

Democracy takes more than a good will.

On civic participation and distribution

Stefanie Bixa

Research Institute for Nonprofit Organisations
Wirtschaftsuniversität (WU) Wien

Karin Heitzmann

Institute for Social Policy
Wirtschaftsuniversität (WU) Wien

Johanna Hofbauer

Institute for Sociology
Wirtschaftsuniversität (WU) Wien

Guido Strunk

Research Institute for Health Care Management and Health Care Economics
Wirtschaftsuniversität (WU) Wien

Please direct correspondence to the first author:

Stefanie.Bixa@wu-wien.ac.at

Nordbergstr. 15, A-1090 Vienna, Austria
Wirtschaftsuniversität Wien (WU Wien)
phone: ++43 1 31336 5875,
fax: ++43 1 31336 788

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1. Introduction and research question

In the last few decades, the importance of citizens' engagement in civil society has found growing attention in public policies as well as in social and political science. Civil society generally refers to "a sphere where people join forces for their collective interests to engage in activities with public consequence" (WHO, 2002). In this respect, it is characterised by associations and networks, which are not part of the state or the market and supposed to be open to the general public. Given that the quality and solidity of civil society depend on the amount of civic engagement (e.g. Pollack, 2004), the question why some groups engage while others don't, becomes a major issue for research.

Recent studies (e.g. García-Mainar & Marcuello, 2007; Havens, O'Herlihy, & Schervish, 2006; Tschirhart, 2006) have pointed out differences in the participation of social groups according to endowment with resources. Surveys have e.g. highlighted that level of education, participation in paid work and occupational position influence the likelihood to engage in voluntary work (Engels, 2004; Gensicke, 2006; Gabriel, 2002). In this respect, an Austrian study (Gross, 2007) shows for example twice as high engagement rates of university graduates (37%) than of persons with compulsory school (19%). Working population turns out as the advanced group for involvement whereas unemployed persons or those in household/childcare are underrepresented. In addition, there is evidence that individuals with low income participate less in institutions of civic society compared to those with higher incomes (BMGS, 2005, p. 190). Hence, differences in participation have come to be regarded as an effect of inequality in terms of individual resources.

From a theoretical point of view, Bude and Willis (2006) have come to stress the concept of exclusion because of a twist in research perspective: Inequality, they argue, can not only be conceived in terms of income, education or status but rather has to be regarded in terms of inclusion into systems of social recognition and formal or informal membership in the fields of civil society. Through experiences of membership and the very practice of participation, individuals develop civic skills in terms of interests in as well as knowledge about social and political organisation. Conversely, non-participation not only keeps individuals off those experiences, but risks to discourage them from attempts to civic participation.

Robert D. Putnam (1995), in his widely known thesis on declining social capital in the US has explored the societal and political risks of decreasing participation in so-called "secondary associations". By social capital, Putnam means "features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions" (p. 167). As citizens have come to engage less, they tend to lose their civic attitudes. As a consequence, they "will no more be able to transfer those important ingredients of social life to other spheres of society" (Braun, 2007, p. 202). In a similar vein, Jürgen Kocka (2003) argues that by taking responsibility of social and political or public affairs individuals help to sustain and further develop modern society. Using their right to civic engagement by taking part in public decision-making or having their political and social ideals represented individuals are more likely to establish a sense of trust in civil society.

Notwithstanding the broad agreement upon inequality being an obstacle to the development of civil society some limitations to the arguments need to be mentioned at this point. First, it has been argued that social inequality does not automatically and solely mean a risk to civil society but may have positive, enhancing effects alike. Nolte (2003) has e.g. stressed that marginalised groups may equally struggle for recognition and representation of their interests or socialize in protest against exclusion etc. Second, it has been argued that exclusion is not only an issue for deprived members of society but also for elites who deliberately ignore social responsibility towards civil society (Giddens, 2001) – an argument that points to the significance of citizenship values and norms as resources that enable and encourage participation. Regarding the consequences of disengagement for elitist versus underprivileged groups, however, the latter are in a different situation. They lack alternative means to enforce their interests, e.g. by "buying" lobbies, or providing themselves with social

services etc. Exclusion from civic society, hence, aggravates the situation of deprived groups whereas privileged groups will hardly suffer. However, disengagement of both groups means considerable risks for civil society as it is weakened when excluded groups reach a certain number.

Concluding, the problem of exclusion is widely acknowledged among researchers of civil society and the interplay between social inequality, exclusion and civic participation is unquestioned even though not always the focus of argument. For example, discourses of civil society have been criticised for not paying enough attention to issues of social inequality. In fact, whereas Putnam (e.g. 1995) focuses on the risks of disintegration for modern society, authors such as Kocka (e.g. 2003) debate the issue of inequality as a source of disengagement and consequently contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of differences in civic participation.

This paper is concerned with examining the interplay between social inequality, exclusion and civic participation both theoretically and empirically. **We attempt to explore, which factors determine whether or not citizens participate in civil society. Is civic participation rather a result of (economic) inequality in terms of income, education, occupational status etc. or do factors other than narrowly defined inequality, such as trust, norms or attitudes, determine inclusion in or exclusion from civil society?**

In terms of theory, commentators to the debate (e.g. Braun, 2007) advocate a discourse on civic participation, which is based upon a comprehensive sociological theory of inequality and exclusion. Thus, as a theoretical background, we use both Bourdieu's concept of "capitals" as resources for civic participation (Bourdieu, 1980; Bourdieu et al., 1999; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) as well as Putnam's (1995) viewpoint, according to which civic participation is particularly motivated by trust, norms and networks to explore the interplay between inequality, social exclusion and civic participation (Section 2).

The methodical approach of the empirical analysis is discussed in Section 3. We use data from the European Social Survey (ESS) to explore which factors explain whether citizens participate in civil society or not. As a proxy to civic participation, we study individuals that are members of non-profits and/or that engage in voluntary work for non-profits and/or donate money to non-profits. Due to a lack of data, neither the extent of civic participation (e.g. the amount of money donated or the number of hours volunteered) nor its characteristics (e.g. whether membership is rather active or passive) can be analyzed, though. Section 4 then includes the results of the empirical investigation, which consists of both regression analysis and Chaid analysis of data from the ESS. Given differences of civic participation across countries, which not least are a result of institutional particularities (Zimmer, 2003), the empirical part of this paper examines one country only. Austria has been chosen, as not much information on civic participation is available for this country – nor of the reasons that account for differences regarding civic participation. Section 5 then concludes the paper by discussing the results and suggesting further research endeavours.

2. Theoretical background

The sociology of Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1980, 1983; Bourdieu et al., 1992) is known for providing an integrative theoretical framework that relates analytical views as well as dimensions and fields of research with one another that are normally kept separate. We find it particularly useful for providing a framework that links the issue of inequality with recognition in a dialectic way, much like Giddens' concept of reflexive structuration (2001) would have it. Accordingly, civic participation is to be regarded as enabled by resources (such as income, education or social contacts) which allow gaining social status, i.e. recognition. Individuals who enjoy recognition are likely to acknowledge and support the social field to which they owe their recognition. They have an interest in acting according to that field's rules as they benefit from it – not only by gaining recognition but also by participating in the shaping of the conditions of recognition through their practices as members or participators.

Bourdieu uses the metaphor of game-playing when conceptualizing social practices and regards resources as stakes in the game. The idea of playing a game is to play it to one's benefit. However successful one is, only participants will have the chance to benefit. Hence, contrary to Putnam's viewpoint (1995), according to which civic participation is motivated by trust, norms and networks, Bourdieu would stress, first that those motives only emerge from endowment with the appropriate means to participate. Second, that feelings of trust emerge from practices of civic engagement which are driven by – mostly hidden and implicit, objective rather than subjective – interests of status improvement. Conversely, disengagement is to be explained by a lack of resources which can not only make it impossible to contribute (lack of income for membership or donations, lack of contacts for voluntary work, etc.) but also inhibit or frustrate any interest in engagement in the first place – as there is nothing to be gained.

The notion of individual's objective interests in status improvement has led Bourdieu to conceive of resources as capitals. The term "capital" reminds of the fact that resources need to be invested, i.e. acknowledged as resources in processes of social exchange. In general, he distinguishes four basic forms of capitals, economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1983). By economic capital he means income or other financial resources, last not least inherited assets. Social capital, unlike Putnam's notion, is defined as an individual's social contacts and networks that improve the chance to increase other capitals (e.g. increasing employment or career chances through networking). Cultural capital exists in institutionalised form, such as titles from educational or occupational attainments or other. Furthermore, it consists of incorporated skills and internalised attitudes or dispositions which Bourdieu has also labelled the "social habitus". Finally, symbolic capital indicates social status, a resource that co-exists with other resources. Social inequality, according to Bourdieu, is to be described not only in terms of differences in the amount of capitals (how much of each) but also in terms of differences in the composition of capitals, i.e. economic in relation to cultural, social and symbolic capital. Furthermore, contextual factors such as opportunities to invest those capitals (i.e. current position in a field) as well as intersecting structures of inequality such as gender or age shape an individual's position in the system of inequality. Cultural capital e.g. can be "gendered" or "aged", which is to say that educational attainment generally means unequal status chances for men and women, younger or elder people in our society. Therefore, in our empirical study, we shall also consider those socio-demographic variables as micro-level determinants of participation.

3. Methodical approach

For the study of participation in Austria's civil society, the European Social Survey provides a suitable data-base. A first wave of this survey was carried out in 2002/2003 and includes a specific module on „Citizenship, Involvement and Democracy“, which holds information on civic involvement in numerous European countries and, for Austria, on 2257 cases in total.

3.1. Dependent variables

We operationalised civic engagement in Austria by 33 variables and aggregated these items to the following three scales (mean scores):

1. *Membership*: includes the extent of formal members in civil society organisations (11 Items, Alpha = .567)
2. *Voluntary work*: shows the participation of active volunteers within an organisation (11 Items, Alpha = .516)
3. *Donations*: pictures the donation of money to any kind of civil society organisation (11 Items, Alpha = .643)

These scales contain items from a battery in the European Social Survey, picturing the forms of participation in various fields, e.g. in sports, environment protection, human rights, social services or religious activities. As mean scores are calculated, we are not only measuring if

people participate or not¹, but also the variety of their engagement throughout various fields. A variable on engagement in political parties was removed from the item battery because we are only including fields that are basically open to the general public, while the political sector often requires preconditions for participation (e.g. citizenship or a minimum age).

The three scales show an internal consistency (measured by Cronbach Alpha) between .51 and .64, which is not very high but sufficiently high for research purposes based on group statistics (Lienert & Raatz, 1994, p. 14). Bivariate correlation among the three scales yields correlations ranging from .25 to .35 (see Table 1). Due to the large sample size the correlations are highly significant but rather small. Correlations less than .3 are normally qualified as small (Bortz & Döring, 2003, p. 604) because of their little explanation of variance with values less than 9%. The largest correlation of our correlation matrix equals 12% of the explanation of variance, which means that 88% are not explained by an overlapping of the scales. This seems to be high enough to interpret the scales as different constructs.

Table 1: Intercorrelation matrix

N = 2257	2. Voluntary work	3. Donations
1. Membership	.246	.348
2. Voluntary work		.342
3. Donations		

Source: own analysis, ESS-data

3.2. Independent variables

To investigate micro-level determinants of civic participation, we have chosen 180 variables from the ESS. That we have chosen such a large number of variables is due to the fact that we want to identify the potential factors that might explain participation – rather than testing concrete hypotheses. A principal component analysis was carried out as an inspiration for the building of independent scales (cf. for the method Schwarz, 1978). The resulting indicators then were adjusted due to theoretical and statistical considerations: Some items were excluded from the factors using item analysis based on classical test theory. This resulted in a better internal consistency (Cronbach Alpha) of the independent factors. Other items were added in order to raise internal consistency and to gain a better fit of the scales and their theoretical underpinnings. In addition to these indicators, various single items were selected and adjusted for their integration in multivariate analysis.

With regard to Pierre Bourdieu (1983), items on individual resources were divided according to economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital. As economic capital, we selected variables directly referring to financial conditions, like the annual household's income or the employment situation of individuals and their family members. According to Bourdieu, cultural capital is measured by variables on the educational level and the family background. The latter particularly points to the education and occupational position of the parents, as enduring dispositions and behavioural patterns are especially adapted in primary socialisation. Social capital refers to ties and relationships outside of the family or an organisational context. With the ESS, only one indicator allows us to measure the stock of social capital, including items on the importance of friendships and the amount of time spent socially with friends or colleagues. To investigate the impact of symbolic capital, we take the International Socio-Economic Index of Occupation Status (ISEI: Ganzeboom, De Graaf, Treiman, & De Leeuw, 1992) into account. This measure is internationally applied in research for the purpose of capturing the attributed social status of individuals related to their occupational position. In addition to Bourdieu's basic concept of capital we include direct

¹ Overall, the data suggest that 73% of all citizens in Austria are members of non-profit organizations, 36% donate money to civil society organizations and 13% volunteer. Figures 1 to 3 in the Annex show the distribution of these forms of participation across different activity fields of the Austrian third sector.

measurements on dispositions, norms and values, such as political interest, religiosity, citizenship values or trust in institutions. Furthermore, we explore the impact of socio-demographic variables like gender and age on citizen's engagement, as well as contextual variables on the environment of living or the family situation.

The following 14 variables and 9 scales were chosen and included in further analysis.

Table 2: Micro-level determinants (calculation of Alpha is based on $1,560 \leq N \leq 2,257$)

	Scale / Variable	Items	Alpha
Economic Capital	Participation in paid work	8	.897
	Annual household's total net income, all sources	Single variable	
	Partner doing last 7 days: paid work	Single variable	
	Partner doing last 7 days: housework, looking after children, others	Single variable	
	Partner doing last 7 days: retired	Single variable	
Cultural Capital	Highest level of education	Single variable	
	Father's highest level of education	Single variable	
	Mother's highest level of education	Single variable	
	Father's occupation (the higher the better)	Single variable	
	Mother's occupation (the higher the better)	Single variable	
Social Capital	Social networks and activities	3	.596
Symbolic Capital	ISEI: International Socio-Economic Index of Occupation Status	Single variable	
Dispositions and Values	Political interest / competence	7	.686
	Religiousness	4	.785
	Citizenship values: active & independent	8	.709
	Trust in people	3	.793
	Trust / satisfaction: political institutions	11	.868
Socio-demographic & contextual variables	Gender (Male = 1)	Single variable	
	Year of birth	Single variable	
	Poor state of health	2	.704
	Family situation: extended vs. single (parent)	7	.772
	Environment of living (rural vs. other)	Single variable	
	Member of a group discriminated against in this country	Single variable	

Source: Own illustration; for a further description see Annex, table 3.

4. Analysis and results

For the study of independent determinants, regression analysis was carried out to investigate variables that promote or inhibit citizens' engagement on a micro-level. Independent variables resulting in positive beta-weights (all beta-weights in this paper are standardized weights) imply an enhancing effect on civic involvement whereas negative values, in contrary, decrease the extent of participation. We calculated three models, one for each form of participation, namely for membership, for voluntary work and for the donation of money. Respondents with missing values in the respective variables were excluded from analysis.

Results from regression analysis are overall pictures and therefore the role of single variables is not easy to interpret. On the other hand it is often essential to know which of the predictors explains most of the variance. One of the most useful ways to look at a regression analysis is therefore in terms of the correlations between predictors and the result of the regression function (Cooley & Lohnes, 1972, p. 54). The quotient of the squared predictor-criterion correlation and the explanation of variance (squared multiple correlation coefficient) is called regression factor structure coefficient and can be interpreted as the strength of a single predictor variable (Cooley et al., 1972, p. 55). In this respect, regression factor structure coefficients (fsc) are calculated for each predictor and regression model.

For membership, we find eight independent variables influencing this form of participation significantly (see table 4): Based on factor structure coefficients the most important determinant refers to positive values towards an active citizenship (beta = .22, fsc = .45). Second best predictor based on factor structure coefficients is social capital, which acts as a strong promoter for taking on a membership position as well (beta = .13, fsc = .22). Regression analysis also points out the impact of cultural capital (highest level of education: beta = .07, fsc = .18). Gender also has an influence, showing men as the advanced group for involvement (beta = .17, fsc = .15). The role of economic capital is displayed by the importance of participation in paid work (beta = .15, fsc = .14). Other significant but less important factors are occupational status: (beta = .08, fsc = .13), the annually household's income (beta = .05, fsc = .07) and religiousness (beta = .08, fsc = .06).

In the context of voluntary work, also eight determinants show a significant influence (see table 4). Yet again, the most important predictors are values towards an active citizenship (beta = .15, fsc = .53), and social capital (beta = .07, fsc = .20). In addition, religiousness (beta = .06, fsc = .13) and a high amount of interpersonal trust (beta = .06, fsc = .12) appears to enhance voluntary involvement. However, for this form of engagement, independent variables regarding the family situation have to be taken into account. We find that the existence of a partner promotes the opportunity for engagement as a volunteer, mainly through financial support (beta = .17, fsc = 0.10), but also (however with a very small factor structure coefficient) as a relief from duties in household and childcare (beta = .08, fsc = .02). A further determinant on volunteer engagement can be found in the educational level (beta = .07, fsc = .10).

As presented in the table, regression analysis for donating money results in six significant determinants. Once again the same pattern emerges: the most important predictors are values towards an active citizenship (beta = .12, fsc = .41), and social capital (beta = .16, fsc = .39). The next essential predictor is political interest (beta = .09, fsc = .38), which is followed by the highest level of education (beta = .08, fsc = .23). Less important but significant predictors are participation in paid work (beta = .12, fsc = .09) and gender (beta = .06, fsc = .05).

In addition to regression analysis, Chaid-analysis (Kass, 1980) was applied in order to investigate effects of interaction between the independent variables. Chaid-analysis (Chi-square Automatic Interaction Detection) is often used in marketing research and allows splitting the respective population into different market segments. In contrary to regression analysis, Chaid divides true respondents into statistically diverse groups and defines predictor variables for their participation in a hierarchical order. Firstly, the most significant

predictor is selected and secondly, in extended analysis, subdivided into further predictor variables. The grouping can thereby reach a complex structure and combination of various interacting determinants.

Respondents with missing values are excluded from the analysis. Dependent variables are dichotomized using a median cut-point, resulting in variables indicating whether a person participates above average (median) or not. Independent variables are transformed into integers by splitting the data range into seven equal parts.

To study interaction-effects between the determinants on civic participation, we introduced those factors with a significant influence in regression analysis to Chaid. In this respect, we tested indicators on (economic, cultural, social, symbolic) capital and dispositions as well as contextual and socio-demographic variables on their hierarchical position and power in predicting participation. Again, we calculated one model for membership, one for voluntary work and one for donating money.

For all forms of engagement yet again, dispositions in terms of citizenship values turn out to play the most important role: With regard to membership (see figure 4), we find an above average involvement for 55.9% of respondents. However, for those showing an exceptionally high extent of citizenship values (score 7) the participation rate (number of people engaging above median) is much higher (71%). For citizens with a value score of 5 or 6, the participation rate is only enhanced by full integration in paid work (55.5% vs. 66.2%), but falls below average if this is not the case (24.1% vs. 44.8%). Those with low to medium degrees of citizenship values (1-4) have the smallest probability for taking on a membership-position (28.8%), which even declines to 10.5% if interest in politics is also rather low.

Compared to membership, the medium cut-point for volunteering only results in a participation rate of 15.4% (see figure 5). This result is based on the fact that most people are showing the very same degree of low participation. In this respect, Chaid again points out the important role of citizenship values: 24.2% of citizens reporting very high values (score 7) are engaged as volunteers. Their extent of involvement even increases to 31.3% if there is a partner providing financial support through paid work. Citizens with a values-score of 6 show a participation-rate above the whole sample as well. However, this varies considerably with the degree of interpersonal trust, as only a small number of entirely trusting people would volunteer with a probability of 31.1%, whereas – for the majority – a slightly lower amount of trust already diminishes the probability of volunteering below the average percentage (14.1%). Furthermore, we find a rather humble involvement-rate of 4.6% for most of the people with low or medium citizenship values (score 1-5). Only a minority of them is able to enhance their volunteer-engagement (16.1%) due to a partner, relieving from duties in household or childcare.

Citizenship values do not only determine participation in terms of membership and voluntary work, but enhance or diminish the chances for the donation of money as well (see figure 6): People showing rather low or medium values-scores (1-5) turn out with a probability of donating money above the median cut-point between 19.8% and 32.3%, which is clearly below the value of 42.6% calculated for the whole sample. In contrary, 48.7% of those with high values-scores (6-7) contribute money to voluntary organisations. Their probability for engagement further increases with the level of education as 57.4% of the well educated act as donors. Yet, Chaid-results show us that the lower the level of education, the fewer people get involved – even if high citizenship values are evident.

5. Discussion

This paper set out to explore factors that determine civic participation. One result of the regression analyses is a low R^2 . This implies that the independent variables only explain a small part of the total variance. Even though we have thus to examine the results of the empirical analyses with caution, two indicators appear to be particularly important in explaining differences in the civic participation of individuals, i.e. citizenship values and social networks and activities. Interestingly, these variables (in this rank order) are the strongest predictors with regard to all types of participation analyzed, i.e. donating money, volunteering and entering a membership association.

Does this imply that it is not socio-economic inequality (narrowly defined) but rather “social capital” as defined by Putnam (which includes, contrary to Bourdieu’s concept, values, norms and networks) that determines whether or not people engage in civil society? Not quite.

First, the regression analyses suggest that also other indicators (e.g. gender, education, socio-economic status etc.) are significant in predicting civic participation. Second, while the results of the Chaid-analyses confirm the relevance of citizenship values, it is clearly shown that citizenship values together with other variables increase the probability to participate. For example, individuals with a (high) participation in paid work together with high citizenship values have a higher probability of being members in non-profit organizations as opposed to individuals with high citizenship values alone. Similarly, volunteering is more likely for people with high citizenship values when the partner is in paid work or when the person trusts people. The probability of donating money yet again depends on high citizenship values and is enhanced, if the individuals additionally obtained over high degrees of education.

These results suggest that it is maybe primarily but not solely “social capital” as defined by Putnam, but indeed a mixture of economic, social, cultural and symbolic capitals as suggested in the comprehensive sociological theory of inequality and exclusion by Bourdieu. The latter – in utilizing the metaphor of game-playing – reminds us that trust, norms and networks will only emerge if individuals do have the appropriate means to participate (which underlines the relevance of capitals that are linked with socio-economic inequality). Furthermore, Bourdieu’s metaphor of game-playing also reminds us that the concrete factors influencing participation depend on the current state of the game.

A further limitation of this study, which necessitates a cautious interpretation of its results, is that it has only focused on micro-level determinants. While they present particular details of the picture, other independent variables are important in order to develop a more comprehensive account of civic participation. These include aspects such as opportunities. The narrow focus of this study and the data limitations thus imply that there are at least two important further research needs. First, more quantitative analysis is required to integrate macro-level indicators in our analysis, such as the role of institutions, the state of democracy, the relevance and typology of the welfare state, etc. This is particularly relevant to examine not only one country but compare several countries in terms of differences in civic participation. Second, and in addition to quantitative research, we are convinced that there is an urgent need for qualitative research in order to introduce contextual and relational variables. In terms of contextual aspects, this implies for example to reveal the significance of factors such as opportunities. In terms of relational aspects, the role of relationships in which individuals are embedded needs to be examined further. Qualitative research would also help to tackle some of the limitations of this study discussed above (e.g. examining the (individual) dynamics of civic participation, i.e. identifying the “state of the play” as well as the process towards this state).

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Annex

Figure 1: membership in Austria - fields of engagement

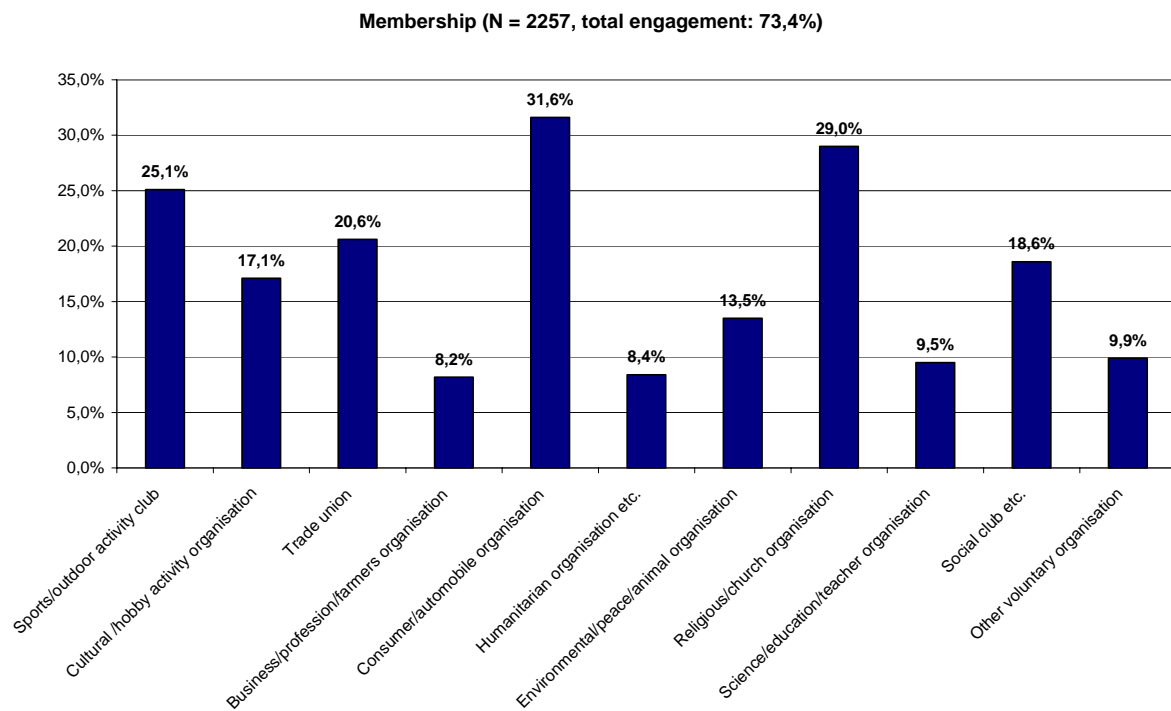


Figure 2: voluntary work in Austria - fields of engagement

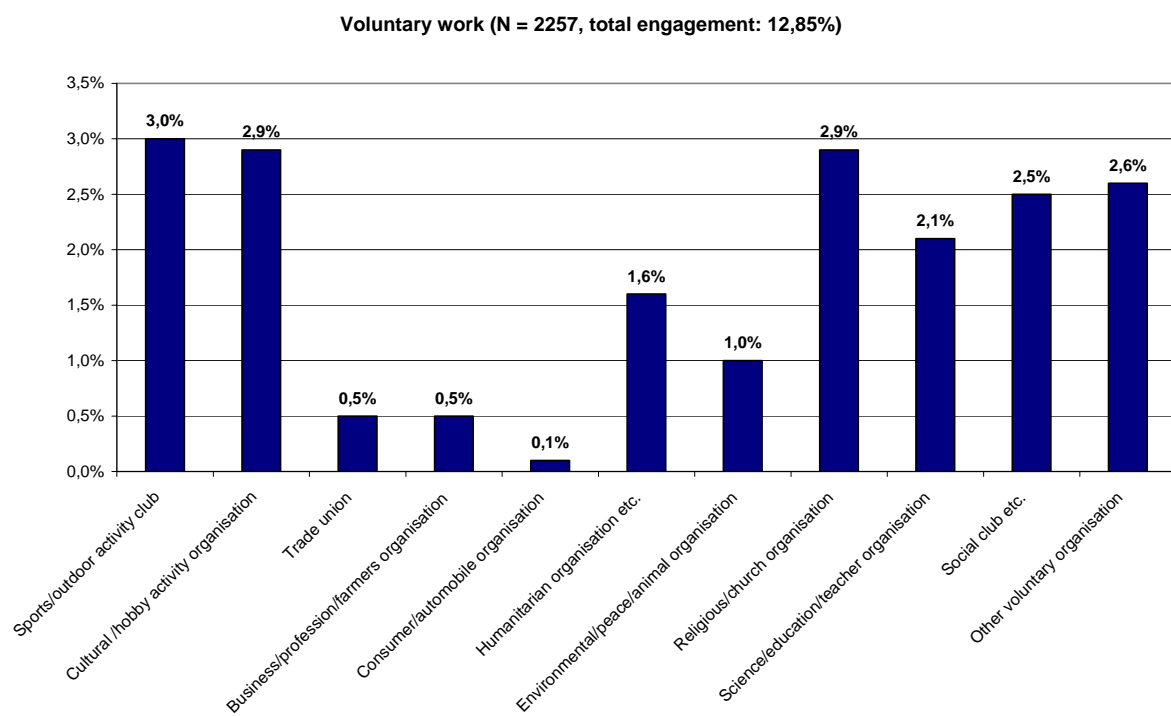


Figure 3: donating money in Austria - fields of engagement

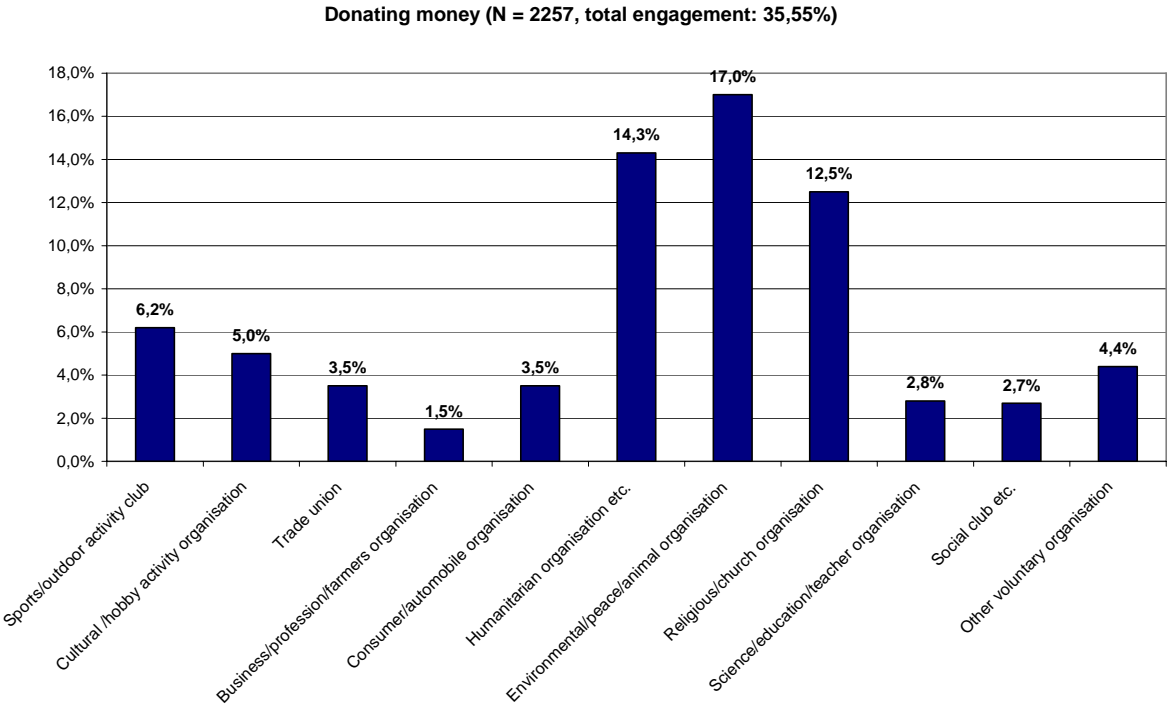


Table 3: Micro-level determinants

Scale	Description
Participation in paid work	includes 8 variables on employment status / source of income / importance of work and can be interpreted as “participating actively in working life vs. being withdrawn from labour market”
Social networks & activities	refers to 3 variables on the importance of friendships and the extent of time spent socially with friends or colleagues
Trust in people	includes 3 variables that are common in measuring interpersonal trust (e.g. “most people can be trusted” or “you can’t be too careful”)
Trust / satisfaction: political institutions (aggregated scale)	contains 11 items: 6 variables on trust in various institutions (e.g. the countries parliament, the police, the United Nations) and questions on individual satisfaction with public agencies through 5 different fields (health services, state of economy, national government, education, democracy)
Citizenship values: active & independent (aggregated scale)	aggregates 8 citizenship values including the importance of forming an independent opinion, to support people worse off, the interest in being active in politics or voluntary organisations etc.
Political interest / competence	includes 7 items on political interest (following the news, discussing politics, etc.) and subjective competence (e.g. finding it easy to make ones mind on politics)
Poor state of health	indicates 2 variables that picture general physical health
Family situation: extended vs. single (parent) (aggregated scale)	refers to 7 items regarding members of the household, number of children as well as the marital status
Religiousness	aggregates 4 variables on belonging to a specific denomination and spent time for religious performance

Table 4: Regression analysis

	Membership				Voluntary Work				Donating money			
	Beta	p	fsc	rank	Beta	p	fsc	rank	Beta	p	fsc	rank
Citizenship values: active & independent	.220	.000	.449	1	.145	.000	.532	1	.116	.000	0,406	1
Social networks & activities	.134	.000	.217	2	.074	.017	.196	2	.163	.000	0,391	2
Highest level of education	.072	.025	.177	3	.069	.048	.103	6	.078	.021	0,229	4
Gender (Male = 1)	.166	.000	.151	4	.053	.074			.063	.029	0,054	6
Participation in paid work	.154	.000	.140	5	-.011	.794			.117	.003	0,087	5
ISEI: International Socio-Economic Index of Occupation Status	.079	.007	.130	6	-.045	.161			.034	.278		
Annually household's total net income, all sources	.054	.043	.074	7	.009	.763			-.039	.167		
Religiousness	.080	.004	.060	8	.064	.034	.128	3	.018	.540		
Trust in people	.033	.226			.064	.034	.117	4	.035	.230		
Partner doing last 7 days: paid work	.057	.215			.172	.001	.103	5	.031	.527		
Family situation: extended vs. single (parent)	.009	.851			-.112	.026	.035	7	.041	.405		
Partner doing last 7 days: housework, looking after children, others	.049	.137			.080	.026	.018	8	.018	.614		
Political interest / competence	.011	.720			.013	.684			.088	.006	0,378	3
Father's highest level of education	.033	.364			.046	.238			-.009	.820		
Father's occupation (the higher the better)	.023	.451			-.023	.500			-.003	.936		
Poor state of health	.026	.364			-.003	.921			.033	.270		
Mother's highest level of education	.016	.634			.018	.617			.010	.788		
Mother's occupation (the higher the better)	.030	.278			.034	.261			.017	.552		
Trust / satisfaction: political institutions	-.019	.487			-.034	.263			.004	.887		
Environment of living (rural vs. other)	.043	.115			.038	.198			-.034	.242		
Year of birth	-.064	.083			-.044	.277			-.066	.094		
Partner doing last 7 days: retired	.030	.391			.043	.267			.040	.287		
Member of a group discriminated against in this country	-.013	.621			-.017	.541			.002	.956		
Intercept		.201				.415				.160		
R ²	.225				.082				.126			
N	1,247				1,247				1,247			

fsc: regression factor structural coefficients (amount of explained variance by predictor).

rank: rank based on fsc.

Figure 4: Membership: factors promoting citizens' engagement
 (including economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital as well as other determinants)

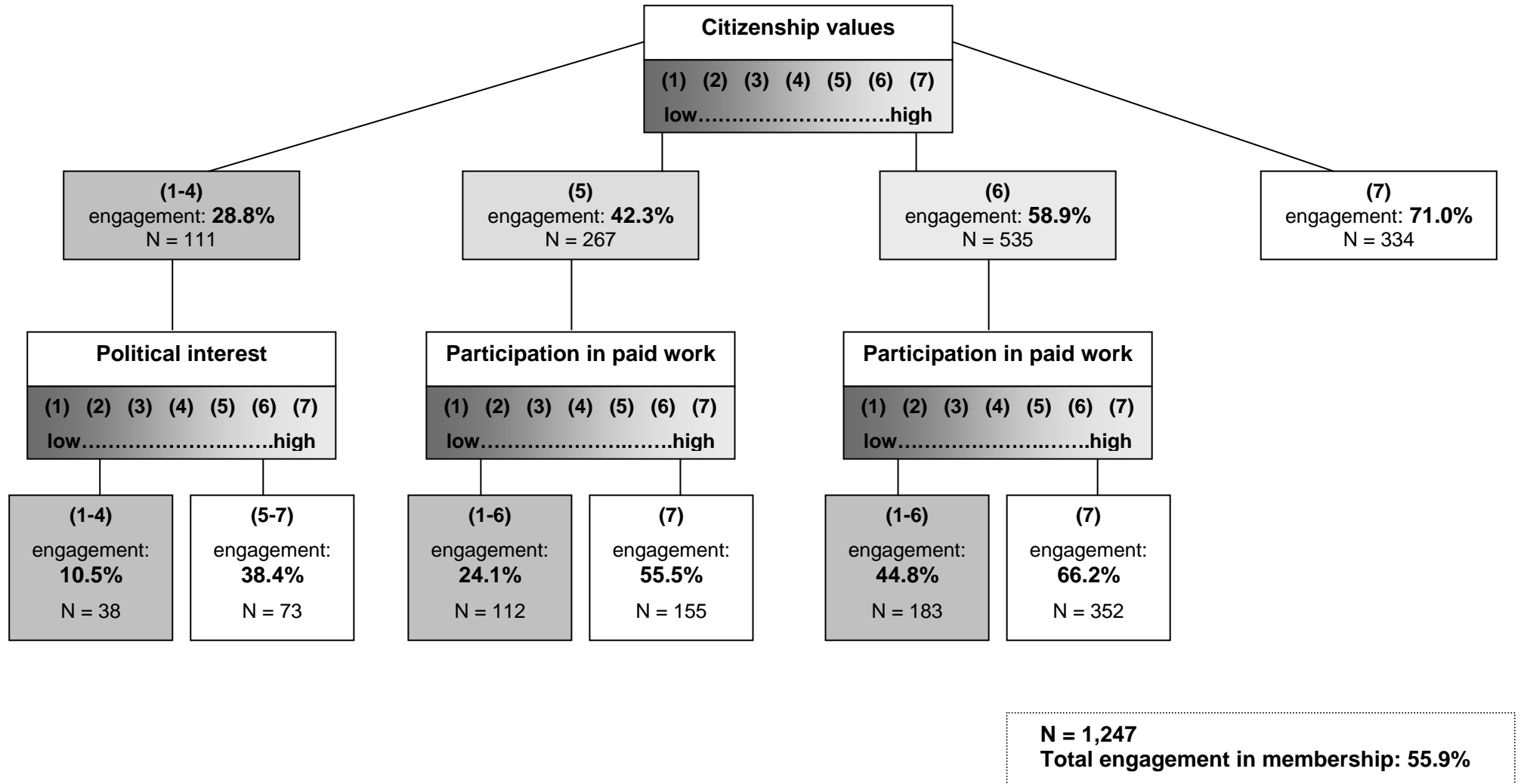
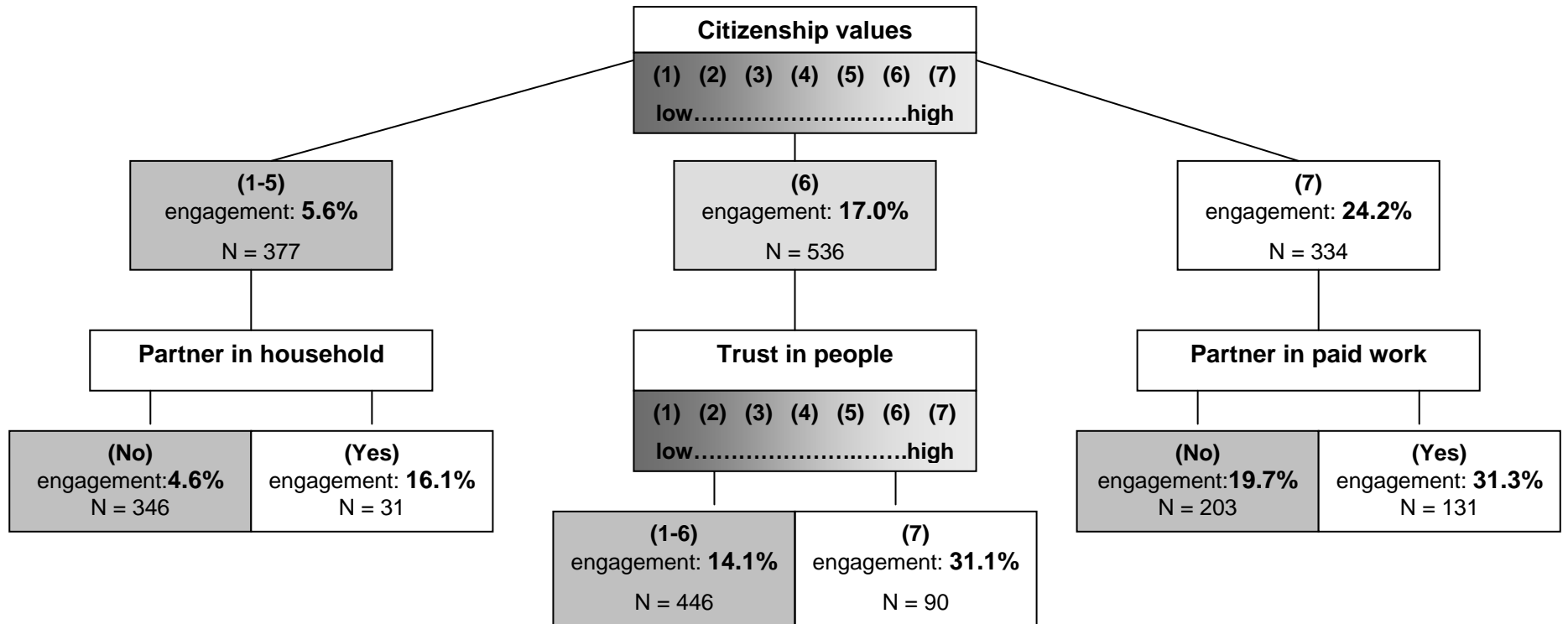


Figure 5: Voluntary work: factors promoting citizens' engagement
 (including economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital as well as other determinants)



N = 1,247
Total engagement in voluntary work: 15.4%

Figure 6: Donating money: factors promoting citizens' engagement
 (including economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital as well as other determinants)

