sense of responsibility towards their community driven by the need to reciprocate for what others had done for them.

Only one participant noted religious values in their decision to volunteer; the majority of the volunteers in the religious organisation did not mention religious values in their understanding of or reasons provided for volunteering. This could explain the negative relationship between volunteering and frequency of prayer and the positive one with church attendance. The social capital effect of church attendance is also supported by the fact that individuals who volunteered in the religious organisation received information about the opportunities during church services and remained volunteers because of the economic, psychological and social support derived from the church networks.

## 6.3   Implications

Both the Phase I and II findings suggest unemployed individuals who have minimal means of livelihood volunteer, and in most instances they perform tasks of full-time employees with no or minimal pay for extended periods. This gives credence to Uny's (2008) assertion that "volunteering in the South is not a pastime, but nchito (work)" (p. 444). The findings also provide further justification for the concern Uny raised by arguing that this tendency, even though beneficial to communities, could erode the voluntary spirit in communities and "both threaten the long-term

sustainability of development programmes and increase volunteers' dependency on them" (Uny, 2008, p. 444). However the researcher has two other concerns about this phenomenon, which have implications for both the study of volunteering and volunteer policy.

Firstly, for the definition of volunteering, unemployed 'volunteers' performing full-time staff equivalent tasks for extended periods because of perceived lack of options raises the question: 'To what extent can we justify defining it as an activity done out of free will, if desperation appears to be the motivation?' Furthermore, is it correct still to refer to them as 'volunteers' or is underemployed a more suitable term?

Secondly, questions about the fairness of the practice are a concern. Although there are non-material benefits derived from volunteering, a key concern is foregrounded when asking the question: 'Is this practice not a form of exploitation?' A related question and perhaps one that can be justified by this concern of possible exploitation, is the question asked by non-volunteering youth in Gugulethu: Usebenza njani ungabatalwa ('How do you work without being paid?') and thinking: Awanokuvolontiya for seven years engafumani mali ('You can't volunteer for seven years and not get money')?

Either this view could be dismissed as selfish, or, as one of the participants in Maes' (2012) study explained, a 'good life' is when you have money with love, peace, mental satisfaction, economic security and progress (Maes, 2012, p. 61). This suggests an argument for stipends, yet stipends alone may not provide a long-term solution. The explicit training and development of unemployed volunteers, such that they are marketable to potential employers, could be a more sustainable solution.

The results also confirm the dominant status theory's hypothesis that people with higher incomes and greater education are more likely to volunteer. This suggests that volunteering may be exclusionary, which means that the benefits of volunteering are only captured by people with greater income and education, while those who can benefit the most from the experience, the very poor and uneducated are not included. This points to a need for initiatives by both government and civil society actors that will attract this segment of society into volunteering, so they too can enjoy some of its benefits.

# REFERENCES

Africa Unite. (2014). *One of Africa Unite's goals.* [Online]. Retrieved September 1, 2014:http://www.africaunite.org.za/one-of-africa-unites-goals/

Akintola, O. (2011). What motivates people to volunteer? The case of volunteer AIDS caregivers in Faith-based Organizations in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. *Health Policy and Planning, 26*(1), 53–62.

Alexander, K. (2011). *Making meaning of volunteering in the child abuse services sector in South Africa.* Unpublished Masters dissertation, The University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Allison, L.D., Okun, M.A., & Dutridge, K.S. (2002). Assessing volunteer motives: a comparison of an open-ended probe and Likert rating scales. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, *12*(4), 243-255.

Anheier, H.K., & Salamon, L.M. (1999). Volunteering in cross-national perspective: initial comparisons. *Law and Contemporary Problems*, *62*(4), 43-64.

Atsumi, T. (2004). Socially constructed motivation of volunteers: A theoretical exploration. *Progress in Asian Social Psychology*,4 (1), 13-27.

Attride-Stirling, J. (2001). Thematic networks: an analytic tool for qualitative research. *Qualitative Research*, *1*(3), 385-405.

Baxter-Tomkins, A., & Wallace, M. (2009). Volunteering and remuneration: can they co-exist? *Australasian Journal of Business and Social Inquiry*, *7*(2), 1-11.

Bazeley, P. (2002). Issues in mixing qualitative and quantitative approaches to research. In R. Buber, J. Gadner. & L. Richards (Eds.), *Applying qualitative methods to marketing management research* (pp. 141-156). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bekker, R. (2005). Participation in voluntary associations: relations with resources, personality and political values. *Political Psychology*, *26*(3), 439-454.

Becker, H.S., & Geer, B. (1957). Participant observation and interviewing: A comparison. *Human Organization*, *16*(3), 28-32.

Blum, A., & McHugh, P. (1971). The Social Ascription of Motives. *American Sociological Review*, *36*(1), 98–109.

Blumer, H. (2005). Society as Symbolic Interaction, in Heir, S.P. (Ed). *Contemporary Sociological Thought: Themes and Theories*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press Inc.

Booth, C., Segon, M., & Shannassy, T. (2010). Motivational Factors in Volunteer organisations. *International Review of Business Research Papers*, *6*(1), 85-98.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York: Greenwood Press. pp. 241-258.

Boyle, M., & Sawyer, J. (2010). Defining volunteering for community campaigns: an exploration of race, self-perceptions, and campaign practices. Journal of *Community Practice*, *18*(1), 40-57

Burns, D.J., Reid, J.S., Toncar, M., Fawcett, J., & Anderson, C. (2006). Motivations to volunteer: the role of altruism. *International Review on Public and Nonprofit Marketing*, *3*(2), 79-91.

Campbell, C. (1991). Re-examining Mills on Motive: A Character Vocabulary Approach. *Sociological Analysis*, *52*(1), 89-97.

Chambre, S.M., & Einolf, J.C. (2011). *Who Volunteers? Constructing a Hybrid Theory* [Online]. Retrieved December 05, 2012 from: http://works.bepress.com/christopher_einolf/11

Caprara, D., Mati, J. M., Obadare, E., & Perold, H. (2012). *Volunteering and civic service in three African regions: contributions to regional integration, youth development and peace* [Online]. Retrieved February 20, 2013 from: http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/research/files/reports/2012/6/volunteering%20africa%20caprara/06%20volunteering%20africa%20caprara.pdf

Clary, E.G., Ridge, R.D., Stukas, A.A., Snyder, M., Copeland, J., Haugen, J., & Meine, P. (1998). Understanding and assessing the motivations of volunteers: a functional approach. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *74*(6), 1516-1530.

Clary, E.G., & Snyder, M. (1999). The motivations to volunteer theoretical and practical considerations. *Current directions in psychological science*, **8**(5), 156-159.

City of Cape Town. (2011). *Census Suburb Gugulethu.* [Online]. Retrieved February 30, 2013 from:
http://www.capetown.gov.za/en/stats/2011CensusSuburbs/2011_Census_CT_Suburb_Gugulethu_Profile.pdf

CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation (2011). *Civil Society Volunteering Patterns in Africa: An analysis of the CIVICUS Civil Society Index 2008 – 2011 findings on volunteerism.* Unpublished paper delivered at the Southern African Conference on Volunteer Action for Development, Johannesburg, October 17-19.

Christians, C.G. (2005). Ethics and Politics in Qualitative Research. In Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S. (Eds), *The Handbook of Qualitative Research* (3rd ed.). London: Sage Publications.

Collins, K.M.T., Onwuegbuzie, A.J., & Sutton, I.L. (2006). A model incorporating the rationale and purpose for conducting mixed methods research in special education and beyond. Learning Disabilities. *A Contemporary Journal*, *4* (1), 67-100.

Collins, K.M.T. (2010). Advanced sampling design in mixed research: current practices and emerging trends in the social and behavioural sciences. In Tashakkori, A. & Teddlie, C (Eds). *Sage Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social & Behavioural Research* (2nd ed.). Los Angeles: SAGE Publications Inc. pp. 353-378.

Creswell, J.W. (2003). *Research design: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications Inc.

Delaney, A. (2011). *How can volunteering and service promote the social and economic participation of youth in the SADC region?* Unpublished paper delivered at the Southern Africa Conference on Volunteer Action for Development, Johannesburg, South Africa. October 17-19.

Denzin, N.K., & Lincoln, Y.S. (2000). The discipline and practice of qualitative research. *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, *2*(1), 1-28.

Denzin, N., & Lincoln, Y. (Eds.). (2005). *Handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Descombe, M. (2010). *The Good Research Guide for Small Scale Social Research Projects 4th edition*. Glasgow: Bell and Bain Ltd.

DeWalt, K.M., & DeWalt, B.R. (1998). Participant observation. In H. Russell Bernard  (Ed.), *Handbook of methods in cultural anthropology*. Walnut Creek: Alta Mira Press. pp. 259-300.

Einolf, C. J., & Philbrick, D. (2014). Generous or Greedy Marriage? A Longitudinal Study of Volunteering and Charitable Giving. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *76*(3), 573-586.

Everatt, D., Habib, A., Maharaj, B., & Nyar, A. (2005). Patterns of giving in South Africa. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organisations, 16*(3), 275-291.

Everatt, D., & Solanki, G. (2005). *A nation of givers? Social giving among South Africans*. In the state of social giving in South Africa – Report Series. Durban: Centre for Civil Society, University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Family's Gory grief.  ( 2014 May 2). *City Vision*

FIFA. (2014). *Social Responsibility: Football for hope*. [Online]. Retrieved September 1, 2014 from:  http://www.fifa.com/aboutfifa/socialresponsibility/footballforhope/mission.html

Finkelstein, M. A. (2011). Correlates of individualism and collectivism: predicting volunteer activity. *Social Behaviour and Personality: an international journal, 39*(5), 597-606.

Gestuizen, M., & Scheepers, P. (2012). Educational differences in volunteering in cross-national perspective: individual and contextual explanations. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, *41*(1), 58-81.

Gorad, S. (2010). Research Design, as Independent of Methods. In Tashakkori, A. & Teddlie, C (Eds). *Sage handbook of mixed methods in social & behavioural research* (2nd ed.). Los Angeles: SAGE Publications Inc.

Govekar, P.L., & Govekar, M.A. (2002). Using economic theory and research to better understand volunteer behaviour. *Nonprofit Management & Leadership*, 13(1), 33-49.

Greene, J.C., Caracelli, V.J., & Graham, W.F. (1989). Toward a conceptual framework for mixed-method evaluation designs. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, *11*(1), 255-274.

Greif, M., Adamczyk, A., & Felson, J. (2011). Religion and caregiving and political volunteering in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Research on Religion*. 11 (1), 1-25.

Handy, F., & Hustinx, L. (2009). The why and how of volunteering. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership, 19*(4), 549-558.

Haski-Leventhal, D. (2009). Altruism and volunteerism: the perceptions of altruism in the four disciplines and their impact on the study of volunteerism. *Journal of the Theory of Social Behaviour*, *39*(3), 271-297

Haski-Leventhal, D., Meijs, L.C.P.M., & Hustinx, L. (2009). The third party model: enhancing volunteering through governments, corporations and educational institutes. *Journal of Social Policy*, 39(1), 139–158.

Hier, S.P. (Ed). (2005). *Contemporary Sociological Thought: Themes and Theories*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press.

Housley, W., & Fitzgerald, R. (2008). Motives and social organization: sociological amnesia, psychological description and the analysis of accounts. *Qualitative Research, 8*(2), 237-256.

Hustinx, L., Cnaan, R.A., & Handy, F. (2010). Navigating Theories of Volunteering: A Hybrid Map for a Complex Phenomenon. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 40(4), 410-434.

Ivankova, N.V. (2013). Implementing quality criteria in designing and conducting a sequential QUAN→ QUAL mixed methods study of student engagement with learning applied research methods online. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, *XX*(X), 1–27.

Johnson, R.B., & Onwuegbuzie, A.J. (2004). Mixed methods research: a research paradigm whose time has come. *American Educational Research Association, 33*(7), 14-26.

Kaseke, E., & Dhemba, J. (2007). *Community mobilisation, volunteerism and the fight against HIV/AIDS in Zimbabwe* [Online]. Retrieved February 30, 2013 from: http://vosesa.org.za/Research_Partnerships.pdf#page=87

Kawash, A. (2009). *Why Volunteer? Peasant Rationality Re-examined: A Study of What motivates farmers to volunteer in Malawi*. Lund University Masters of International Development and Management.

Kawulich, B.B. (2005). Participant observation as a data collection method. *In Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 6*(2), Art. 43. [Online]. Retrieved February 15, 2013 from:  http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0502430.

Kelle, U. (2005). Sociological explanations between micro and macro and the integration of qualitative and quantitative methods. *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung, 30(1),* 95-117.

Killed for a cigarette. ( 2014 May 23).*City Vision*

Kiptot, E., & Franzel, S. (2014). Voluntarism as an investment in human, social and financial capital: evidence from a farmer-to-farmer extension program in Kenya. *Agriculture and Human Values*, *31*(2), 231-243.

Kironde, S., & Klassen, S. (2002). What motivates lay volunteers in high burden but resource-limited tuberculosis control programmes? Perceptions from the Northern Cape province, South Africa, *International Journal of Tuberculosis and Lung Disease*, *6*(2), 104-110.

Kleinbaum, D.G., & Klein, M. (2010). *Introduction to logistic regression.* New York: Springer.

Kotze, D., & Kotze, P. (2008). Understanding communities and enabling people – a holistic approach. In F. Theron (Ed.). *The development change agent: A micro-level approach to development* Hatfield: van Schaik. pp. 76-99.

Larsen, L., Harlan, S. L., Bolin, B., Hackett, E. J., Hope, D., Kirby, A., Nelson, A., Rex, T. R., & Wolf, S. (2004). Bonding and bridging understanding the relationship between social capital and civic action. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, *24*(1), 64-77.

Lieber, E., & Weisner, T.S. (2010). Meeting the practical challenges of mixed methods research. In A. Tashakkori & C. Teddlie (Eds). *Sage Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social & Behavioural Research 2ⁿᵈ Edition*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications Inc.

Lough, B.J., & Mati, J.M. (2012). *Volunteerism for Peace in East Africa* [Online]. Retrieved July 26, 2013 from: http://csd.wustl.edu/Publications/Documents/WP12-29.pdf

Ludwick, T., Brenner, J.L., Kyomuhangi, T., Wotton, K.A., & Kabakyenga, J.K. (2013). Poor retention does not have to be the rule: retention of volunteer community health workers in Uganda. *Health Policy and Planning*, *29* (1), 388-395.

MacKenzie, N., and Knipe, S. (2006) Research dilemmas: Paradigms, methods and methodology. *Issues in Educational Research*, *16*(2), 193-205.

Maes, K. (2012). Volunteerism or labour exploitation? Harnessing the volunteer spirit to sustain AIDS treatment programs in urban Ethiopia. *Human Organization*, *71*(1), 54-64.

Making the right Choices. (2014 May 1). *Vukani*

Mills, W. (1940). Situated Actions and Vocabularies of Motive. *American Sociological Review*, *5*(6), 904-913.

Mkandawire, W.C., & Muula, A.S. (2005). Motivations of community care givers in a peri-urban area of Blantyre, Malawi. *African Journal of Health Sciences*, *12*(1), 21-25.

Moleni, C.M., & Gallagher, B.M. (2007). *Youth, service and development in Malawi. Special Issue on Civic Service in the Southern African Development Community* [Online]. Retrieved July 2, 2013 from http://www.vosesa.org.za/publications_pdf/research_partnerships.pdf#page=41

Mulhall, A. (2003). In the Field: Notes and Observations in Qualitative research. *Methodological Issues in Nursing Research*, *41*(3), 306-313.

Naidu, T., Sliep, Y., & Dageid, W.  (2012). The social construction of identity in HIV/AIDS home-based care volunteers in rural KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, SAHARA-J: *Journal of Social Aspects of HIV/AIDS: An Open Access Journal*, *9*(2), 113-126.

Neighbourhood Watch to Tackle Crime (2014 May 1). *Vukani*

Nussbaum, B. (2003). Ubuntu: Reflections of a South African on our Common Humanity, *Reflections*, *4*(4), 21-26.

Onwuegbuzie, A.J., & Johnson, R.B. (2006). The validity issue in mixed research. *Research in the Schools*, *13*(1), 48-63.

Onwuegbuzie, A.J., & Collins, K.M.T. (2007). A typology of mixed methods sampling designs in social science research. *The Qualitative Report*, *12*(2), 281-316.

Park, A. (2013). An introduction to logistic regression: from basic concepts to interpretation with particular attention to nursing domain. *Journal of Korean Academy of Nursing*, *43*(2), 154-164.

Patel, L., & Wilson, T. (2004). Civic service in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, *33* (1), 22-38.

Patel, L. (2007). *A cross-national study on civic service and volunteering in Southern Africa* [Online]. Retrieved July 2, 2013 from: http://vosesa.org.za/Research_Partnerships.pdf#page=9

Patel, L., & Mupedziswa, R. (eds). (2007). *Research Partnerships Build the Service Field in Africa*: *Special Issue on Civic Service in the Southern African Development Community* [Online]. Retrieved July 2, 2013 from: http://www.vosesa.org.za/publications_pdf/Research_Partnerships.pdf#page=70

Peng, C.Y., Lee, K.L., & Ingersoll, G.M. (2002). An introduction to logistic regression analysis and reporting, *Journal of Educational Research*, *96*(1), 3-14.

Penner, L. (2002). Dispositional and organizational influences on sustained volunteerism: an interactionist perspective. *Journal of Social Issues, 58*(3), 447–467.

Perold, H., Patel, L., Carapinha, R.L., & Mohamed, S.E. (2007). *Civic service policy in South Africa*. *Special Issue on civic service in the Southern African development community* [Online]. Retrieved July 2, 2013 from: http://vosesa.org.za/Research_Partnerships.pdf#page=9

Pohar, M., Blas, M., & Turk, S. (2004). Comparison of Logistic Regression and Linear Discriminant Analysis: A Simulation Study. *Metodološki zvezki*, *1*(1),143-16.

Pohlman, J.T., & Leitner, D.W.A. (2003). Comparison of ordinary least squares and logistic regression. *The Ohio Journal of Science*, *103*(5), 118-125.

Polkinghorne, D.E. (2005). Language and meaning: Data collection in qualitative research. *Journal of counselling psychology*, *52*(2), 137.

Pothof, S.J. (2011). *Work meaning and identity of volunteers A study to explore motivation, work meaning and identities of volunteers in South-India*. MSc Communication Studies. University of Twente, The Netherlands.

Puddephatt, A.J., & Robert, R. (2007).  Causality, Agency, and Reality: Plato and Aristotle Meet George Herbert Mead and Herbert Blumer.  *Sociological Focus*, *40*(3), 265-286.

Punch, M. (1994). Politics and ethics in qualitative research. *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, *2*(1), 83-98.

Putnam, R.D. (1993) Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital. *Journal of Democracy*, *6*(1), 65-78.

Rankopo, M.J., Osei-Hwedie, K., & Moroka, T.M. (2007). *Issues in service and volunteerism in Botswana. Special issue on civic service in the Southern African development community* [Online].        Retrieved        July        2,        2013        from: http://vosesa.org.za/Research_Partnerships.pdf#page=9

Rdlach, A. (2009). Home-based care for people living with AIDS in Zimbabwe: voluntary caregivers' motivations and concerns.  *African Journal of AIDS Research*, *8*(4), 423-43.

Reid, S. (2002). *Community Service for Health Professionals in South African*. Durban: Health Systems Trust.

Republic of South Africa's National Planning Commission. (2011). *National Development Plan: Vision for 2030*.  Pretoria: Government Printers.

Rotolo, T., & Wilson, J. (2006). Substitute or complement? Spousal influence on volunteering. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *68*(2), 305-319.

Ruiter, S., & De Graaf, N.D. (2006). National Context, Religiosity, and Volunteering: Results from 53 Countries. *American Sociological Review, 71* (1),191-210.

Ryan, V.D., Agnitsch, K.A., Hao, L., & Mullick. R. (2005). Making Sense of Voluntary Participation: A theoretical Synthesis. *Rural Sociology*, *70*(3), 287-313.

Salamon, L.M., Sokolowski, S.W., & Haddock, M.A. (2011). Measuring the Economic Value of Volunteer Work Globally: Concepts, Estimates, and a Roadmap to the Future. *Annals of Public and Cooperative Economics*, *82*(3), 217-252.

Schneider, H., Hlophe, H., & van Rensburg, D. (2008). Community health workers and the response to HIV/AIDS in South Africa: tensions and prospects. *Health Policy Plan*, *23*(1), 179-187.

Smith, D. (1994). Determinants of Voluntary Association Participation and Volunteering: A Literature Review, *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, *23*(1), 243-263.

Sonke Gender Justice. *Sonke*. [Online]. Retrieved September 1, 2014 from: http://www.genderjustice.org.za/

Statistics South Africa. (2011). *Volunteer Activities Survey*. Pretoria: Statistics South Africa

Stewart, E., & Weinstein, R.S. (1997). Volunteer participation in context: Motivations and political efficacy within three AIDS organizations. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *25*(6), 809-837.

Stiles, W.B. (1993). Quality Control in Qualitative Research. *Clinical Psychology Review,13*(6), 593-618.

Swanson, D.M. (2007). Ubuntu: An African contribution to (re)search for/with a 'humble togetherness.' *Journal of Contemporary Issues in Education, 2*(2), 53– 67.

Swart, L.A., Seedat, M., & Sader, F. (2004). Community volunteerism in safety promotion and implications for sustained participation: original contribution. *African Safety Promotion*, 2(1), 1.

Swilling, M., & Russell, B. (2002). *The size and scope of the non-profit sector in South Africa*. Graduate School of Public and Development Management, University of the Witwatersrand and The Centre for Civil Society. Durban: University of Natal.

Sundeen, R.A. (1990).  Family life course status and volunteer behaviour: implications for the single parent. *Sociological* Perspectives, 33(4), 483-500.

Takasugi, T., & Lee, A.C.K. (2012). Why do community health workers volunteer? A qualitative study in Kenya. *Public Health, 126*(10), 839-845.

Taniguchi, H. (2006). Men's and women's volunteering: gender differences in the effects of employment and family characteristics. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector* Quarterly, 35(1), 83-10.

Tashakkori, A., & Teddlie, C (2010). Overview of contemporary issues in Mixed Methods Research. In Tashakkori, A. & Teddlie, C (Eds). *Sage Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social & Behavioural Research* (2nd ed.). Los Angeles: SAGE Publications Inc. pp.1-44

Taxi Boss Gunned Down. ( 2014 May 2). *City Vision*

Uny, I.W. (2008). Factors and motivations contributing to community volunteers' participation in a nursery-feeding project in Malawi. *Development in Practice*, *18*(3), 437-445.

Wilkinson-Maposa, S., Fowler, A., Oliver-Evans, C., & Mulenga, C.F.N. (2005). *The poor philanthropist: how and why the poor help each other*. The Southern Africa-United States Centre for Leadership and Public Values at the Graduate School of Business, University of Cape Town.

Wilson, J. (2000). Volunteering. *Annual Review of Sociology,* 26(1), 215–40.

Wilson, J., & Musick, M. (1997). Who Cares: Toward an Integrated Theory of Volunteer Work, *American Sociological Review*, *62*(5), 694-713.

Wilson, J., & Musick, M. (1998). The contribution of social resources to volunteering. *Social Science Quarterly, 79*(4), 779-814.

Wilson, J., & Musick, M.A. (1999). Attachment to volunteering. *Sociological Forum, 14*(2), 234-272.

Woolley, C.M. (2009). Meeting the mixed methods challenge of integration in a sociological study of structure and agency. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, *3*(1), 7-25.

Wymer, W.W., & Samu, S. (2002). Volunteer service as symbolic consumption: gender and occupational difference in volunteering. *Journal of Marketing Management*, *18*(9-10), 971-989.

Ziemeck, S. (2002). *Economic Theories on motivations for volunteering: A Cross-Country Analysis*. Unpublished paper delivered at the Fifth International Conference Fifth International Society for Third-Sector Research, Cape Town, South Africa.  July 2002.

# ADDENDA

## Addendum A: Descriptive Statistics for Included Variables

| Variable | Mean | Std. Dev. | Min | Max |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ***Dependent*** | | | | |
| Volunteering | 0.61 | 0.49 | 0 | 1 |
| Religious | 0.36 | 0.48 | 0 | 1 |
| Sports | 0.14 | 0.35 | 0 | 1 |
| Prof & Pol | 0.11 | 0.31 | 0 | 1 |
| Com & Hel | 0.17 | 0.38 | 0 | 1 |
| Women | 0.7 | 0.25 | 0 | 1 |
| Other | 0.14 | 0.35 | 0 | 1 |
| ***Independent Variables*** | | | | |
| *Demographics* | | | | |
| White | 0.14 | 0.35 | 0 | 1 |
| Black | 0.73 | 0.45 | 0 | 1 |
| Coloured | 0.10 | 0.30 | 0 | 1 |
| Indian | 0.03 | 0.18 | 0 | 1 |
| Age | 35 | 14.15 | 16 | 98 |
| Female | 0.48 | 0.5 | 0 | 1 |
| Married | 0.47 | 0.5 | 0 | 1 |
| ***Human Capital*** | | | | |
| No schooling | 0.03 | 0.17 | 0 | 1 |
| Less than matric | 0.52 | 0.50 | 0 | 1 |
| Matric | 0.30 | 0.45 | 0 | 1 |
| Post matric | 0.16 | 0.37 | 0 | 1 |
| HH income | 2.28 | 1.33 | 1 | 6 |
| Upper class | 0.03 | 0.18 | 0 | 1 |
| Middle class | 0.37 | 0.48 | 0 | 1 |
| Working class | 0.29 | 0.45 | 0 | 1 |
| Low class | 0.25 | 0.43 | 0 | 1 |
| Employed | 0.42 | 0.49 | 0 | 1 |
| Health Status | 3.16 | 0.9 | 1 | 4 |
| ***Social Capital*** | | | | |
| Time friends | 2.3 | 0.94 | 0 | 3 |
| Time family | 2.5 | 0.82 | 0 | 3 |
| Time colleagues | 1.3 | 1.3 | 0 | 3 |
| Trust | 0.16 | 0.32 | 0 | 1 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Prejudice | 0.29 | 0.31 | 0 | 1 |
| Civic part | 0.61 | 0.54 | 0 | 2 |
| *Cultural Capital* | | | | |
| Ubuntu | | | | |
| Sharing | 0.28 | 0.45 | 0 | 1 |
| Serving Others | 2.4 | 0.75 | 0 | 3 |
| Imp Of God | 9.10 | 1.74 | 1 | 10 |
| Freq Prayer | 4.71 | 1.94 | 0 | 6 |
| Church Att | 3.7 | 2.04 | 0 | 6 |
| Religious | 0.78 | 0.42 | 0 | 1 |
| Not Religious | 0.17 | 0.39 | 0 | 1 |
| Atheist | 0.03 | 0.17 | 0 | 1 |

**Note: Number of observations 2807, weighted data 15155.  World Values Survey (2001)**

## Addendum B: qualitative interview guide

1. What do you understand by volunteering?

2. What does volunteering mean in your community?

3. Please share with me how you started volunteering.

   - How long ago was it? What motivated you to volunteer for the first time? What do you recall of the first time you started to volunteer? What did you (dis)like of it? Did your first experience(s) of volunteering influence current volunteering?

4. Are you volunteering at different places or just at one place? Why?

   - How did you choose the place/s you are volunteering at? Were there other reasons why you ended up volunteering there? What are these? Would you continue volunteering here? Why or why not?

5. Before coming here, did you volunteer in another place?

   - What did you do there?

   - What were your reasons for leaving?

6. Are there other places where you would like to go and volunteer?

   - Why are you not volunteering there then?

   - What is it in what you are doing that makes you want to stay?

7. Are you working now? If yes, where are you working? If unemployed, when did you last work? What year? Why have you not been working if unemployed?

8. When last did you work(if unemployed)

9. When you were working, were you also volunteering? If yes, why and how was it possible to do both? If no, why was/is it not possible? How is volunteering similar to work? How is volunteering different from work?

10. Which factors would stop you from volunteering? Why do you say this?

11. You have given reasons why you like to volunteer (give back – did I mention everything?) Do you think other people will give the same answers as reason for volunteering? , What would do you think would motivate other people to volunteer?