The Roots of Altruism:
A Gender and Life Course Perspective

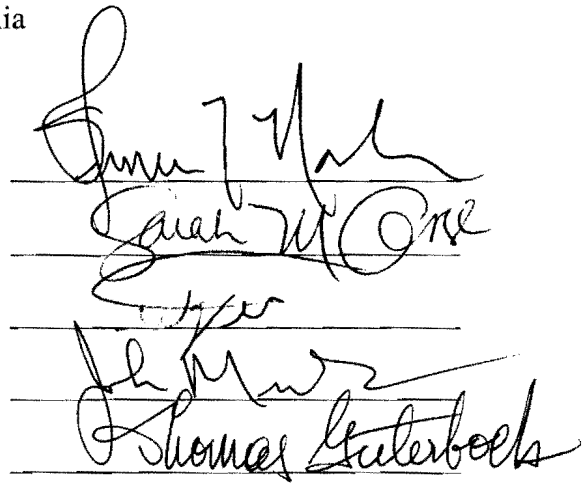
Christopher Justin Einolf
Charlottesville, Virginia

B.A., Davidson College, 1991
M.A., Columbia University, 1994

A Dissertation presented to the Graduate Faculty
of the University of Virginia in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Sociology

University of Virginia
August, 2006



Abstract:

This dissertation tests the relative predictive power of seven causal theories of altruism, the effect of contingent factors on altruistic activity, and how altruistic behaviors vary by gender and through the life course. Altruistic behaviors are defined as any behavior that helps non-kin others and brings little or no material benefit, and were measured primarily through self-reports of hours spent volunteering and dollars donated to religious institutions and secular charities. The pursuit of altruistic goals through paid employment was also examined. The study analyzed survey and interview data from the 1995 Midlife in the United States (MIDUS) study.

The analysis found that all seven proposed causal factors and many of the contingent or contextual factors correlated with altruistic behaviors. Of the individual characteristics, religion, generativity, and altruistic role identity had the strongest relationship to altruistic behaviors, followed by reciprocity and moral universalism. Empathy and parental influence correlated only weakly with altruistic behaviors. All of the strong predictors of altruism were individual characteristics that developed during the adult portion of the life course.

Participation in altruistic behaviors varied somewhat by gender. As men earn more money than women, on average, men tend to donate more money to charity, but since women tend to work fewer hours, they tend to do more volunteer work. Women score higher on most measures of altruistic motivation, but men score higher on social contextual factors that correlate with altruism, such as education, income, and membership in social networks..

Life course transitions such as marriage, having children, children leaving home, and retirement, all affect participation in altruistic behaviors, and they do so more strongly for men than for women. Individuals follow a number of different pathways in the adult development of altruism, and an analysis of the interview data found seven patterns in the development of highly altruistic people: altruistic from an early age, gradual adult development of altruism, adult religious converts, activists, generative fathers, redemption narratives, and pleaser to mature altruist.

The Roots of Altruism: A Gender and Life Course Perspective

The Roots of Altruism: A Gender and Life Course Perspective

Introduction

In recent years there has been an increased interest among scholars, policy makers, and the general public in the practice of charitable giving and volunteer work. Charitable giving is an important source of income for non-profits, and volunteers help charitable agencies and other institutions provide services at a lower cost (Independent Sector, 2003). Volunteering contributes to the mental and physical well-being of volunteers themselves (Kulik, 2002; Wheeler, Gorey, and Greenblatt, 1998; Harlow and Cantor, 1996), and contributes to the benefit of society in general through the creation of social capital (Ladd 1999; Putnam 2000). Understanding the causes and correlates of altruistic behavior is an important task, and one to which sociology can contribute.

This dissertation proposes and tests a general theory of altruistic behavior, postulating seven possible causes that predict whether an individual is likely to engage in charitable giving and volunteer work. The seven proposed causes are empathy, moral norms learned in childhood, religious beliefs, generalized reciprocity, a universalistic moral perspective, volunteer role identity, and generativity. Other causes, not altruistic in nature, such as the desire for prestige, career motivations, and the desire to socialize with other donors and volunteers, also motivate individuals to perform volunteer work and make donations to charity, and these non-altruistic motives are examined as well. A third group of variables is related to opportunities and obstacles, and these include the likelihood of being asked to donate or volunteer, due to one's membership in social

networks, and one's capacity to donate or volunteer, due to one's income, wealth, and amount of free time.

Both quantitative and qualitative methods will be used in this study. The quantitative part of the study takes the 1995 Midlife in the United States (MIDUS) survey and uses regression methods to ascertain the significance and relative strength of the correlations between causal and contingent factors and altruistic behaviors. It uses sub-samples and interaction terms to examine whether these factors vary in their relationship to altruistic behavior gender and stage in the life course. The qualitative part of the study examines life history interviews on social responsibility, performed and transcribed in 1995 with a sub-sample of the participants in the MIDUS study. Numeric coding is used to further test how the causal and contingent factors correlate with altruistic behavior, and open coding is used to examine how altruistic behaviors develop and change through the life course.

While this dissertation examines altruistic behavior through the entire adult life course, one aspect of special policy relevance is the predictors of volunteering and charitable giving among retirees. The aging of the baby boom population makes the focus of this study particularly timely. Some researchers have argued that the baby boom generation's history of involvement in political activism and public affairs will make it a particularly active and altruistic generation of retirees (Independent Sector 2003; Freedman 1999; Prisuta 2003), while others have argued that the individualism and materialism of the baby boom generation will make them less altruistic, particularly when compared with the "long civic generation" that precedes them (Goss, 1999).

The study of altruism is important from both a scientific and a public policy perspective. Social scientists have focused more on criminal, pathological, and other negative behaviors than on positive ones, leaving phenomena like altruism understudied. This interdisciplinary dissertation unites the existing currents of sociological and psychological research into a comprehensive and testable theory. It also explores how altruistic behavior and its correlates vary by gender and through the life course, an area of study that has hardly been examined in previous research. The findings of this study will be useful to non-profit organizations, government agencies, religious institutions, and foundations that wish to encourage volunteering and charitable giving.

Chapter One: Review of the Literature

The current scientific literature on altruistic behavior is extensive. The articles in this literature can be classified, according to the disciplinary backgrounds and theoretical perspectives of their authors, into bioevolutionary theories, economic and rational actor theories, social exchange theories, developmental and life course theories, and personality, role, and values theories. There is also a sociological literature that studies how various demographic factors and other individual characteristics correlate with altruistic behavior.

In addition to testing general theories of the correlates of altruistic behavior, this dissertation examines how altruism varies by gender and through the life course. The literature on these subjects is much less extensive than the literature on altruism in general. In regards to gender, there is a psychological literature on how moral values of caring differ between men and women, and some literature on the historical importance of volunteering for women, but little on how men and women differ in their altruistic motivations and behaviors in the present. Even less has been written about how altruism varies through the life course. Some research exists on the effect of particular life course transitions on volunteering, such as marriage, childbearing, and retirement, but no researcher has attempted a general theory of altruistic change and development through the life course.

Unfortunately for readers of this dissertation, this literature review resembles the state of the research field in both its size and its lack of focus. Too often, researchers on altruism work only within their particular field of expertise, and ignore research written from a different perspective (Hodgkinson and Painter, 2003). The paradigms they use

differ widely, and these paradigms often determine the findings of research before field work even begins. Thus, economists and rational choice theorists, who assume that all human behavior is self-interested, explain why apparently altruistic actions actually benefit the helping person. Bioevolutionary theorists research how helping others could have had an evolutionary value in helping an individual survive and reproduce. Personality and motivations theorists look for internal mental states, predispositions, and personality traits that influence altruistic behavior, but give less attention to what factors cause these motivations, predispositions and personality traits to develop. Sociologists examine how demographic and other variables correlate with altruistic behavior, but only rarely posit a causal model to explain why these correlations occur.

Few researchers have attempted to work across disciplines, and even fewer researchers have attempted a general causal theory. John Wilson and Marc Musick (1997) are the only sociologists to propose a general theory of volunteering. Their theory uses a statistical path model to describe the interactions among motivations, contingent factors, and mediating variables to predict rates of volunteering. The psychologists Lichang Lee, Jane Piliavin, and Vaughan R. A. Call (1999) have developed a general model to predict volunteering, charitable donations, and blood donation, which uses parental modeling, past receipt of help, personal norms of helping, past helping behaviors, and altruistic role identity as independent variables. Wilson and Musick's model devotes considerable attention to the effect of contingent variables such as free time, access to recruitment networks, and health, but their model posits only one variable for the motivation to volunteer. Lee, Piliavin, and Call propose a series of root motivational factors, but do not give much consideration to contingent factors. This

dissertation unites these approaches, paying attention both to root causes and to contingent and contextual factors.

The causal model used in this dissertation posits seven root causes of altruistic behavior: family of origin factors, empathy, religion, general reciprocity, moral universalism, volunteer role identity, and generativity. This dissertation also examines the role of contingent and contextual factors, such as income, free time, health, trust, and social networks. It combines these factors into a single comprehensive causal model, following a research strategy similar to Verba et al. (1995) in their civic voluntarism model of political participation, or of Wilson and Musick (1997) in their study of volunteering. By establishing the relative strength of basic personality factors and contingent social factors in motivating volunteering and charitable giving, this paper should help charities and policymakers assess to what degree people can be motivated by outside forces and social institutions to engage in altruistic behaviors.

The literature review that follows first examines definitions of altruism, volunteering, and charitable giving, and establishes the definitions of these terms to be used in this paper. It then examines several types of general theories of altruism, including rational actor theory, bioevolutionary theory, social exchange theory, personality and motivations theories, and parental influence and childhood development theories. There is a relatively large amount of research specific to volunteering, including demographic, life course, and gerontological theories, and a much smaller amount of research, primarily from the nonprofit management literature, on charitable giving. The literature review then examines research on how altruism varies by generation, particularly research on the values and civic engagement practices of the baby boom

cohort and how these compare to the present cohort of the elderly. Research on the benefits of volunteering and charitable giving for the donor are examined, followed by research on the effectiveness of recruitment efforts and policy initiatives in increasing volunteering and charitable giving.

Definition of altruism, volunteering, and charitable giving:

There is an extensive debate on the definition of altruism itself, much of it centering around questions of motive and the issue of non-material rewards for helping behaviors. This research is summarized by Batson (1991) and by Piliavin and Charng (1990) and is not discussed here. For this dissertation, altruistic behavior is defined as any behavior that provides benefits to non-kin others, for which little or no material compensation is received. The motivation of the helper and the non-material rewards received by the helper are not considered. Many psychologists use the term “pro-social behavior” instead of altruism; this dissertation uses “pro-social behavior,” “helping behaviors,” and “altruistic behaviors” interchangeably.

Researchers on volunteering vary greatly in how they define it. In a review of over three hundred articles on volunteering, Cnaan, Handy, and Wadsworth (1996) found that most researchers do not explicitly define what they mean by “volunteering,” and those who do used widely varying definitions. Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth identified four axes along which definitions of volunteering varied: free choice, material rewards, institutional setting, and non-material rewards to the helper or kin. Thus, some writers limited volunteering to entirely free decisions to help, while others included mandatory service work, such as service work required of high school students, or as part of a

college course. Some writers counted only completely unpaid work as volunteering, while others allowed for a small stipend or below-market level wages. Some counted only formal work with a nonprofit or other institution, whereas others included informal helping of neighbors and spontaneous assistance offered to strangers. Some counted only work directed entirely toward helping others, while other writers counted work that would benefit friends and family, or work to support an institution, such as a church or labor union, of which the volunteer was a member, meaning that the volunteer could benefit from the rewards of this work. Another dimension of volunteering, not addressed by Cnaan et al., is whether voluntary political activity, either partisan or issue advocacy, should be defined as volunteering.

Definitions of volunteering vary according to particular schools of thought and research. The broadest definition is that used by social capital scholars (Putnam, 2000; Harvard School of Public Health, 2003), who define volunteering as any activity undertaken voluntarily and not for economic gain, whether or not the goal of the activity is helping others. These authors consider participation in a sports league, political group, or union to be volunteering, just as much as serving food at a homeless shelter. A number of authors look at both formal volunteering and informal helping, although most that do study both phenomena do make a distinction between the two. Most writers distinguish political volunteering and participation in recreational groups as different from helping-oriented volunteering, but there is no clear pattern of variation by discipline or research interest on whether stipended service work is considered volunteering.

Since this study focuses on altruistic action, it adopts a fairly narrow definition of volunteering, one that attempts to separate other-oriented volunteering from self-oriented.

Narrowing the definition in this way is difficult, given that most volunteers have both altruistic and self-oriented motives. This study does not take the extreme position that one's motives must be completely altruistic for voluntary work to be defined as volunteering. However, it must be plausible that the altruistic desire to help others is at least a partial motive for the work for it to be included in the category of altruistic volunteering. Thus, purely recreational and self-interested voluntary organization memberships are not considered altruistic volunteering. Political volunteer work is excluded as well; while political volunteers may consider what they are doing to be for the greater good, it seems that political work is different from helping work, and is motivated primarily by different reasons. Stipended and nominally paid service work is not excluded, provided that the material rewards for the work are much lower than the market value of the labor.

There is a much smaller amount of literature devoted to charitable giving, and a correspondingly smaller amount of variation in definitions. Most writers follow the definition made by the tax code, and define charitable giving as any donation that would be tax-deductible. This definition excludes most political giving, but includes giving to cultural and educational institutions, non-profits, and churches. MIDUS contains only three variables measuring donations to institutions: one that measures donations to political groups and causes, another which measures donations to religious institutions, and a third which measures donations to all other institutions. My analysis will exclude political donations, and will only examine donations to religious institutions and to other institutions.

The extent of volunteering and charitable giving:

Estimates of the number of people who participate in volunteer work vary, largely because of differences in how researchers define volunteering and differences in survey methodology. Using a broad definition of volunteering, Toppe, Kirsch and Michel (2001) estimated that 56% of the U.S. population had done some volunteer work in the previous year. Other studies have come up with estimates between 40% and 60% (Prisuta 2003). Volunteering rates have increased steadily over the last two decades, despite decreases in some other forms of voluntary participation (Ladd, 1999; Putnam, 2000; Rotolo, 2000).

Estimates of the prevalence and amount of charitable giving also vary by survey, according to how questions about charitable giving are asked (Ladd, 1999; Rooney, Steinberg, and Schervish, 2001). Wealthy people are more likely to give money to charity than poor people, and the wealthy give a larger total amount. When only donors are examined, high-income donors give a smaller proportion of their total income to charity than low-income donors (Toppe, Kirsch, and Michel, 2001), but when both donors and non-donors are counted, high-income people give a larger proportion of their total income than low-income people do. Also, some people with low incomes are actually retirees who have a relatively large amount of wealth, and donate money from their savings and investments. When survey research defines poor people by income only, not wealth, the donations of retirees makes it seem as if poor people give more money to charity than they actually do (Schervish and Havens, 2001).

The majority of people make the majority of their charitable donations to religious institutions (Toppe, Kirsch, and Michel, 2001), but only 10-15% of these donations are spent on projects to help other people, and the rest is used to maintain the operations of

the church (Hoge et al 1996, Chaves 2002). Charitable giving and volunteering are strongly correlated, and volunteers are much more likely to give money to charity than non-volunteers (Toppe, Kirsch, and Michel, 2001). Like volunteering, charitable giving has increased steadily over the last few decades, even when inflation is accounted for (Ladd, 1999).

Rational actor theories:

Turning now to research on the causes of altruistic activity, the first school of research on altruistic motivations to be examined is rational actor theories, which are present in sociology and political science but are particularly characteristic of economic research. Altruistic behaviors are something of a challenge for rational actor theorists, as the very premise of rational actor theory is that people are self-interested, not altruistic. Some rational actor theorists claim that all apparently altruistic actions are really self-interested, in that the helping behaviors are motivated by a desire to gain prestige or to have the recipient owe them a favor. More sophisticated rational actor theories admit that people can perform giving actions without expectation of external rewards, but state that these people gain internal emotional rewards by helping. These include the satisfaction of feeling that they had helped, the positive feeling of emotional solidarity with the helped person, and avoidance of the emotional costs of feeling pity or guilt that would come with not helping (Chinman and Wandersman, 1999).

Knox (1999) accounts for altruism by changing and broadening the definition of rationality, and also by treating rational actors as socially oriented, not as purely individualistic. Many rational actor theorists argue against the existence of pure altruism

by pointing out that all helping behaviors bring the helper either a material or psychological reward, but Mansbridge (1990), working from a rational-actor perspective, argues that the mere existence of some reward does not render a helping behavior non-altruistic. As Mansbridge points out, it would be surprising indeed if helping behaviors were not usually rewarded; since helping behavior is beneficial to the functioning of a society, it is rational for societies to reward helping behavior when it occurs.

Some rational actor theorists try to explain altruistic behavior through "identification theory," which argues that altruistic acts are rational in that altruistic people identify strongly with others. According to this theory, individuals who give to others are engaging in a rational, self-interested act, as they are actually giving to an extended version of themselves (Schervish and Havens 2002). Monroe (1996) offers a more sophisticated version of this argument, arguing that the single distinguishing characteristic of altruistic individuals is a universalistic moral perspective. Monroe states that altruistic people view all humankind as members of their moral and social community. Whereas typical individuals consider themselves morally obligated only to help family members and close friends, altruists consider themselves to be morally obligated to help all people. Because altruists identify all human beings as an extension of their family or their "self," their helping behaviors can be seen as a self-interested and rational action.

In developing this argument, Monroe focused only on three unusual and extreme groups of altruists: wealthy philanthropists, people who spontaneously risked or sacrificed their lives to rescue people in physical danger, and rescuers of Jews in Nazi Europe. While Monroe is probably correct in concluding that a universal moral

perspective is a feature of all altruists, it is possible that the exceptional altruism of heroes, Holocaust rescuers, and philanthropists has different motivations than ordinary volunteering and small-scale charitable giving. This study adopts Monroe's concept of a universalistic moral perspective as one of the seven proposed causes of altruistic behavior, and tests whether a universalistic moral perspective is in fact correlated with ordinary altruistic behaviors such as volunteering and charitable giving. It is important to note that Monroe does not know what causes individuals to acquire a universalistic moral perspective. This study does not attempt to answer this question, but only tests Monroe's theory by applying it to a different type of altruistic actor. If her findings are replicated here, further research would be needed to study what causes individuals to adopt a universalistic moral perspective.

A final rational actor theory of volunteering and charitable giving is that of the economist Richard B. Freeman (1997). Applying "standard labor substitution theory" to volunteering and charitable giving, Freeman predicts that low earners would volunteer more than high earners, as the opportunity cost of volunteer labor is smaller for them. Standard economic theory would also predict that low earners would volunteer while high earners would donate money to charity, and that married couples would allocate all volunteer labor to the lowest earning spouse, while the other focused on earning money for the household. None of these hypotheses is borne out in reality: high earners volunteer more than low earners, volunteers are more likely than non-volunteers to give money to charity, and married people are more likely to volunteer when their spouse volunteers.

Freeman explains these failures of standard economic theory with reference to additional economic factors, such as the fact that high earners have more human capital, which gives their volunteer time more value. He also cites psychological factors such as an individual's "taste" for volunteering and the extent to which an individual values the activity engaged in. He finally resolves the conflict between economic theory and actual human behavior with the statement that social pressure is the main cause of volunteering, not altruism. Most people volunteer in response to requests from others, so for Freeman, "their behavior is not 'volunteering' in the dictionary sense of offering one's services freely but rather its opposite: acceding to requests." Volunteering and other charitable activities are "conscience goods: public goods to which people give time or money because they recognize the moral case for doing so and for which they feel social pressure to undertake when asked, but whose provision they would just as soon let someone else do" (1997:S141).

Bioevolutionary theories:

There is an extensive bioevolutionary literature of altruism, largely within the fields of sociobiology and evolutionary psychology (Sober and Wilson, 1998). De Waal (1996) writes that among common chimpanzees and bonobo chimpanzees, the two primate species closest to human beings in their genetic makeup and evolutionary history, individuals frequently give food and assistance to other members of their bands without expectation of immediate reciprocity. Primates less similar to human beings, such as monkeys and baboons, rarely provide one another with assistance, or do so only when this assistance is immediately reciprocated. De Waal notes that primates engage in

helping and sharing behaviors as a way of gaining rank within the social system of the bands in which they live. While it may not be accurate to say that common and bonobo chimpanzees engage in altruistic behavior, they definitely engage in prosocial behavior that is similar to human behavior. A comparison with these two primates implies that human prosocial behavior may have evolved due to our nature as a social animal, and that individual human beings may engage in giving and sharing behaviors as a way of gaining status, just as other primates do.

Haidt (2001, 2003) examined anthropological evidence to find that compassion and helping behavior was a moral norm throughout known human societies. In contrast to the rational decision making approach taken by most cognitive psychologists studying moral behavior (Kohlberg 1981, Lapsley 1996), Haidt finds that people make emotional and intuitive decisions to engage in helping behavior, and make rational explanations of their behavior after the fact, if at all. The ubiquity and intuitive nature of helping behaviors leads Haidt to theorize that helping must be an innate feature of the human psyche, which evolved in human prehistory.

Gintis et al. (2003) tested this theory through the use of computer models of the survival rates of primate hunter-gatherer bands. Their models showed that mutual reciprocity, or giving help to others only when that help would be reciprocated in the future, would be enough to help bands survive and flourish during ordinary times, but not during times of extreme stress, such as times of famine, war, disease, or natural disaster. In these situations, mutual reciprocity would not be adequate to ensure helping behaviors, as there was a good chance that the band would disintegrate, or the helped person would die or become lost, before the helped person was able to return the favor. In these crisis

times, individuals motivated only by mutual reciprocity would not help one another, and the group would disband, with lesser chances for survival of all the individuals in it. On the other hand, groups in which people assisted one another without expectation of reciprocity would be able to maintain cohesion, enhancing the prospects for survival of all members of the group. In this way, Gintis argues, non-reciprocal helping behavior was selected for in the evolution of humans' primate ancestors.

Bioevolutionary research forms a useful background to this study, but is of limited use in explaining variation among individuals in the level of altruistic motivation or action. Since all human beings evolved from primate ancestors, evolutionary theories cannot explain why some individuals act differently from others, the focus of this dissertation.

Social Exchange Theories:

Malinowski's study (1922) of the Trobriand Islander peoples of the Pacific first established the importance of gift-giving as a form of social exchange which facilitated social cohesion and interaction, and established hierarchies of power and prestige. Malinowski's theory was further developed and applied to other societies by Marcel Mauss (1990 [1950]) and Alvin Gouldner (1960). The most useful theory of gift-giving as social exchange is that of Blau (1964), who sees helping behavior as a type of social exchange which both creates social solidarity and places an obligation upon the recipient of help to reciprocate in the future. Blau interprets much seemingly altruistic action as a self-interested attempt to gain power and prestige. According to Blau, when individuals give gifts to others who are unable to reciprocate, they create an obligation on the

receiver that the recipient is unable to fulfill. Since the recipient in this case can only offer deference in return, an unreciprocable gift elevates the power and prestige of the giver.

Most contemporary social exchange theorists (Nadler 2002, Godbout 1998, Komter 2005) follow a similar approach as Blau in examining charitable giving and volunteering. They claim that these behaviors are a type of gift-giving motivated by the desire for prestige and power, or the desire to create a reciprocal obligation in the person to whom the gift or help is given. While they do consider volunteering and charitable donations to be positive, they do so from a functionalist standpoint, arguing that they benefit all of society by strengthening social solidarity and trust. Collins and Hickman (1991), working from the standpoint of conflict theory, proposes a similar theory of charitable action, arguing that participation in charitable activities is the primary means of "status legitimation" in societies that lack a single dominant religion.

While I agree that the desire for prestige and power motivates some giving and helping behaviors, I suggest that social exchange theory can point to another motivation for altruistic action, that of generalized reciprocal obligation. The term generalized reciprocal obligation describes the feeling that some individuals have that they are obligated to make a repayment for the good fortune that they have received in life. While feeling that their good fortune is a gift of sorts, they are unable to directly repay the giver, as they see their good fortune as a gift from society or from God. Not being able to repay the giver of this gift directly, they repay it indirectly through charitable donations and volunteer work. If this theory is correct, it would predict that people who consider themselves unusually fortunate will be more likely to engage in altruistic behaviors than

people who do not consider themselves fortunate or blessed. Thus, "generalized reciprocal obligation," the motivation to give back to society in general for perceived gifts, is the second proposed cause of altruistic behavior that this dissertation examines. Some empirical support for this theory comes from the work of McAdams et al. (1997), who found that altruistic individuals were more likely to mention feelings of having early advantages or blessings, and stated that their adult altruistic activities were a way of paying back God or society for that early blessing.

Motivational and personality trait theories:

Many psychologists who study altruistic behavior do so by examining the motivations and personality traits that are associated with these behaviors. They typically do so by creating numerical scales of particular personality characteristics or motivations, and then correlate these scales with volunteering, charitable giving, blood donation, or informal helping behaviors. The most commonly used motivation measuring instrument is the Volunteer Functions Inventory (Clary, Snyder, et al, 1998), which measures volunteers' level of motivation in six areas: building career skills, enhancing self-esteem, using volunteer work as a way to protect oneself from one's own negative feelings, social motivations, understanding others, and values motivations. "Values" motivations include altruism, a feeling of moral obligation, and religious motives. Clary and Snyder's studies, and another study using the VFI instrument (Okun and Shultz, 2003), have found that nearly all volunteers have both self and other oriented motives, and that volunteers cite values motivations more often than any other type of motivation. Other studies, using similar instruments, have found similar results (Batson, Ahmad, and Tsang, 2002;

Clary and Snyder, 1991; Okun, Barr, and Herzog, 1998; Omoto, Snyder, and Martino, 2000; Tschirhart, 2001; good literature reviews of this kind of research are found in Clary and Snyder, 1991 and Pearce, 1993).

R. A. Cnaan and R. S. Goldberg-Glen (1991) criticized this type of motivations research, pointing out that dividing volunteer motivations into self-oriented and other-oriented categories is an artificial exercise that does not represent a real distinction made by volunteers themselves. In their own statistical analysis of the responses to a motivations questionnaire similar to that used by Clary and Snyder, Cnaan and Goldberg-Glenn found that the correlations among answers to questions in the same motivation category were no stronger than the correlations among answers to questions in different motivation categories. Also, all the volunteers in their study cited motivations in a number of categories, including both other-oriented and self-oriented motivations. Finally, highly motivated volunteers tended to be highly motivated on all scales, and less motivated volunteers were less motivated on all scales; almost no volunteers were highly motivated in one area and not at all in another. From these results, Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen concluded that there is no real distinction between self-oriented and other-oriented volunteer motivations. They proposed that the motivation to volunteer should be measured by a single unidimensional scale.

Okun, Barr, and Herzog (1998) responded to Cnaan and Goldberg-Glenn's criticisms by doing their own analysis of factor models of motivation, comparing the correlations of the factors present in a single factor model, a two-factor model containing self-interested and other-oriented motives, and Clary and Snyder's six-factor VFI model. While the six factors did correlate strongly with one another, Okun, Barr, and Herzog

found that each factor correlated differently with other characteristics of volunteers, and the authors concluded that the correlation with other characteristics justified the continued use of the six-factor scale.

A third type of motivational research examines the personality traits of frequent volunteers. Luis Penner, who has written extensively on this subject, has found that volunteers have the personality traits of "other-oriented empathy" and "helpfulness" (Penner et al., 1995; Penner and Finkelstein, 1998; Penner, 2002). Since Penner's research does not explain how volunteers came to acquire these personality traits, it seems to be of limited utility in analyzing or explaining volunteers' motivations. His argument is also somewhat tautological. By stating that people with high scores on "helpfulness" are frequent volunteers, he is merely stating that helpful people are helpful. Beyond establishing that altruism is not entirely situational, and that people have lasting personality traits and predispositions to certain actions, his work offers little insight into the causes of altruistic behavior.

Finally, Jane Piliavin and her associates (Charng, Piliavin, and Callero, 1988; Piliavin, 1989; Piliavin and Callero, 1991; Lee, Piliavin, and Call, 1999) have used "role identity" theory to explain altruistic behaviors. Role identity theories of behavior postulate that, as people engage repeatedly in a type of activity, they develop a role identity as a particular type of actor. A person who volunteers several times may come to think, "I am the kind of person who volunteers," and eventually, "Volunteering is an important part of who I am." Role identity is one reason that past volunteering is a strong predictor of future volunteering, and may explain why people with past volunteer experience seek out new volunteer opportunities when they move to a new city, or

undergo life stage changes. It may also explain why many altruistic individuals increase their level of commitment to helping others throughout their lives (Colby and Damon, 1992).

In my view, motivational and personality theories are of limited use in explaining altruism, as they only add a level of causal explanation to altruistic behavior, without determining its root causes. Even if we were to determine, for example, the exact motivational states and personality characteristics that correlated with altruistic behavior, we would still not know what caused altruistic behavior, as we do not know what causes the motivations and personality traits. Nevertheless, there are some useful findings from this literature. One such finding is that outgoing, extraverted, active people do more of all people-oriented activities, including volunteering, independent of whether they have specifically altruistic values or personality traits (Janowski, Musick, and Wilson, 1998). This finding indicates that some people are simply more energetic and active than others, and engage both in more helping activities and in more non-helping activities. A second finding of this literature is that people who are highly involved in informal helping behaviors (assisting friends, neighbors, and relatives) tend to be highly active in formal volunteering as well (Gallagher, 1994; Wilson and Musick, 1997). This finding implies that the same personality traits or motivational factors may explain both formal and informal helping behavior.

A second important finding from the psychological literature on motivations relates to empathy. While empathy correlates strongly with helping behaviors, and is almost certainly an important cause of altruistic behavior, the feeling of empathy does not always lead an individual to assist a person in trouble. As the psychologist C. Daniel

Batson (1981, 1986) points out, the discomfort caused by witnessing suffering may motivate an individual simply to leave the presence of the suffering other. Batson ran a series of experiments in which subjects watched as another supposed subject, actually a confederate of the researcher, received electric shocks as punishment for failing to perform well in a cognitive test. Subjects were then asked if they would be willing to take the place of the other subject, and take upon themselves the risk of receiving shocks if they answered incorrectly. In the "easy escape" condition of the experiment, a person who decided not to help could immediately leave the experiment. In the "difficult escape" condition, an individual who decided not to help had to stay for a period of time and watch the other person suffer. Batson found that people were much more likely to help in the difficult escape condition, demonstrating that empathy can just as easily motivate a person to avoid witnessing suffering as it can motivate a person to help.

While empathy can motivate one to avoid the sight of suffering, it can also motivate one to help. A large number of studies have found a high correlation between empathy and helping behaviors. Psychologists have observed empathic reactions in very young children, leading them to conclude both that empathy develops early, and that one's level of empathy is in part determined by genetic factors. While nearly all people develop some level of empathy, some develop more than others, and the amount of empathy one develops seems to be strongly affected by one's parents and other developmental factors and experiences. One study found that altruistic adults often mentioned childhood feelings of empathy for others' suffering in life-narratives, and did so more often than non-altruistic adults (McAdams et al. 1997). In this paper, empathy is posited as one of the seven underlying causes of altruistic behavior, but the causes of

variations in empathy are not examined. Readers should consult the extensive psychological literature on the development of empathy in children for information on this subject (Eisenberg, Reykowski, and Staub, 1989; Eisenberg and Mussen, 1989; Lapsley 1996; Eisenberg and Fabes, 1998; Eisenberg 2002).

Parenting/childhood development theories:

Personality, motivations, and role identity theorists rightly point out that some individuals have a psychological predisposition to altruistic behavior, which influences their behavior regardless of their social setting. To explain where these predispositions come from, psychologists have examined the experiences of early childhood, particularly focusing on parenting styles and how moral norms are learned from parents, school, religious institutions, and the community. These childhood experiences and influences motivate adult altruistic behavior through the development of empathy, and through the development of internalized moral norms of helping (Eisenberg, Reykowski, and Staub, 1989; Eisenberg and Mussen, 1989; Lapsley 1996; Eisenberg and Fabes, 1998; Staub 1995).

In his analysis of General Social Survey (GSS) data on empathy, Smith (2003) found that children of two-parent families had the highest empathy, followed by children of a single mother, then children with a single father. In a study of people who rescued Jews during the Holocaust, Oliner and Oliner (1988) found that rescuers were more likely to come from families where the parents were “authoritative,” or high in attention and reasonable discipline, than from families where the parents were “authoritarian,” defined as arbitrarily strict, or “permissive,” defined as lacking in both attention and discipline.

Individuals whose parents volunteered and/or taught them pro-social values were much more likely to volunteer as adults (Hodgkinson et al., 1992; Hodgkinson, 1995; Wilson 2000). In a study of high school volunteers, Wuthnow (1985) found that school clubs, community organizations, and religious organizations were all important in teaching moral norms of helping, and in recruiting young people to the actual practice of volunteer work.

Researchers differ in their evaluation of how important parental characteristics or norms learned in childhood are in affecting adult altruistic behaviors. Colby and Damon (1992) criticize the emphasis that Oliner and Oliner (1988) place on parental characteristics and childhood experiences, and state that the choices people make in adulthood, the self-reinforcing nature of altruistic behavior, and the lifelong development of a moral orientation, are more important factors than childhood experiences in determining altruistic behavior. Wuthnow (1985) goes even farther, postulating that nearly all people learn basic values of caring in childhood, and that service experiences in adolescence and early adulthood are the determining factors in adult altruistic behavior. Janowski, Musick, and Wilson (1998) tested the relative effects of these two causes using panel data, and found that pro-social values and attitudes learned in childhood were better predictors than past volunteering or future volunteering. However, Mustillo, Wilson, and Lynch (2004) found that parental modeling of volunteering had a significant effect on the volunteering habits of young adults but not at later stages of the life course.

This dissertation tests the relative importance of family of origin factors and empathy in motivating adult altruistic behaviors, making them two of the proposed fundamental causes of altruism. It will help find a resolution to the debate over the

importance of these factors by comparing them with other causal variables, particularly those measuring motivations to altruism that develop during the adult life course.

Sociological research on the correlates of altruism:

A number of sociological studies of altruistic behaviors are primarily descriptive, and function by demonstrating statistical correlations between altruistic behavior and various demographic and other variables (Choi, 2003; Gallagher, 1994; Herzog and Morgan, 1993; Independent Sector, 1996; Reed and Selbee, 2000; Smith, 2003). While this research is weak on theory, it is useful as a source of descriptive information that can be used to formulate theories.

Studies of volunteering among the general population have repeatedly found that volunteering is positively correlated with income and education (Janowski, Musick, and Wilson, 1998; Ladd, 1999; Wilson, 2000; Smith, 2003). Whites volunteer more than blacks (Independent Sector, 1996; Smith, 2003; Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2004), but this seems to be a function of whites' higher socioeconomic status and greater integration into social networks (Musick, Wilson, and Bynum, 2000). Some studies find that women volunteer more than men (Gallagher, 1994; Thoits and Hewitt, 2001; Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2004), but others find that men and women volunteer in about equal numbers (Herzog, Kahn, and Morgan, 1989; Wilson, 1998; Smith, 2003). Political liberals and political conservatives volunteer in about equal numbers, but they volunteer for different types of institutions, and their volunteering has different meaning to them (Becker and Dhingra, 2001; Ladd, 1999; Wilson, 2000; Wilson and Janowski, 1995).

Volunteering varies in a curvilinear way with age, peaking in midlife (Herzog, Kahn, and Morgan, 1989; Wilson, 1998; Ladd, 1999; Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2004). The decline in later years is partly a function of decreased social networks, after children leave the home and after individuals leave the labor force, and is also a function of declining health (Wilson 1998). Looking at volunteer rates by labor force status, we see that part-time workers volunteer the most, followed by full-time workers, followed by the unemployed (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2004). Some studies have found that married people volunteer less than single people (Smith 2003), while others have found that married people volunteer more (Wilson and Musick, 1997; Rotolo 2000; Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2004). People with children volunteer more than childless people (Rotolo 2000; Smith 2003; Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2004).

Religious people volunteer more than non-religious people (Wilson, 1998), but there are few significant differences by denomination (Wilson, Janowski, and Musick, 1998). Becker and Dhingra (2001) and Park and Smith (2000) found that the effect of religion on volunteering results from the more extensive social networks that church-goers have, and that the strength or importance of their religious beliefs was not a significant predictor of volunteering.

Demographic studies focusing specifically on volunteering by the elderly have found similar patterns. Volunteering among the elderly is positively correlated with education (Caro and Bass, 1997; Kinkade et al, 1996; Chambre 1984, 1987), religiosity (Caro and Bass, 1997), general level of activity (Chambre 1984, 1987), and health (Caro and Bass, 1997; Kinkade et al, 1996), and is negatively correlated with age (Kinkade et al, 1996, Chambre 1984, 1987). Kinkade, et al (1996) found that elderly whites volunteer

more than elderly blacks, and Caro and Bass (1997) found that elderly women volunteer more than elderly men, but Chambre (1984, 1987) found no racial or gender differences. In an analysis of many earlier studies, Fischer and Schaffer (1993) found that volunteering correlates positively with education, income, occupational prestige, and religiosity, that whites volunteer more than blacks, and that married elderly volunteer more than unmarried elderly people, while gender and religious denomination have no significant relationship with volunteering rates.

Gender and altruism:

Scholars agree that women score higher on measures of values and motivations of caring, but differ on the extent to which they attribute this to biological differences (Udry, Morris and Cavanaugh 1995; Rhoads 2004) or social construction (Gilligan 1982; Chodorow 1978, 1989). Like so many other "nature-nurture" debates, presenting biology and society as mutually exclusive alternatives sets up a false dichotomy. In reality, biology and social influences interact in complex ways to create gender differences in attitudes and behavior (Fausto-Sterling 1985; Rossi 1985). A more productive line of analysis involves researching how actual helping behaviors vary by gender, and how the relationship between gender and altruistic work has changed as gender roles in society overall have changed.

Gerstel (2000) asserted that women do so much informal helping and volunteer work that this work amounts to a "third shift," "adding an extra week to their monthly load" of work (2000:475). However, Gerstel used a non-representative sample and did not report her methods of analysis, while a methodologically sound study by Hook (2004)

did not find that women's helping work constituted a "third shift." Using time diary reports from a study using a randomly selected, representative sample, Hook found that women did do more volunteer work, child care, housework, and informal helping than men, but that the extra hours men spent in paid employment nearly made up the difference, so that women devoted an average of 54.6 hours per week and men an average of 54.0 hours to all these activities combined.

While recent decades have seen little work on gender and altruism, during the 1980's several ethnographies were published that studied female volunteers. Ostrander (1984) studied the volunteer work of upper class women, and concluded that their volunteering was undertaken more to define and secure their superior class position then to help others. Daniels (1988) and Kaminer (1984) focused on what they saw as a conflict between the traditional valuation of volunteer work as a way for women to express their caring natures in a setting of subordination to men, and the feminist devaluation of volunteer work in favor of women's paid work and social activism. As feminists, Daniels and Kaminer had reservations about the value of traditional women's volunteering, but they concluded by expressing their approval of their subjects' decisions to pursue volunteer careers, and by acknowledging the struggles that volunteer women themselves went through in resolving their own feelings of conflict between traditional and feminist values.

There also exists a feminist literature on women's participation in caring professions such as social work and nursing. As with feminist studies of women volunteers, these authors oscillate between admiring the efforts and achievements of women in helping careers and criticizing them for subordinating themselves to male

power structures (Fisher 1990; Reverby 1990). Later feminist work on the history of women's volunteering (McCarthy 1990; Spain 2001) takes into account the limitations imposed by male power structures on women's agency, and analyzes how women pursued volunteer careers in order to achieve power, prestige, and independence while remaining within what society considered an appropriate sphere for women.

The most striking thing about these historical accounts is the difference between the historical character of women's volunteering and its present day character. Women's volunteering as a career arose during the rise of industrialization and the separation of the place of production from the household. With industrialization, men left the household each day to go to work, depriving women of a role in the family's economic production, and leaving them with responsibilities only for housework and child care. In upper class and upper middle class households, servants took care of much of this work, and upper class women in particular felt it was unseemly of them to engage in physical labor. Women of the upper and upper middle classes turned to volunteering as a way of finding useful employment, and a way to achieve power and prestige within the strictures placed on them by a gender-stratified society (Kaminer 1984; Spain 2001).

The books written by Daniels (1988), Kaminer (1984), and Ostrander (1984) were all based on research done during the 1970's, when the upper class full-time female volunteer was beginning to disappear. At present, full-time upper class women volunteers are no longer the dominant type of volunteer, or even particularly common. With the full entry of women into the paid labor force, volunteering has become less gendered. Both men and women engage in volunteer work, and they do so in small amounts, while few

people pursue a long-term full-time career of volunteering, as upper class women did in previous decades.

In conclusion, the existing literature on gender and altruistic behavior is sparse, and the relevance of much of this literature to current conditions is not clear. Psychological research has established that women score higher on measures of values of caring, but this research has little to say on either where these values originate or how they play out in social institutions. Sociological research on women's volunteering has effectively described the history of volunteering as a particularly gendered activity, but almost nothing has been written about the relationship between gender and helping behaviors that exists today.

Life-course perspectives and theories of aging:

Like the existing research on altruism and gender, research on the life course development of altruism is sparse and suffers from a number of inadequacies. Both sociologists and psychologists have investigated how life course transitions affect helping behaviors; sociological research focuses on how changes in family structure and employment correlate with changes in voluntary association membership, while most psychological research on the life course development works within the Eriksonian tradition and focuses on the life stage of "generativity." In both types of research, altruistic behaviors are studied as one aspect of some broader category of phenomena. Sociologists generally study volunteering as a type of voluntary association membership or social capital, and generally do not study charitable giving. Psychologists examine helping behaviors as one of many ways to express generativity.

The only study to date to specifically focus on the life course development of altruism is Colby and Damon's study of moral exemplars (1992). Their study is valuable in that it examines the adult development of altruism and demonstrates how individuals follow different pathways in their altruistic development, but is limited by the fact that they only study extremely altruistic individuals, have no control group for contrast, and do not carefully examine the effects of specific life course transitions on altruism. This dissertation studies the adult life course development of people who range from completely non-altruistic to highly altruistic, making it possible to distinguish what aspects of life course development are unique to altruistic people. This study also examines how gender, family structure, and employment affect the development of altruistic behaviors.

There is some debate over how to structure the life course for study, but in general authors agree that family transitions and employment transitions are important markers for family change (Elder, Johnson, and Crosnoe 2004). Setterstein (2004) found widespread agreement among Americans about the normative events that constitute the life course. Important family transitions included leaving home, getting married, beginning childbearing, completing childbearing, and becoming a grandparent, and important labor force transitions included completing one's education, entering the labor force, and retiring from full-time work.

This study takes retirement from full time work as an important life transition, but it should be noticed that the normative view of retirement as a single and complete withdrawal from full time work is decreasing (Heinz 2004). Moen (2003, 2004) has called for the traditional concept of retirement to be replaced with the term "third age,"

during which some people retire in the traditional sense, but others change careers, go from full-time to part-time work, or go from paid work to volunteering. Instead of a single event occurring at age sixty-five, the transition to the "third age" should be thought of as a process that goes on throughout an individual's older years. The Baby Boom generation in particular is resistant to the traditional conception of retirement as complete withdrawal from productive activity, and Moen thus argues that the concept of a "third age" will be particularly useful in studying this generation as it ages.

Sociologists have studied involvement in voluntary associations through the life course, examining how transitions in family structure affect the number of voluntary association memberships or the amount of time spent at meetings (Knoke and Thompson 1977; Rotolo 2000). Others have examined how specific life course statuses or transitions affect volunteering (Oesterle, Johnson, and Mortimer 2004; Sundeen 1990; Taniguchi 2006; Tiehen 2000). These studies have consistently found that volunteering increases with marriage, decreases with the arrival of very young children, increases with the presence of school-age children, and decreases again when children leave the home.

Psychologists (Kotre, 1984; McAdams, 1993; McAdams and de St. Aubin, 1992, 1998) have studied the life course development of altruism through the lens of "generativity," one of the seven life stages described by the psychologist Erik Erikson (1980 [1959]). The generativity stage of life comes in middle and late adulthood, and develops as individuals become aware of their impending mortality. As a response, people begin to define their life's purpose as leaving something behind them when they die, and try to pass on something to the next generation. They do this as parents, teachers, producers of artistic objects or scientific research, preservers of a cultural tradition, and

as charitable donors and volunteers. Erikson's life-stage theory predicts that altruistic behaviors peak in middle and late adulthood, a prediction borne out by empirical findings. Kotre, McAdams, and de St. Aubin have worked within the Eriksonian tradition to further define and describe the generative phase of life and analyze how generativity motivates altruistic behavior.

A number of authors have found that commitment to altruistic behavior increases throughout the life course. Colby and Damon (1992) found that highly altruistic people tend to develop their altruistic behaviors over time. In fact, many of the "moral exemplars" Colby and Damon studied only became firmly committed to altruistic careers after they reached their forties. This finding supports both Eriksonian generativity theory and the "role identity" theory of Piliavin and Callero (1991).

In a study of the elderly, Mutchler, Burr, and Caro (2003) found that past volunteering was the single strongest predictor of future volunteering. However, the authors did not explicitly compare the effect of past volunteering with the effect of moral norms that motivate volunteering. It is possible that moral norms were the causal force behind both past and present volunteering, making the strong correlation between the two spurious. Thoits and Hewitt (2001) examined this question in a study of panel data, and concluded that both processes were at work. They found that moral norms are an important predictor of volunteer activity throughout the life span, but they also found that the practice of volunteer work is self-reinforcing, and tends to increase over time.

In addition to generativity theory, several general theories of aging from the gerontological literature can be used to predict patterns of volunteering among the elderly. Activity theory posits that elderly people are happier to the extent that they stay

active (Neugarten, Havighurst, and Tobin, 1968). A subset of activity theory, role replacement theory, argues that as elderly people retire from full-time work, they will be happier if they replace their paid work with leisure activities and volunteering (Chambre, 1993). Continuity theory (Atchley, 1989; Moen et al., 1992), states that elderly people will be most happy if their lifestyles resemble their lives at earlier ages. Thus, elderly people who were previously engaged in volunteer work or in paid service work are likely to volunteer after retirement, while individuals with no previous service experience are unlikely candidates for volunteer programs.

Some studies have specifically examined whether volunteering increases when people retire. Stephan (1991) found that elderly women still in the labor force were less likely to volunteer than retired women who were not employed. But her study was cross-sectional, making causality difficult to determine, and is now dated, as it used data from a 1979 survey. Moen (2003) found little difference in volunteering rates between working and non-working elderly men and women, and Chambre (1984) found that few people take up volunteer work for the first time upon retirement. Prisuta (2003) states that people do not increase their amount of volunteering when they retire, and speculates that this happens because although leisure time increases, social connections decrease, and the two effects cancel each other out. Independent Sector (2003) found that fewer retired elderly than working elderly people volunteer, but that retired elderly people who do volunteer tend to work more hours. Using panel data, Mutchler, Burr, and Caro (2003) found that most retired volunteers did volunteer work before their retirement, but found that a minority of retired volunteers did start volunteering for the first time after leaving the labor force. They also found, however, that most retired people substitute only a few

hours of new or additional volunteering for the forty or more hours they gain upon leaving full-time work.

Many writers (Caro and Bass, 1995; Caro and Bass, 1997; Choi, 2003; Herzog and Morgan, 1993) point out the importance of religious institutions in the altruistic activities of the current generation of elderly. Prisuta (2003) states that religious concerns will also be important for retired baby boomer volunteers, even though they will not be quite as important as among the previous generation. Fischer and Schaffer (1993) found that elderly volunteers were less often motivated by material and status/prestige rewards, and more likely to be motivated by altruistic and ideological reasons, or offer as a reason for their volunteering the fact that they have "free time." Gallagher (1994) argues that appeals to moral obligation will be less successful in recruiting elderly volunteers than younger volunteers, since retired people view themselves as having already fulfilled their obligations to society. Chambre (1993) agrees, and states that appeals that describe volunteering as a type of active, meaningful leisure activity will be more successful.

Cohort effects:

A large number of studies indicate that volunteer rates both among the general population and among the elderly have increased over the last two decades (for a summary, see Fischer and Schaffer, 1993:15-16). Goss (1999) worries that high rates of volunteering are unique to the current generation of elderly, the "long civic generation," and that volunteer rates will fall when the baby boom generation retires. By contrast, Freedman (1999) argues that baby boomers will volunteer at high rates, particularly if policy initiatives are undertaken to encourage them. Jennings (1987) notes that politically

active left-wing baby boomers were only a minority of the boomer generation, and that the political views of most baby boomers have become more conservative over time. This change in political views should not affect rates of volunteering, but may affect the types of volunteer work retired baby boomers do (Becker and Dhingra, 2001; Ladd, 1999; Wilson, 2000; Wilson and Janowski, 1995).

Rotolo and Wilson (2004) tested Putnam's and Goss's contention that members of the "long civic generation," defined by Putnam as those born around 1925-1930, have been more involved in volunteer work than members of subsequent generations. They analyzed the volunteer activities of two cohorts of middle-aged women volunteers, the first born in 1926-1937, the second born in 1943-1954, in surveys from a panel study conducted in 1974 and 1991. They found that the baby boomer women actually did more volunteer work than the women from the long civic generation, despite the fact that many more of the baby boom women were working full-time. Rotolo and Wilson attributed the difference to the higher education level of the baby boomer women, as education is strongly correlated with volunteer work.

Finally, even as the effects of the transition to retirement on volunteering are coming to be understood, the meaning and practice of retirement are changing, limiting the value of previous research. Moen (2003) argues that the traditional life stage of retirement, defined as a sudden and complete transition at a set age from full-time work to inactivity, no longer occurs in most people's lives. Instead, many individuals make a gradual transition from full-time to part-time work, and then to no work, all the while gradually replacing paid work with volunteer work and leisure activities. If this trend continues, it may create a good environment for charities who seek to recruit elderly

volunteers. As the elderly scale back their work hours, they gain time for volunteering, while their continued engagement in paid employment keeps them in contact with the social network that encourage volunteer recruitment. In fact, Mutchler, Burr, and Caro (2003) found that elderly people doing part-time work were more likely to volunteer than either full-time workers or people who were fully retired, a finding that also applies to the general population (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2004). This finding presents a hopeful future for charities, as these part-time, semi-retired elderly may be excellent prospects for volunteer recruitment.

Effects of volunteer recruitment efforts:

Caro and Bass (1995) found that many retired people express an interest in volunteering, but do not actually volunteer. They suggested removing barriers and improving incentives to volunteering by providing retired people with better information about volunteer assignments, providing better training, helping with transportation, and utilizing personal recruitment networks. In a later study (1997), Caro and Bass found that retired non-volunteers were most receptive to volunteering in the first two years after retirement, and then became less receptive to the idea of volunteering as time went on.

Freedman (1994) notes that existing federally-funded programs to enlist elderly people as volunteers by paying them a small stipend have been very successful, but that lack of funding has meant that these programs involve only a small number of people and have long waiting lists. Freedman (1994, 1999) recommends that the Federal government expand funding of these programs and fund a number of other policy initiatives to increase elderly volunteering. A study (Kleyman, 2003) sponsored by Freedman's non-

profit advocacy group, Civic Ventures, claims that the number of retired volunteers could be doubled with small incentives, but these claims are based on overly optimistic extrapolations from scant evidence. Johnson (2003) also proposes that elderly volunteering could be greatly increased with better management of volunteer programs. Prisuta (2003) is skeptical of these findings, and states that it is unlikely that incentives will recruit many new volunteers, or cause current volunteers to greatly increase their hours.

Kieran Healy (2000, 2004) has done extensive research into the variation in blood donation across countries in Europe, and the variation in organ donation across regions in the United States. Healy found that institutional structures and practices had a large effect on donation rates. Titmuss (1971) reached similar conclusions in his study of the differences in blood donation rates between the United States and Great Britain. Healy concludes that while the motivations of individual donors are important, "when viewed comparatively, blood can be seen not so much as something that individuals donate, but as something that organizations collect" (Healy 2000:1634). If Healy's arguments can be applied to charitable giving and volunteering, there is much room for institutions to motivate greater participation.

Charitable giving:

While the research on volunteering is extensive, the research on charitable giving is fairly limited. Much is written from the nonprofit management perspective, and offers practical advice on how to solicit money from donors, not scientific research on the psychology and sociology of giving behaviors. Much of the research on charitable giving

focuses exclusively on the wealthiest donors (Panas 1984; Ostrower 1995; Schervish and O'Herlihy, 2002). While this approach makes sense from the perspective of charities, who receive the majority of their donations from a small number of wealthy donors, this research is less useful in making generalizations to the general population.

Panas (1984) found that major donors were motivated primarily by a belief in the mission's institution or programs. Other motivations, in descending order of prevalence, were the opportunity to establish a memorial to a deceased family member, tax credit, recognition of the donor, and competition with other donors. Ostrower (1995) studied a group of wealthy donors who were members of a small community of elites in a single city. Given the focus of her study, it is not surprising that group factors, not individual characteristics, were the strongest determinant of individuals' charitable behavior. Donating to charity was a requirement of membership in this elite group of wealthy people, and was more or less obligatory upon those wealthy individuals who wanted to be a part of this prestigious society. Still, individuals did cite a variety reasons for giving, the most common of which were guilt, a sense of obligation, the desire to give back to the community for their perceived good fortune, not wanting to spend money on luxuries, and the pleasure of giving. Through interviews with 173 wealthy donors, Schervish and O'Herlihy (2002) found that these donors often emphasized their good fortune, and the sense that their good fortune brought with it an obligation to give back. This evidence provides some support for the theory that reciprocity is an important cause of altruistic behavior.

Prince and File (1994) researched donor motivations through a "market segmentation" approach, investigating the psychological and spiritual benefits donors

seek to gain through their charitable giving practices. They gave a thirty-three item test battery of motivational questions to a selective sample of 218 individuals who donated more than $50,000 year to a single non-profit, and performed cluster analysis on the results. They used this cluster analysis to come up with seven profiles or "faces" of philanthropy according to motivation. Communitarians (26%) desire to build the communities they live in; the devout (21%) donate money for explicitly religious reasons; investors (15%) are business-minded donors, who focus primarily on the effect their donations will have and the efficiency of the non-profits they support. Socialites (11%) donate money as part of a peer network, and are motivated by the social rewards they receive from their charitable activity; repayers (10%) feel fortunate in life, and want to give back to society; altruists (9%) are ethically motivated but do not express their ethics in explicitly religious terms; and dynasts (8%) come from a long family tradition of giving.

Prince and File's study illustrates both the benefits and the drawbacks of most charitable giving research. Prince and File are motivated by pragmatic concerns, and their research seeks to discover how charities can best direct their fundraising efforts. While providing some insights into basic altruistic motivations, their research is limited in scientific value by the fact that they study only the wealthiest donors. This is useful for nonprofits who wish to raise the maximum amount of money with the most efficient effort, but is not useful for the scientific study of altruistic behavior among all people, as wealthy donors may differ in significant ways from more ordinary donors. Also, their research on motivations is somewhat shallow, attempting only to arrange motivations into

categories that fundraisers can easily use to direct their solicitation campaigns, not to analyze the underlying causes of altruistic behavior.

Schervish (1997) found that major donors were motivated by similar concerns as smaller donors, with some significant exceptions. The extremely wealthy live in a world of "hyperagency," as their wealth makes it possible for them to exercise great control over their environment, and they bring high expectations for control to their charitable giving. Wealthy donors expect their charity to fund new projects or large projects, which make a noticeable difference, and expect to have some influence over how their money is spent. Smaller donors, by contrast, are aware that their donations are only a small part of a larger effort, and do not expect to make a large difference by themselves, or to have much control over how their money is spent.

Studies of small and medium income donors are rare. Mount (2001) surveyed donors to a large, recently-founded Canadian university, and found that their motives included joy of giving, public recognition, tax incentive, nostalgia, and a desire to help people in need. Toppe, Kirch, and Michel (2001) found that people most often listed religious reasons and feelings of moral obligation to the less fortunate or to the community as their motivation for charitable giving. The authors also noted that people were much more likely to contribute if they were asked to do so.

While volunteering does not differ significantly by denomination, charitable giving to one's church differs widely. In general, Jews give the most, followed by Protestants and then by Catholics, but giving rates differ widely among Protestant churches. Tight-knit churches, such as the Assemblies of God, give highly, as do tight-knit non-Protestant churches such as the Mormons and Seventh Day Adventists.

Members of more loosely organized mainline Protestant churches give less, and the least likely to donate money to their church are Unitarian-Universalists (Hoge 1995). Regardless of denomination, people who attend church give more money than people who do not, and people give more money as their church attendance becomes more frequent (Toppe, Kirch, and Michel, 2001).

Charitable giving varies widely by region, with some communities being much more generous than others. Charitable donations in a particular region are positively correlated with government social welfare spending as well. Wolpert (1995) found that states with high rates of charitable giving also had high rates of government spending on social welfare, indicating that people who are personally generous also tend to vote for generous government welfare policies. Schneider (1996) reviews the literature on regional differences, examining explanations of differences in charitable giving patterns in terms of economic, cultural, institutional, historical, and political culture differences across cities and regions within the United States. While this literature is too extensive to summarize here, it suffices to say that regional variations are important, and the charitable activity of individuals is influenced by cultural, economic, and institutional factors of the places where they live.

The benefits of retired volunteering:

There is a large literature describing the beneficial effects that volunteering may have upon elderly volunteers. In a meta-analysis of thirty-seven studies, Wheeler, Gorey, and Greenblatt (1998) found that most research did find a connection between volunteering and improved mental and physical health for elderly people. Volunteering

correlates with lower rates of mortality among the elderly (Oman, Thoresen, and McMahon, 1999; Musick, Herzog, and House, 1999), and with better psychological and physical health (Moen, Dempster-McClain, and Williams, Jr., 1992). Harlow and Cantor (1996) found the same connection, but note that participation in leisure activities has a an equally positive effect on mental and physical health.

While these studies have documented a correlation between volunteer work and well-being, most of these studies are cross-sectional, and do not answer the question of causal direction. It might be true that volunteering creates better mental and physical health, but it could also be that better mental and physical health makes it more likely that people will volunteer, or that some other factor or factors cause both improved health and volunteering. Chambre (1987) and Fischer and Shaffer (1993) speculated that high life satisfaction causes volunteering, or that the two factors were mutually reinforcing, but their studies were based on cross-sectional data and they were not able to test this hypothesis.

Only two studies have used longitudinal data to test the thesis that volunteer work benefits elderly volunteers. Pushkar, Reis, and Morros (2002) measured elderly volunteers on a variety of mental and physical health scales before, during, and after a six-month period of volunteering. They found that elderly people who had a history of volunteer work before the study began were in better health than those who had not, and that there was little change in the health of the previously non-volunteering elderly over the six month period. This finding implies that the relationship between volunteering and improved health is not causal, although it may be that it takes longer than six months for the beneficial effects to be felt. Their study also had a fairly small sample size (n = 100),

and a larger study might find different results. In an analysis of panel data using a much larger sample (n = 2,681), Thoits and Hewitt (2001) concluded that all three of the possible causal relationships contribute to the correlation between volunteering and well-being. They found the traits and characteristics that predict well-being also predict volunteering, and that healthy and happy people are more likely to volunteer, but they did find that after controlling for these factors volunteering did have a causal effect in improving the health and happiness of volunteers.

Most authors agree that increased volunteering is good for society, accomplishing tasks that would not otherwise get done, although many also warn that it is unrealistic to expect increased volunteering to make up for services lost through government budget cuts to social services and other reductions in paid staff time. Freeman (1999) and the Harvard School of Public Health study (2003) argue that elderly volunteering not only helps the recipients of volunteer assistance, but that elderly volunteering has extensive and beneficial effects for society as a whole in the form of increased social capital. This argument is based on the work of Putnam (2000), who was a member of the Harvard School of Public Health's research team.

An opposing view is offered by Eliasoph (1996, 1998), who claims that Americans do volunteer work to improve individual situations, but fail to connect their volunteer work with political advocacy or social change. She explains this lack of connection by reference to institutional, language, and cultural factors. Markham and Bonjean (1995) reached similar conclusions in a study of upper middle class female volunteers. Bloom and Kilgore (2003) found that volunteers who worked in direct contact with poor families became more understanding and compassionate in regard to their

problems, a finding similar to that of Wuthnow (1985, 1991), but the authors did not examine whether this increased sympathy for the poor led to a change in political views or increased advocacy. Perry and Katula (2001) did a meta-analysis of thirty-seven empirical studies of how service work affected citizenship behaviors, such as voting. While many studies found that service work led to a better cognitive understanding of social problems, only half of these studies found a statistically significant correlation between volunteer work and political action, and even when a correlation was found it tended to be weak. Also, most of these studies focused on student volunteers, who may be more likely than older adults to change their political beliefs as the result of volunteering.

This dissertation will focus primarily on the benefits that retired volunteers provide to social service agencies and their clients through direct service volunteering. It assumes that volunteering has some positive effects on the volunteers' own well-being, and that volunteering has some positive effects through the development of social capital and perhaps through political advocacy. This dissertation does not take a position on the debate over the extensiveness of these positive effects. It focuses only on the causes of volunteering, leaving an examination of the effects of volunteering to future research.

Comprehensive causal models of altruistic behavior:

Only two groups of researchers have proposed a general theory of volunteering: Piliavin's "role identity" theory, and Wilson and Musick's path model of volunteering. The psychologists Peter L. Callero and Jane Piliavin developed the role identity theory of altruistic behavior (Callero, 1985; Callero, Howard, and Piliavin, 1987; Charng, Piliavin,

and Callero, 1988), which they used to develop a general model to predict blood donation (Piliavin, 1989; Piliavin and Callero, 1991), and later applied to volunteering and charitable donations (Lee, Piliavin, and Call, 1999). As independent variables, they propose parental modeling of helping behaviors, altruists' own past receipt of help, internalized personal norms of helping, past helping behaviors, and altruistic role identity. or the self-concept of "volunteer," "blood donor," or "philanthropist," that people acquire over time as they repeatedly engage in these helping behaviors.

Wilson and Musick (1997) posit three basic factors that interact in predicting volunteer rates: cultural capital, social capital, and human capital. The authors define cultural capital as the will and predisposition to volunteer, and measure it indirectly through religiosity and a survey question about the value respondents place on service. They define social capital as access to social networks through which people learn about and are recruited for volunteer service, and define human capital as skills and education that would make volunteers desirable. The authors measure the interaction of these factors with each other, and with intervening variables such as health and free time, and generate a general path model that gives numerical values to the relative importance of each of these factors in determining volunteering.

St. John and Fuchs (2002) tested Wilson and Musick's theory in a study of people who volunteered after the bombing of the Murrah Federal Center in Oklahoma City. They found that human and cultural capital did predict volunteering, but that social capital did not. They did not conclude that this disproved Wilson and Musick's theory, however, as they considered that the main reason high levels of social capital increased volunteering was that people with social capital have access to many volunteer recruitment networks.

The Oklahoma City bombing was such a widely-known event, and the volunteer response to it so extensive, that virtually everyone in Oklahoma City was involved in some sort of recruitment network. Thus, there was not enough variation in access to recruitment networks for this variable to have a significant effect on volunteering.

Colby and Damon's work on altruism contains elements of a general causal theory. They discuss how altruistic action develops over the life course, and how altruistic people embed themselves in social networks which support their altruistic behavior. Colby and Damon's research is primarily exploratory and descriptive, however, identifying key themes and features of altruistic people and their lives, without attempting to come up with a falsifiable theory behind their actions.

This study combines the best features of these previous studies into a single comprehensive model, and extends the focus of these studies to include gender and the life course. It devotes more attention to the root causes of volunteering, offering seven possible root causes instead of Wilson and Musick's rough measurement of "cultural capital." It takes into account contingent factors, such as income, health, free time, and recruitment networks, more extensively than Wilson and Musick or Piliavin et al. It uses Colby and Damon's life-course approach, but examines more closely the effect of particular family and life course transitions on altruism, and compares the life histories of highly altruistic and less altruistic people. By combining the features of existing theories of altruism, testing them in a comparative framework, and examining the role of gender and life course transitions in altruistic actions, this study will both integrate and build upon the current state of knowledge of altruism.

Chapter Two: Data and Methods

This dissertation uses both quantitative and qualitative methods to examine the root causes and contingent factors that explain or predict altruistic behavior and how these causes, factors, and behaviors vary by gender and stage in the life course. Logistic and Tobit regression analysis of the 1995 Midlife in the United States (MIDUS) dataset are used to test for statistical relationships between causal factors, contingent factors, and altruistic behaviors, and interaction terms are used to test for gender and life stage differences. Additional tests of hypotheses are performed through analysis of the numerical coding of transcripts of in-depth interviews of a random sub-sample of ninety-four respondents which were conducted as part of the original 1995 study. This interview data is also subjected to open coding in order to find patterns, explain results from the quantitative data, generate additional hypotheses, and add depth and complexity to the analysis.

Data:

This dissertation analyzes data from the 1995 wave of the McArthur Foundation's Midlife in the United States (MIDUS) study. This study was based on a nationally representative random-digit dialing sample of non-institutionalized, English-speaking adults, aged twenty-five to seventy-four. Both telephone and written survey questionnaires were used, and the estimated overall response rate was 60.8%. The MIDUS dataset contains weights to adjust for the biases related to the characteristics of non-responders, but for this project unweighted values were used. The main MIDUS survey has a sample size of 3690, and the survey instrument contained nearly 2000 data

points. The MIDUS survey contains modules specifically designed to measure altruistic behaviors, religious beliefs and activities, generativity, empathy, and other variables used in this study, so it is a particularly useful source of data for analysis. Partial information about the sample, response rate, weighting, and survey design are in Rossi (2001:519-525), and full information is contained in the MIDUS codebook, available from the MIDUS website at midmac.med.harvard.edu/research.html.

One especially important feature of the 1995 MIDUS survey is that it includes semi-structured interview data with a representative sub-sample of 94 respondents, who were interviewed specifically about the ways in which they exercised "social responsibility," or altruistic and helping behaviors, in five areas: at work, with their families, through volunteer work, in the political realm, and through charitable giving. Ninety-one of the interviews were transcribed in full, and the transcriptions have been made available to researchers; the other three transcriptions are unusable because of gaps in the tape, inaudible responses, or incomplete transcription. The interviews were two to three hours in length, and the transcripts comprise a total of more than 2500 single-spaced pages of text, making them an extensive and potentially rich source of data. To date, only one study has been published using these transcripts (Colby, Sippola and Phelps 2001), so the interviews remain a largely untapped resource.

Quantitative methods using survey data:

My model of altruistic behavior posits seven underlying causes: parental influences, empathy, religion, generalized reciprocity, moral universalism, altruistic role identity, and generativity. The connection of these underlying causes to altruistic

behavior is expected to be strong, but the effect of these factors is expected to be obscured by contextual and personal variables such as skills, free time, and health, which strongly affect whether a person volunteers or donates money to charity at any particular point in time. When these contextual variables are accounted for, the correlations of these underlying causal factors with altruistic behaviors are expected to change in magnitude and significance.

This dissertation pays special attention to how altruistic motivation and action differ among men and women, and how altruistic motivation and action change through the life course. The respondents will be divided into five life stages: single people, married people without children, people with children living at home, people with grown children who are still in the work force, and people with grown children who have retired or left the labor force. These five stages correspond to major life transitions that are thought to affect volunteering and charitable giving. Not all of the respondents go through all of these phases, or go through the phases in this order, but these phases correspond to a roughly normative conception of what the typical adult life course contains.

Chapter Three examines the relative strength of correlation of causal and contingent factors with altruistic behaviors in the entire sample. Each of the three outcomes is regressed on each possible causal and contingent variable, to measure the bivariate correlation for each individual variable. The outcomes are then regressed on factor scales measuring each of the causal and contingent factors. By converting the variables to factor scales, each variable is measured on the same scale, making possible a

comparison of the relative strength of each causal and contingent factor's correlation with altruistic behaviors.

Chapter Three also examines the interaction among causal and contingent factors using stacked regression models. The regression analysis begins with ascriptive characteristics such as race and ethnicity, adds family of origin characteristics and empathy, and then adds individual factors that develop during adulthood, such as religion, reciprocity, moral universalism, altruistic role identity, and generativity. Finally, trust and contingent factors such as income, wealth, education, marital status, and labor force status are added to the model.

Chapter Four examines how altruistic behaviors and their correlates vary by gender and life stage. First, gender and life stage differences in the mean amount of altruistic behaviors and the mean values for causal and contingent factors are examined and tested for statistical significance. Interaction terms are then used to determine whether the causal and contingent factors have different relationships with altruistic behaviors according to gender. Next, interaction terms are used within gender sub-samples to determine whether the causal and contingent terms have different relationships with altruistic behaviors according to life stage.

Quantitative methods using interview data:

After primary data collection had been completed on the MIDUS survey, the psychologist Anne Colby selected a representative sample of ninety-four respondents from the total survey sample for a follow-up interview on "social responsibility," which Colby defined as "action taken for the benefit of others or for the welfare of society more

generally" (Colby, Sippola, and Phelps, 2001:465). They researched the application of social responsibility across a broad spectrum of domains, including "family, community, society more broadly, paid work, volunteer work, personal assistance, and financial contributions to individuals and institutions" (466). The sub-sample differed from the overall MIDUS sample in that the age range was restricted to the ages of thirty-four to sixty-five. While the sample was drawn randomly from the total sample, higher response rates among educated people meant that the members of the sub-sample were also better educated, on average, than the more representative total MIDUS sample. In other areas, including race, gender, religion, income, health, life satisfaction, and altruistic behaviors, the sub-sample did not differ significantly from the total sample (466-7).

Colby, Sippola, and Phelps (2001) published only a single study based on this data, which focused only on how respondents expressed social responsibility through paid work. Colby stopped working on the MIDUS study shortly after data collection finished and began a different project that demanded all of her time, with the result that the rest of the data was never analyzed (Colby, personal communication, 2005). With Dr. Colby's assistance, I have obtained complete transcripts of these interviews from the Murray Research Archive at Harvard University. Since the data comes from a nationally representative sample, these data are especially useful for analysis and generalization. The broad focus of the interviews, incorporating social responsibility in a wide variety of domains, makes this data set particularly suited to secondary analysis.

The MIDUS interviews followed the life history format created by McAdams (1993) and used by McAdams et al. (1997), a semi-structured two to three hour interview in which the respondent is asked to describe key scenes and episodes from his or her life.

The MIDUS interviewers asked respondents to describe their childhood, their families, and their careers in some detail. They then asked respondents to identify and describe a high or peak point in their lives, as well as a low point or nadir. Respondents were asked to identify a person who had a significant impact on their lives, and whether they had any heroes. The MIDUS interviewers asked respondents to define morality and moral courage, and asked them about points in their lives where they had expressed moral courage, as well as points where they failed to act morally. They also asked respondents to describe their religious beliefs and activities, political beliefs and involvement, their volunteering, their charitable giving, and altruistic activities undertaken through their paid employment.

This dissertation uses the coding strategy devised by McAdams et al. (1997), which allows researchers to make quantitative comparisons using life history data. In some cases, McAdams et al. coded for the mere presence or absence of certain themes, such as the feeling of being given a special blessing during childhood, which they hypothesized correctly was a predictor of adult altruism. With other factors, McAdams and his fellow researches coded on a three or four point ordinal scale. This dissertation follows a similar strategy, in coding for the presence and relative importance of the various causal factors and testing their correlations with altruistic behaviors. It is expected that people who do volunteer work or contribute money to charity will be more likely to mention these factors in their life story interviews, and that people who contribute large amounts of time and money to charity will be more likely to mention these factors than people who contribute small amounts.

The interview transcripts were coded for altruistic activity and for mention of the causal factors identified above. It is predicted that altruistic behaviors will correlate with causal factors, providing an extra test of each of the causal hypotheses. Each interview was coded on a scale of 0-2 for specific helping activities, with 0 meaning none, 1 meaning some activities, and 2 meaning significant or high amounts of the activity. Volunteering, secular charitable giving, and religious giving were each coded on this scale. A further outcome variable, measuring altruism or concern for others as expressed through paid work, was coded using the interview data, and this variable has no parallel in the survey questionnaire.

Each of the causal factors for which data was available in the interviews was coded on a zero to two scale. Not all of the factors were mentioned often enough in the interviews to be coded, however. It was possible to code for family of origin factors, empathy, religiosity, generalized reciprocity, moral universalism, and trust, but not generativity and altruistic role identity. Interviewers did not ask about concern for the next generation, and respondents rarely talked about their concern for the next generation spontaneously, so generativity themes were almost never mentioned. Interviewers did ask about altruistic role identity, but as virtually all respondents who engaged in volunteering or charitable giving asserted that this activity had some meaning for their sense of self, there was essentially no variation in the scale.

Finally, the Colby interviews contained questions about heroes, or admired historical or public figures, and role models, or people whom respondents knew personally and who influenced the respondents. This dissertation takes advantage of these questions even though heroes and role models were not part of the original set of

hypotheses. The interviews were coded for whether the respondent mentioned an altruistic role model either in childhood or adulthood, and for whether the respondent mentioned an altruistic hero.

Once the coding of the interview variables was completed, the relationship of the causal and contingent variables to respondents' overall altruistic behaviors was tested using a measure of ordinal bivariate correlations, Somer's D. The results of this analysis are presented in Chapter Three.

Qualitative analysis of interview data:

In addition to numeric coding for hypothesis testing, the interview data were analyzed using a number of interpretive strategies. First, the interview data were used to explain and interpret the results found in hypothesis testing. Where hypotheses were confirmed, the interview data helped ascertain whether the correlations found in the statistical data were an indication of causality. Where hypotheses were not confirmed, the interview data helped explain why supposed causal factors did not correlate, or correlated only weakly, with altruistic behaviors. The interview data also provided descriptive details that showed how the causal factors played out in the lives and altruistic behaviors of individual respondents. The results of these analyses are reported in Chapter Three.

Second, the interview data were examined for information about the development of altruistic behaviors across the life course. An open coding strategy was used, meaning that instead of testing for pre-existing hypotheses, the interview data was analyzed with the goal of finding patterns. The highly altruistic people in the sample were divided into categories according to their motivations and the type of altruistic action engaged in.

Also, the life courses of highly altruistic individuals were compared with the life courses of the least altruistic people in the sample, to see whether the adult development of individuals in these two groups differed in significant ways. The results of these analyses are reported in Chapter Five.

Measures of dependent variables:

The distributions of each of the variables measuring altruistic behavior in the survey data set are highly skewed. Whether one considers volunteering, church giving, or charitable giving, most respondents do none of the activity; many do only a little volunteering or giving, and a few respondents do a lot. Assisting friends and family members through giving money or time is much more common. The rest of this section describes exactly how altruistic and helping behaviors are measured in the MIDUS survey, and gives descriptive statistics for the amount and variation of respondents' participation in altruistic and pro-social behaviors.

The two most common types of altruistic behavior are charitable donations and volunteer work. Some studies have also examined blood donations and decisions to become an organ donor, but MIDUS does not contain measurements of these behaviors. The MIDUS survey does not contain information about altruistic behavior through paid employment, but a measure of this was constructed from information in the interview sub-sample.

MIDUS contains four variables that measure volunteering (SK8a-d). The survey questionnaire asks: "On average, how many hours per month do you spend doing formal volunteering of any of the following types? [If none, enter '0']". Response categories

include “hospital, nursing home, or other health-related volunteer work,” “school or other youth-related volunteer work,” “volunteer work for political organizations or causes,” and “volunteer work for any other cause, organization, or charity.” This study adds three of these together to create an index of the total hours spent on health-related, school/youth, and other volunteer work. The index excludes political volunteer work, as this type of voluntary action is fundamentally different in character and not as altruistic as other types of volunteer work.

Table 2.1: Survey measures of volunteering

Variable name:	Percentage who volunteer	Mean hours/ month*	Standard deviation*	Median hours/ Month*
Volunteering with medical or health institutions	6.5	10.9	15.5	6
Volunteering with youth or educational institutions	20.4	9.6	13.5	5.0
Volunteering with other charitable institutions	28.1	10.2	18.9	5.0
Total charitable volunteering	35.4	13.3	18.0	8.0

* Mean, median, and s.d. calculated only for those who do volunteer.

In a separate portion of the MIDUS survey, respondents are asked whether they are currently “doing volunteer work for 15 or more hours per week (for example, for a social club, political party, or religious group).” The survey also asks whether respondents did this much volunteer work 10 years ago, and whether they expect to be doing this much work 10 years from now (SI1D_1-3). The variable measuring 15 or more hours per week of current volunteering does not correspond exactly with the index of total volunteer hours, as many of the people who answer yes to the question of whether they do spend more than fifteen hours per week volunteering do not list a total of sixty hours per month on the other questions regarding volunteering. Explanations for this discrepancy include the possibility that respondents counted assistance to friends and

family and attendance at meetings of social groups as volunteering, that people overestimated their volunteer hours when answering this question, or that people did not list all their volunteer hours when answering the other questions about volunteering. The 15 hours or more question prompts respondents to include religious volunteering, while the other questions that form the volunteer hours index do not. As religious volunteering is the most common type of volunteering among Americans, it may be that respondents are recalling their total volunteer hours more accurately when they answer the 15 hours or more question. In any case, there is no way to know whether the single-item measure or the index is a better indicator of which people are high-frequency volunteers.

Table 2.2: Survey measures of high frequency volunteering

	Percentage yes:
Volunteer 15+ hours/month now:	10.2
Volunteered 15+ hours/month 10 years ago:	11.2
Plan to volunteer 15+ hours/month 10 years from now:	27.5

Three questions on MIDUS ask respondents "on average, how many dollars per month do you or your family living with you contribute to each of the following people or organizations? If you contribute food, clothing, or other goods, include their dollar value. [If none, enter '0']". Charitable categories consist of "religious groups," "political organizations and causes," and "any other charities, organizations, and causes (including donations made through monthly payroll deductions." Again, I excluded political donations and created a scale variable of the religious and other charitable giving.

Table 2.3: Survey measures of charitable donations

	Percent who give:	Mean $/mo*	Median*	Standard deviation*
Donations to religious institutions	47.1	118.51	50.00	212.87
Donations to other charitable institutions	47.5	54.49	20.00	407.12

* For those who give more than zero.

MIDUS also has a number of questions that measure informal assistance to family members and other individuals. Earlier studies have found a correlation between informal assistance to family members and formal volunteering (Rossi and Rossi, 1990; Smith 2003). This study expects informal assistance to family members and charitable volunteering and giving to correlate at moderate levels, and that the causal factors that predict altruistic behavior will also predict helping behaviors towards family. However, this study assumes that helping strangers is more altruistic than helping friends or family members. If the causal factors mentioned here predict truly altruistic action, they should be more effective predictors of formal volunteering and charitable giving than assistance to family and friends.

Table 2.4: Survey measures of assistance to individuals

	Percent who give:	Mean dollars or hours/ month*	Median dollars or hours/month*	Standard deviation*
Volunteer assistance to individuals	76.2	27.9	82.7	830
Financial assistance to individuals	52.5	214	80	484

* For those who give more than zero.

As a second way to ascertain whether the factors proposed here predict altruistic behavior specifically instead of social behavior in general, this dissertation examines the

relationship between the causal variables and dependent variables measuring membership and attendance at non-altruistic social groups. The MIDUS survey asks, “In a typical month, about how many times do you attend the following? [If none, enter ‘0’]”. The answer categories include religious services and meetings, “meetings of unions or other professional groups,” “meetings of sports and social groups,” and “meetings of any other groups [not including any required by your job]” (SK9c-e). A variable was constructed to measure social involvement based on the latter three categories, and this variable was also coded as a dichotomous variable, with zero corresponding to no meeting attendance, and one corresponding to at least one meeting attended in at least one of the categories. Regressions on the original variable and the dichotomous variable were performed to test whether the variables that predict altruistic behavior are equally effective in predicting other types of voluntary association activity.

Table 2.5: Survey measures of participation in non-altruistic voluntary organizations

Variable:	Percentage of sample who attend	Mean hours/month for those who attend	Median hours/mo, for those who attend	Standard deviation, for those who attend
Union and professional groups	19.2%	2.1	1.0	2.7
Sport and social groups	31.5	3.8	2.0	4.2
All other groups	38.1	3.4	2.0	4.7
Total non-altruistic group participation	48.5	4.8	3.0	5.3

The frequency distributions for all of these variables are highly skewed, with zero being the modal category for all of them. A large number of respondents do no volunteering or charitable giving at all, most respondents who do give money or

volunteer give only small amounts, and a few respondents do extensive volunteer work or make large contributions to charity. This non-normal distribution makes it impossible to use ordinary least squares regression, so two strategies were used to make regression analysis possible. First, each of the dependent variables was transformed into a dichotomous variable, coded zero for those who engage in no charitable giving or volunteering, and one for those who do any at all. Logistic regression was performed on these dichotomous variables to answer the question of what factors motivate people to engage in altruistic activity at all. Tobit regression, the most appropriate type of regression analysis for analyzing truncated or censored interval data (Breen 1996), will be used on the original variables to determine what factors influence the amount of volunteering and charitable giving.

The transcripts from the interview sub-sample contain additional information about amounts of altruistic behavior. Each respondent was asked the amount of volunteering and charitable giving, and their responses were coded on a zero to two scale, with zero equaling no activity, one equaling some activity, and two equaling extensive altruistic activity of that type. The interview data also contained information about altruistic activity through paid employment, a domain not addressed by any survey questions. This measure was coded zero to two as well. A comparison of interview and survey data shows that many respondents reported more volunteering and charitable giving in their interviews than they did on the survey. Rooney et al. (2005) found that respondents typically report more altruistic behavior when given extensive recall prompts, and that these reports are most likely a more accurate measurement of respondents' real altruistic behavior. The discrepancy between the rates of altruism

reported in the interviews and on the surveys is taken here to be an effect of the more extensive prompting done in the interviews, and the interview data are assumed to be a more accurate measure of respondents' true levels of altruistic activity.

The measures of altruistic behaviors across all four domains were combined to generate an overall measure of altruism, ranked on a zero to three scale. Respondents who engaged in no altruistic activity at all were coded zero; those who did very little altruistic activity were coded one; those who did some altruistic activity were coded two, and those who engaged in extensive altruistic behaviors were coded three. To be coded three, or highly altruistic, a respondent had to score two on at least one of the four measures of altruism (volunteering, religious charitable giving, secular charitable giving, and altruism through paid work), and one on at least one of the other measures. Respondents who scored two on one specific measure of altruism but zero on all others, or who scored one on two or more specific measures, were coded two on the total altruism variable, as "somewhat altruistic." Respondents who scored one on one measure were coded one on the total altruism measure, as "slightly altruistic," and respondents who scored zero on all measures were coded zero on the total altruism measure, as "not altruistic."

Table 2.6: Interview data on altruistic behaviors (n = 91):

Variable:	No activity	Some activity	High activity	Coding not possible
Volunteering:	38	34	19	0
Religious giving:	43	32	13	3
Secular giving:	11	70	8	2
Altruism in paid employment:	57	16	18	0

Table 2.7: Interview data on total level of altruistic behavior (n = 91):

No altruistic activity:	7 (7.7%)

Very little activity:	30 (33.0%)
Some activity:	32 (35.2%)
Extensive altruistic activity:	22 (24.2%)

Measures of independent variables:

The MIDUS survey contains questions that can be adapted to measure all of the seven causal variables proposed in this study, and there are multiple possible measurements for many of them. This section describes the MIDUS survey questions that were used to measure these causal factors, gives statistics to describe their frequency distributions, and describes how they were adapted for use in this study.

Causal variable 1 – Family of origin characteristics:

There has been extensive research on the developmental roots of altruistic behavior, with much of this research focusing on parenting styles and parents' characteristics. Parents teach norms of obligation and helping, and model altruistic behaviors by example. Also, as Oliner and Oliner have stated (1988), parental affection and discipline are associated with adult altruism, presumably through the teaching of norms of caring and duty. MIDUS measurements of family of origin factors that affect adult moral norms include a measurement of how important religion was in the respondent's family of origin (SE6), and the amount of chores (SE10) and rules about the use of time (SE11) they were given. MIDUS has separate questions for each parent on affection, discipline, and modeling of generosity (SE 13-16).

Table 2.8: Survey family of origin variables

Variable:	Variable type (all are measured on a 1-4 scale)	Mean	S.D.
Family of origin religiosity	Single item measure	3.19	.86
Amount of chores	Single item measure	3.05	.78
Amount of time-use rules	Single item measure	2.80	.85
Maternal discipline	4-item index	2.92	.64
Paternal discipline	4-item index	2.87	.78
Maternal affection	5-item index	3.13	.69
Paternal affection	5-item index	2.74	.80
Maternal generosity towards non-family members	1-item measure	3.35	.79
Paternal generosity	1-item measure	3.19	.87
Whether respondent lived with both parents at age 16	Yes/no	76.7% yes	n/a
Whether parents used authoritative parenting	Yes/no	30.7% yes	n/a

The interviews also contained extensive information about respondents' childhoods, but much of this information was problematic in that interviewers were not consistent in how much and what kind of information they solicited. The inconsistencies in interview questions made it impossible to come up with consistent and accurate measures of parental discipline or affection. Most interviews did, however, contain information about parental modeling of generosity and family of origin religiosity. A large number of respondents volunteered information about childhood experiences of abuse and neglect, making it possible to code for childhood abuse or neglect, and test whether this relates to adult altruism.

Table 2.9: Interview data on family of origin characteristics (n = 91):

Variable:	No value on this trait	Some value on this trait	High value on this trait	Coding not possible
Parental generosity	52	21	13	5
Family of origin	12	43	33	3

religiosity				

Table 2.10: Interview data on abuse or neglect in childhood (n = 91):

Variable:	No mention	Physical, emotional, or sexual abuse	Parental alcoholism and/or neglect	Coding not possible
Abuse/neglect:	69	11	10	1

Hypothesis 1: Family of origin characteristics affect adult altruistic behavior, through the creation of personality traits and moral norms that motivate altruistic action. Previous research has asserted that authoritative parenting, or parenting that is strong in both affection and discipline, is a developmental cause of adult altruistic behavior (Oliner and Oliner, 1988). The connection between one's own religious beliefs and practices and those of one's parents is obvious. Parents' generosity is also assumed to predict children's generosity in adulthood, because of teaching through modeling. Rossi (2001) has already explored these relationships in some depth, using the MIDUS survey data. This dissertation attempts to replicate her findings and to relate them to the other causal factors.

Parental affection: Rossi found that parental affection motivates adult altruism because people with affectionate parents are happier and more extraverted, both of which contribute to increased membership in social networks, and make it more likely that respondents will be asked to give money or volunteer. Parental affection also helps develop empathy by providing a good model for caring behaviors.

Parental discipline: Rossi found that high discipline is correlated with adult altruism, and speculated that parental discipline causes children to grow up to be more

self-disciplined and active, and gives them stronger norms of obligation and duty in adulthood.

Parental religiosity: Individuals who grow up in religious households are more likely to be religious as adults, and a religious upbringing also instills norms of obligation and helping.

Parental modeling of generosity: Rossi found that parents who were generous to individuals outside the family had more generous children, and she theorized that generous parents teach their children to be altruistic by example.

Abuse or neglect in childhood: While no prior research addresses the relationship between abuse or neglect during childhood and altruism, it is hypothesized here that the relationship would most likely be negative. Respondents who suffered from abuse or neglect during childhood would have difficulty developing as healthy adults, and would be less likely to help others. However, it is also possible that respondents who were abused or neglected as children might engage in helping others as a form of therapy or compensation for the aftereffects of abuse.

In regards to gender and life stage differences, it seems plausible that parental factors might influence men and women differently, and that these factors may change in importance or influence over the life course. This research is exploratory, however, and no prior hypotheses are offered about how gender or life events may affect the influence of family of origin factors on adult characteristics and behaviors.

Finally, readers should note that the relationship between parenting styles and children's characteristics and personality traits goes both ways. Parents have a profound effect on their children, of course, but children also change and influence their parents.

Different personality traits and characteristics among children lead parents to adopt different parenting styles. As there is no way, using the MIDUS data, to disentangle the different causal effects, it is simply assumed here that parental characteristics have a causal effect on children's personalities, and causal effects in the other direction are not considered.

Causal variable 2 - Empathy:

Empathy is a personality characteristic, defined as the extent to which an individual can and does put oneself in the place of another and feel what that person feels. Empathic feelings can motivate a person to help (McAdams et al. 1997), but can also motivate a person to avoid unpleasant feelings by avoiding the sight of suffering rather than helping, as the experiments of Batson (1981, 1986) have demonstrated. Whether a person reacts by helping or escaping depends on a number of personal factors, including their moral perspective and sense of obligation, and also depends on a number of situational factors. Empathy is generated by a combination of genetic predispositions and early childhood experiences, and has been found to be more or less constant during adult life (Eisenberg, Reykowski, and Staub, 1989; Eisenberg and Mussen, 1989; Lapsley 1996; Eisenberg and Fabes, 1998; Rossi 2001).

The MIDUS survey instrument has a list of thirty words, and asks respondents to state "how much each of these words describes you," on a scale coded 1 = "a lot," 2 = "some," 3 = "a little," and 4 = "not at all" (SF4a-dd). There are five words on the list that relate to the respondent's qualities of empathy: helpful, warm, caring, softhearted, and sympathetic. The MIDUS dataset contains a scale variable of respondents' self-ratings on

the five empathy-related words, which is reverse coded so that high numbers indicate high levels of empathy, and is divided by five, so that the scale's lowest and highest values are 1 and 4. The MIDUS scale was developed by Rossi (2001:246-7) as a condensed version of existing scales that measure empathy.

A second set of questions gives respondents a list of words and asks them to evaluate, on a 0-10 scale, "how well these characteristics describe you now, how well they described you 10 years ago, and how well you think they will describe you 10 years from now" (SF5). One word on this list is "caring," and while this single-item measure is a less effective measurement of empathy than the five-item scale, it has the advantage of accounting for perceived changes in empathy over time.

Table 2.11: Survey measures of empathy and caring

Variable:	Mean	S.D.
Empathy index (1-4 scale)	3.48	.49
Present caring (0-10 scale)	8.6	1.6
Past caring (0-10)	8.1	2.1
Future caring (0-10)	8.7	1.7

The interview data were coded for empathy using the strategy developed by McAdams et al. (1997). Respondents were scored for the number of empathy-inducing experiences they recalled during childhood and during adult life. The interviewers did not ask specifically about empathy, and interview respondents mentioned empathy experiences fairly rarely, as the table below demonstrates.

Table 2.12: Interview data on empathy experiences (n = 91):

Variable:	No mention	Some mention	Frequent and/or significant mention
Empathy experience in childhood	84	6	1
Empathy experience as adult	75	8	8

Total empathy experiences	70	12	9

Hypothesis 2: Respondents who score high on the empathy scale will be more likely to engage in altruistic behaviors. Numerous studies have documented a relationship between empathy and altruistic behavior, and it is expected that this study will find a correlation as well. Where this study breaks new ground is the study of how empathy operates differently in males and females and across the life course. This research is exploratory, so there is no prior hypothesis about whether the effect of empathy on altruism is likely to increase or decrease with age.

Causal variable 3 – Religion: Overall, religious people engage in more volunteering and charitable giving than non-religious people, for several reasons. First, all religions value helping others, so religious people are likely to have values that motivate them towards charitable activity. Second, religious institution membership brings people into social networks, in which it is likely they will be asked to give of their money and time.

A number of MIDUS variables measure religiosity. There are two questions about the number of religious services the respondent attends (SK9a and SR4), one question about the number of religious meetings (SK9b), and four questions about the subjective intensity and importance of religion and spirituality. These four variables were highly correlated, so they were combined into a single index measuring subjective religious feeling (Cronbach's alpha = .875). The MIDUS survey asks respondents to name their religious denomination (SR1), and asks Christian respondents whether they are born

again Christians (SR7) and whether they consider the Bible to be the literal word of God (SR8).

Table 2.13: Survey measures of religiosity

Variable description:	Mean	S.D.
Religious services attendance (times per month)	2.26	3.05
Religious meeting attendance (times per month)	0.7	1.76
Felt importance and intensity of religion and spirituality (4-item index, 1-4 scale)	2.57	.24

For this study, all Christians were classified as either Protestants or Catholics, except for Jehovah's Witnesses and members of the Church of the Latter Day Saints (Mormons), who were placed in the "other" category. Members of any Christian religion were asked whether they were fundamentalist or born-again Christians. Most of the respondents who answered yes to these questions were Protestants, but there were also Catholics, Mormons, and Jehovah's Witnesses who described themselves as born-again or fundamentalist Christians.

Table 2.14: Survey measures of denomination and religious conservatism:

Denomination or characteristic:	Percentage:
No religion (includes missing and don't know responses)	12.6
Protestant	52.2
Catholic	27.6
Jewish	3.0
Jehovah's Witness and LDS (Mormon)	1.9
Other (includes Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist)	2.7
Born-again Christian	31.5
Fundamentalist	20.7

The interview data were coded for three variables related to religiosity: frequency of religious services attendance, subjective importance of religion, and the extent to which respondents equated religion with helping or caring for others. A comparison of the distributions of the survey measure of subjective religiosity and the interview measure

shows much more variation in the interview measure, implying that the interview coding may be a more accurate measure of subjective religiosity than the survey index.

Table 2.15: Interview data on religiosity (n = 91):

Variable:	No value on this trait	Some value on this trait	High value on this trait	Coding not possible
Religious attendance	36	31	23	1
Subjective religiosity	8	53	30	0
Religion equated with altruism	59	19	13	0

Hypothesis 3 – Religious feeling and religious attendance foster altruistic behavior through internalized norms of helping and through membership in recruitment networks. Variables measuring attendance at religious services and meetings, and variables measuring the felt importance and intensity of religion and spirituality should all predict with higher levels of altruistic activity.

Causal variable 4 - Generalized reciprocal obligation:

Using social exchange theory (Blau 1964), this dissertation predicts that people who see themselves as particularly fortunate, and who view that good fortune as a gift, are more likely to engage in altruistic behaviors, because they see altruistic action as a way of discharging their obligation to reciprocate for the gift of good fortune or blessing that they have received. As this feeling of reciprocal obligation is based on a subjective feeling of good fortune, it may not correlate strongly with objective measurements of success, such as income. A person may be wealthy but not feel especially fortunate, because his or her peers are wealthy too. A person may also view his or her wealth as

earned or an entitlement, not a gift. Conversely, a person may be relatively poor in material things, but may consider his or her life to be fortunate or blessed in personal, emotional, and spiritual ways.

There are three components that make up general reciprocity as a source of altruism: the feeling that one is well-off in life, the perception that this well-off status is a gift or blessing, and the feeling that receiving a gift or blessing obligates one to reciprocate. MIDUS contains a number of measures of respondents' subjective feeling of well-being, and of their obligation to perform moral actions, but does not have any measure of the extent to which respondents feel fortunate or blessed. The limitations of the survey data make it impossible to measure this second aspect of general reciprocity, but it is possible to measure this through coding of the interview data.

MIDUS has a large number of questions about happiness and life satisfaction, including questions on general satisfaction with life (SF1B), quality of life overall (ST1), quality of life 10 years ago (ST2), and expected quality of life 10 years from now (ST3). MIDUS has several questions about satisfaction with finances (SJ1, SJ4, SJ6), and a question about how the respondent's current financial situation compares with the financial situation of his or her parents (SE9). There are also series of questions about satisfaction with one's marriage (SP1-38), sexual life (SQ1-8), and family situation (SM2-9), but for the purposes of this study the single-item life satisfaction questions (SF1B, ST1-3) should be adequate.

Table 2.16: Survey measures of life satisfaction

Variable description:	Mean	S.D.
Satisfaction with life (1-7 scale)	5.6	1.1
Satisfaction with life 10 years ago (0-10 scale)	7.2	2.0
Satisfaction with life now (0-10 scale)	7.6	1.7
Satisfaction with life 10 years from now (0-10 scale)	8.2	1.7
Satisfaction with finances, 10 years ago (0-10 scale)	5.8	2.3
Satisfaction with finances now (0-10 scale)	6.0	2.2
Satisfaction with finances 10 years from now (0-10 scale)	7.3	2.0
R's finances compared with parents' at R's age (1-7 scale)	4.5	1.8

I hypothesized that respondents who saw their happiness and financial success as improving over time might consider themselves particularly fortunate, so I used the measures above to construct change indexes. Each of these is scored on a range from -10 to +10, and are normally distributed.

Table 2.17: Survey measures of change in life satisfaction

Variable description:	Mean	S.D.
Difference between current and past satisfaction with life	0.5	2.1
Difference between future and current satisfaction with life	0.6	1.6
Difference between current and past satisfaction with finances	0.2	2.9
Difference between future and current satisfaction with finances	1.3	2.2

The theory of generalized reciprocal obligation predicts that people who are happy, and who see this happiness as a gift, will feel obligated to reciprocate to society. MIDUS has nineteen measurements of felt obligations to kin, to friends, to one's employer, to civic institutions, and to help others in general, through volunteering or collecting money for charity. Factor analysis suggested five scales: obligations to family (five variables), friends (three variables), work (three variables), civic institutions (four variables), and to others in general (four variables). One variable, measuring one's obligation to take an unemployed or divorced child back into one's home, did not correlate strongly with any factor, so it was not included in any of the five scales. Finally,

a factor scale of the nineteen obligations was constructed as a standardized measurement of each individual's overall sense of moral obligation.

Table 2.18: Survey measures of moral obligations

	Mean	S.D.
Family obligations (0-10 index)	8.3	1.7
Friend obligations (0-10 index)	6.4	2.3
Work obligations (0-10 index)	7.6	1.8
Civic obligations (0-10 index)	7.7	2.0
Altruistic obligations (0-10 index)	5.7	2.3
Total obligations (factor scale)	0	1

The survey data only measure happiness and moral obligation, and do not measure respondents' feelings that their happiness is a gift or the connection that respondents might make between their good fortune and an obligation to reciprocate. The interview data help with one of these measures, as many respondents described one or more events in their lives as a type of good fortune, good luck, or blessing. On the other hand, the interviews contain only a few examples of respondents making a specific link between good fortune or blessings and an obligation to give back. The interviewers did not specifically ask about this any obligation to give back to society, so the fact that respondents rarely mentioned an obligation to give back without prompting does not necessarily disprove the theory of general reciprocity.

Table 2.19: Interview data on experiences of good fortune or blessing (n = 91):

Variable:	No mention	Some mention	Frequent mention	Coding not possible
Good fortune in childhood	72	14	4	1
Good fortune in adulthood	26	50	14	1
Total good fortune	23	43	24	1

Hypothesis 4: Respondents who feel fortunate or blessed in their lives will feel an obligation to reciprocate to God or society for this good fortune or blessing, and are more likely to undertake altruistic action.

This dissertation tests the relationship of each of the single-item measures for life satisfaction and happiness to altruistic behaviors. It also tests the relationship between altruistic behaviors and variables measuring perceptions of the change over time in quality of life between ten years ago and the present, and expected improvement or worsening of quality of life ten years into the future. Changes in happiness over time may be a better measure of a feeling of good fortune than the measure of current happiness. If respondents feel that their current financial situation is better than their parents' financial situation when they were growing up, that their current financial situation is better than their situation ten years ago, or that their quality of life now is better than their quality of life ten years age, they may view this improvement as a type of good fortune. Similarly, if respondents expect that their quality of life ten years from now will be better than it is now, this may indicate that they view their life as fortunate, as they expect their quality of life to be continually improving.

Both current life satisfaction and improvement in life satisfaction will be included in the model, and the relationship of these two factors with altruistic behaviors will be tested. If my theory is correct, then both current life satisfaction and improvement in life satisfaction should be correlated with altruistic behaviors. If current life satisfaction is predictive but improvement in life satisfaction is not, it may be that other factors associated with life happiness, such as an outgoing personality, better health, or increased

social networks, are the reason that happiness encourages altruistic behavior, not general reciprocity.

Causal variable 5 - Universalistic moral perspective:

Monroe (1996) studied several disparate types of highly altruistic people, and found that the factor they all had in common was a universalistic moral perspective. These individuals defined all human beings as members of their moral community, to whom they owed obligations of help and support. This moral universalism sets highly altruistic people off from the rest of the population, as most people limit the number of people to whom they owe moral obligations. They feel the greatest obligation to close family members, less obligation to friends and distant kin, and little or no obligation to help strangers. Monroe was not able to determine how altruistic individuals came to develop their universalistic moral perspective, and speculated that moral universalism may have different causes in different individuals.

While the MIDUS survey did not contain direct measures of moral universalism, factor analysis of all nineteen variables measuring moral obligations revealed two main factors. All of the obligations load positively to some degree on the first factor, which is used as a measurement of the respondent's overall sense of moral obligation. Obligations to civic institutions and altruistic actions load positively on the second factor, while obligations to friends and family load negatively, making the second factor a measure of moral universalism.

The interview data also do not contain direct measures of moral universalism. While respondents were asked to define both "morality" and "moral courage," they were

not asked to whom they owed a moral obligation, and only a few respondents made spontaneous comments about moral universalism or particularism. However, it was possible to obtain a type of measurement of moral universalism from respondents' answers to a question about community. Each of the respondents was asked to name and describe any communities that they belonged to, and I assigned a numerical code to the number of communities outside of family that each respondent named. A respondent who belonged to two or three communities outside of his or her family would have a broader range of people to whom he or she owed moral obligations than a person who only belonged to one community, or no communities. This measure is problematic, as it also seems to measure trust or social integration, but it should serve as at least an approximate measure of moral universalism.

Table 2.20: Interview data on moral universalism (n = 91):

Variable:	None mentioned	One mentioned	Two	Three	Four	Coding not possible
Number of communities:	19	37	19	11	3	2

Hypothesis 5. Respondents who have high feelings of moral obligation towards non-kin will engage in more altruistic behaviors than those who feel high feelings of moral obligation only towards family members. One measure of moral universalism is the respondent's score on the obligations scales that measure obligations to civic institutions and to others in general. These scales should correlate more strongly with altruistic behavior than the scales measuring obligation to friends, employers, and family. The factor scale constructed from the second component in principal components analysis is a direct measure of moral universalism, as it corresponds to the ratio between

obligations to distant others (civic and altruistic obligations) and near others (family and friend obligations).

Causal variable 6 - Altruistic role identity:

Numerous studies have found that individuals who engage in volunteering and charitable giving generally increase their involvement over time. Piliavin and Callero developed role identity theory to explain this phenomenon, stating that people who frequently give blood or do volunteer work integrate these activities into their self-conception, and increasingly and persistently seek out opportunities to engage in these activities (Callero 1985; Callero, Howard, and Piliavin 1987; Charng, Piliavin, and Callero 1988; Piliavin 1989; Piliavin and Callero 1991; Lee, Piliavin, and Call, 1999).

Role identity theory may be one explanation of why numerous studies have found that volunteering has a curvilinear relationship with age, reaching a peak in late middle age and declining in the late years of life (Herzog, Kahn, and Morgan, 1989; Wilson, 1998; Ladd, 1999; Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2004). Role identity theory would predict that volunteering decreases only because of individuals declining access to social networks upon retirement and declines in health, not because they lose the motivation to volunteer. One study (Wilson 1998) did in fact find that when these factors were controlled for, age no longer correlated negatively with volunteering among the elderly.

Hypothesis 6: Volunteers and charitable donors develop an altruistic role identity, which causes them to increase their altruistic activities throughout the life course. There is no MIDUS variable that corresponds exactly to altruistic role identity, but several other variables make it possible to test for the accuracy of role identity theory. If role identity

theory is correct, past altruistic activity and plans to engage in altruistic activity in the future should correlate with current altruistic activity. MIDUS does not have a variable measuring past and future charitable giving, but it does have time variables for volunteering (SI1D_1-3), caring (SF5J-L), and making contributions to the welfare of others (SK1-3).

Table 2.21: Survey measures of altruistic role identity

Variable description:	Variable type:	Mean (or % yes)	S.D.
15+ hrs/week volunteering 10 years ago	Yes/no	11.2	n/a
15 + hrs/week volunteering now	Yes/no	10.2	n/a
15+ hrs/week volunteering 10 years from now	Yes/no	27.5	n/a
How caring R was 10 years ago	0-10 scale	8.1	2.1
How caring R is now	0-10 scale	8.6	1.6
How caring R expects to be 10 years from now	0-10 scale	8.7	1.7
Current minus past caring	-10 to 10 scale	0.6	1.6
Future minus current caring	-10 to 10 scale	0.8	1.1
R's contributions to others 10 years ago	0-10 scale	6.1	2.4
R's contributions to others now	0-10 scale	6.6	2.2
R's contributions to others 10 years from now	0-10 scale	6.9	2.3
Current minus past helping	-10 to 10 scale	0.5	2.0
Future minus past helping	-10 to 10 scale	0.4	1.7

Past volunteering is an imperfect measure of altruistic role identity. Past volunteering might indicate the presence of an altruistic role identity, but it may also indicate that some unmeasured third factor, unrelated to altruistic role identity, caused volunteering in the past and in the present. Planned future volunteering is a better measure, as individuals' future plans are based on their current sense of values and identity. Past, present, and future measures on caring and contribution to others also measure altruistic role identity, in that they measure how a person thinks of himself or

herself over a twenty-year time span. Consistently high scores on all six measures would indicate a person who considers himself or herself very caring and generous, indicating an altruistic role identity. Also, increases in these scores over time may indicate altruistic role identity, as respondents with increasing scores see themselves as becoming more and more caring or helpful as time goes on, indicating that they value these traits and are cultivating them in themselves.

It was not possible to generate an effective measure of altruistic role identity from the interview data. While the interviewers consistently asked whether the respondents' volunteer work and other charitable activities were important to their sense of self, respondents consistently answered that it was, making this measure of altruistic role identity a constant, not a variable, in the interview data. There was no clear way to code their responses to this question to come up with gradations in how strongly respondents felt a sense of role identity. Occasionally respondents volunteered that they thought of themselves as particularly helpful or generous people, but there were so few respondents who did so (less than five of the ninety-one interview respondents) that statistical analysis of this variable was not possible.

Causal Variable 7 – Generativity:

An alternate explanation for the increase in altruistic behavior over much of the adult life course is generativity theory. Erik Erikson (1980 [1959]) posited the existence of seven stages in individuals' lives, each of which focused on the challenge to achieve a particular life goal. The first three stages occur in childhood; the second stages, which involve the attempt to form an adult identity and achieve intimacy with another

individual in marriage, form the fourth and fifth life stages. By mid-adulthood, one has entered the sixth stage, in which the challenge is to achieve "generativity" instead of sinking into "stagnation." The generative life stage is the longest of all the life stages, taking up the majority of one's adult years. Individuals enter this life stage once they have successfully completed the two earlier adult life stages, and have resolved their struggles to assert their identity and achieve intimacy with another person. They then begin to look beyond the self, a process stimulated by their growing awareness of their impending mortality, and a process encouraged by cultural and social norms.

As McAdams points out (1998:7), Erikson referred to generativity in a variety of ways: "as an instinctive 'drive,' a 'need,' a 'motive,' a psychological 'issue,' a 'trait' on which people differ, a 'stage' in development, and a criterion of psychological 'adaptation' and 'maturity.' McAdams breaks down Erikson's concept of generativity into a set of individual characteristics, which include motivations, concern, commitment, beliefs, actions, and narration (1998:9). He defines generativity as "the concern for and commitment to promoting the next generation, through parenting, teaching, mentoring, and generating products and outcomes that aim to benefit youth and foster the development and well-being of individuals and social systems that will outlive the self" (1998:xx). While the concept of generativity is thus a very broad one, one can narrow the concept slightly in a study of altruism, to those aspects of generativity that might motivate an individual to volunteer work and charitable giving. Specifically, generativity theory predicts that levels of volunteer work and charitable giving should increase in middle adulthood and decrease in old age, as individuals move out of the generative stage

into the final life stage. Generativity theory also predicts that individuals high in generative motivations will be more likely to engage in altruistic behaviors.

The MIDUS survey used a generative personality scale (SK6a-f) that the authors of the survey adapted from McAdams' Loyola Generativity Scale (McAdams and de St. Aubin, 1992, 1998). The MIDUS authors shrunk McAdams' scale from twenty questions to six, but used the same wording and response categories. The generativity section of the MIDUS questionnaire asks respondents, "to what extent do each of the following statements describe you?" Respondents are given four response choices, "a lot," "some," "a little," and "not at all." The statements were:

a. Others would say that you have made unique contributions to society.

b. You have important skills you can pass along to others.

c. Many people come to you for advice.

d. You feel that other people need you.

e. You have had a good influence on the lives of many people.

f. You like to teach things to people.

I reverse coded the scale so that 4 represented the highest agreement with generativity, and created an index of the mean response to all six questions. The mean value on this scale is 2.83, and the standard deviation is .63.

This scale is problematic in that it measures respondents' perceptions of both motivation and their behaviors, so that parts of the scale measure altruistic behaviors (questions a, c, and e in particular). It would hardly be surprising, then, if one measurement of altruistic behaviors (the generativity scale) correlates strongly with other measures of altruistic behaviors (volunteering and charitable giving). Other survey

measurements of generativity also mix measurements of motivation and behaviors (McAdams and de St. Aubin, 1998). Peterson (1998) does measure motivation and action separately, but his methods are useful only for the analysis of qualitative life survey data, as he did not generate a questionnaire that could be used in survey research. The authors of the MIDUS study adapted all of the MIDUS survey questions on personality traits from existing psychological instruments, and they followed existing convention in measuring generative motivations and behaviors using the same scale.

Despite the fact that the questions on the generativity scale measure two different aspects of generativity, the questions are highly correlated with one another (Cronbach's alpha = .842), and factor analysis of the generativity scale revealed only one factor. Even so, I developed separate sub-indexes for generativity, one of generative motivations (incorporating questions SK6b, d, and f), and another of generative actions (incorporating questions SKa, c, and e). While conceptually distinct, these two scales were highly correlated with one another (r = .695), and had nearly identical levels of correlation with altruistic behaviors. While I still consider the distinction between generative motivation and action to be conceptually important, this conceptual distinction has no support in the empirical data. Accordingly, I used the full generativity index in all further analyses, and did not use the motivation and behaviors subscales.

It was not possible to code the interview data for generativity. Interviewers did not ask about concerns for the next generation, and respondents rarely volunteered that concern for future generations was a motive for their altruistic work. While the interview data does not support the generativity hypothesis, they also do not disprove it, as the fact

that respondents rarely mentioned generative concerns as a motive for their behavior may only reflect the fact that they were not asked.

Hypothesis 7: Respondents who score high in generativity will be more likely to engage in altruistic behaviors. The generativity scale should correlate strongly with altruistic behavior.

Causal Variable 8. Altruistic heroes and role models:

While the original theory proposed for this dissertation did not include hypotheses about altruistic heroes and role models, the MIDUS interviewers asked each participant in the life history interviews to name and describe two significant people in their lives. The availability of this data made it possible to code and test for an additional hypothesis, whether having an altruistic role model or hero motivates people to become altruistic. Three types of role models or heroes were coded for: role models, or people who the respondents knew personally, in childhood, role models in adulthood, and heroes, or people who the respondents did not know personally, either in childhood or adulthood. While the number of respondents mentioning role models or heroes in each of these individual categories was small, the total number of role models or heroes mentioned was relatively large, making possible statistical analysis of the correlation between altruistic heroes and role models and altruistic behavior.

Table 2.22: Interview data on altruistic heroes and role models (n = 91):

Variable:	No mention	One role model/hero	Two or more role models/heroes	Coding not possible
Childhood role models	64	19	3	5
Adult role models	71	12	3	5
Heroes	75	12	1	3
Total role models/heroes	45	27	14	5

Contextual variables:

A number of contextual factors may influence altruistic behavior, as they increase or decrease the likelihood of being recruited, or make it more or less feasible for people to volunteer or give money. These factors act independently of individuals' basic motivations to do altruistic activities.

Ascriptive variables:

Race and ethnicity: Prior research has found that whites volunteer and donate to charity more than non-whites, but that this is probably a function of whites' greater income, education, and social networks, not a greater motivation to help others (Independent Sector 1996; Musick, Wilson, and Bynum, 2000; Smith 2003; Bureau of Labor Statistics 2004). The MIDUS variable for race has been split into dummy variables for black, Native American, Asian, multiracial, and other, with white being the omitted category. MIDUS has no variable for Hispanic ethnicity, so one was constructed using the MIDUS question about respondents' ancestors' country of origin, coding as Hispanic all those respondents who listed a Latin American country as their ancestors' primary country of origin. Race variables are used here as a control, with the expectation that they

will not be significant once other variables which correlate with race are controlled for, such as wealth, income, education, prestige, and social networks.

The MIDUS survey is intended to be a representative sample of the U.S. population aged 25-75. While representative on gender, the sample is not representative on race and ethnicity, having a larger percentage of non-Hispanic whites and a smaller percentage of minorities than the U.S. population. It is unfortunate that the sample is not representative of the population on race and ethnicity, as the small size of some of these groups makes it difficult to analyze statistical data related to them. The number of Native Americans is so small (n = 25) that Native Americans are effectively missing from the sample. The categories of "multiracial" and "other" are small and of unclear composition, so dummy variables for these categories were not included in the analysis, effectively placing these respondents in the same category as whites.

Table 2.23: Race and gender of the sample compared with census data

Characteristic	Population percentage (1990 census)	Population percentage (2000 census)	Sample percentage	Number of cases
Sex (male/female)	48.7/51.3	49.1/50.9	50.0/50.0	1844/1846
White, non-Hispanic	80.3	75.1	88.8	3128
Black	12.1	12.3	6.2	230
Asian	2.9	3.7	1.5	56
Native American	0.8	0.9	0.7	25
Multiracial	*	2.4	0.8	31
Other race	3.9	5.5	2.5	94
Hispanic	9.0	12.5	2.8	102

* Not a category in 1990.

Age: The age of the sample ranges from 25 to 74; the mean age is 47, and the standard deviation is 13.3.

Income and wealth: Wealth and income should be positively correlated with charitable donations. It should also be correlated with volunteering, albeit less strongly. Wealth and income are indicators of status and position in the community, and people of higher status are more likely to be asked to give money and volunteer. An advantage of MIDUS over other surveys is that it has wealth measures (SJ14-15) as well as income measures (SJ8-13). It is useful to have this additional information for all respondents, but is particularly important in the study of charitable donations made by retirees, as some retired people have relatively high amounts of wealth but relatively low incomes.

Education: Education should be positively correlated with volunteering, as educated people have more skills and are therefore more often asked. MIDUS does not have an interval measure of the highest year in school completed, so a four-point ordinal scale was used instead, where 1 = less than high school, 2 = high school diploma, 3 = some college, and 4 = college degree or more.

Table 2.24: Survey measures of socioeconomic status

Variable description:	Variable type:	Mean	S.D.
Education level	4-point ordinal scale	2.86	.98
Wealth	Amount in thousands of dollars	123.1	209.1
Income	Amount in thousands of dollars	66.3	53.4
Occupational prestige	Interval scale, ranked 8 (lowest) to 80.	39.5	14.1
Education	12-pt ordinal scale	6.9	2.6

Social networks and community integration:

Membership in social networks should correlate with volunteering and charitable giving for several reasons. First, the more social contacts a person has, the more likely that person is to be asked to volunteer or contribute to charity. Second, individuals who

are strongly attached to a community have a strong personal stake in the well-being of that community.

The MIDUS survey contains questions about contact with neighbors, satisfaction with one's community, home ownership, meeting attendance, and length of residence in one's home. Number of years spent living in one's current residence had no correlation with any of the altruistic behavior measures, and so this was not included in the analysis. The twelve questions about satisfaction with one's community were combined into a single index, with values ranging from 1 to 4 (Cronbach's alpha = .857). The questions about meeting attendance asked how many labor union or professional association meetings the respondent had attended in the last month, how many sports or social club meetings, and how many other meetings, and I combined these into a single variable.

Prior research has shown that married people and people with children in the household volunteer more often, both because of their expanded social networks and because their own children benefit from the volunteer work that they perform for schools, youth groups, sports teams, and other groups to which their children belong. The MIDUS survey contained a number of questions about family composition, which were condensed into three dummy variables: one for being in a long-term romantic union (marriage or cohabitation), one for having any children, and one for having minor children living with the respondent.

Labor force status affects charitable giving and volunteering in several ways. Employed people have less time than unemployed people to do volunteer work, but are more likely to be asked to volunteer because of the social networks that they access through their jobs, and because they are seen as more skillful and desirable volunteers.

Employment increases the likelihood of charitable giving through access to social networks and through increased income. Some research indicates that part-time workers volunteer more than full-time workers, as part-time workers have access to recruitment networks though work, but enough free time to volunteer. The MIDUS survey contains a number of questions about labor force participation, and these were simplified to two: a dummy variable for being in the labor force (employed, self-employed, looking for work, on temporary leave, or laid-off) or not (unemployed and not looking for work, student, retired, homemaker, and disabled), and an interval variable for hours worked.

Table 2.25: Survey measures of social networks and community integration

Variable description:	Variable type:	Mean or % yes	S.D.
Frequency of contact with neighbors	2-item index, range 1-6	4.0	1.3
Owns home	Yes/no	72.9% yes	n/a
Years living at current residence	Interval	12.7	12.9
Satisfaction with community	12-item index	3.43	.47
Number of meetings attended	Interval	2.2	3.5
Currently married or cohabiting	Yes/no	68.1%	n/a
Any minor children in household	Yes/no	37.3%	n/a
Total number of children (minors or adults, resident or not)	Interval	2.2	1.7
Any children (dummy)	Yes/no	81.1%	n/a
In labor force	Yes/no	76.6%	n/a

Ability to engage in volunteer work:

Two factors, health and amount of free time, may affect respondents' ability to do volunteer work, but should have no effect on their amount of charitable giving. Amount of free time is measured here only by the time respondents spend in paid work. While membership in the labor force should increase one's likelihood of volunteering, given

that work contacts are an additional social network that increases one's likelihood of being recruited to volunteer or give to charity, the number of hours spent working should correlate negatively with volunteer work, given that people only have limited amounts of time to devote to paid and volunteer work.

Table 2.26: Survey measures of work hours and health

Variable description:	Variable type:	Mean	S.D.
Hours worked per week	Interval	32.9	22.3
Mental health	1-5 scale	3.5	.99
Physical health	1-5 scale	3.7	.95
Overall health (mean of mental and physical health)	1-5 scale	3.6	.85

Trust:

The MIDUS survey contains fifteen questions about trust in others (SK17A-O). Factor analysis revealed that these loaded on two major factors: one measuring trust in the world or other people in general (SK17A, E, H, I, J, and M), and another measuring trust in one's particular community of residence (SK17B, F, and K). Five other questions loaded on three other factors; these questions asked about the respondent's contribution to his or her community (SK17D, G, and O), opinion of human nature (SK17C and N), or ability to predict the future of society (SK17L). These questions were not included in either measure of trust.

Table 2.27: Survey measures of trust

Variable description:	Variable type:	Mean	S.D.	Cronbach's alpha
Trust in world/other people in general	6-item index	4.6	1.5	.764
Trust in one's local community	3-item index	4.1	1.7	.730

Trust in the world and trust in one's community are both normal in distribution, and correlate with each other at R = .343.

Institution-specific trust: While the survey only contained general measures of trust, respondents in the interview sample often mentioned their lack of trust in religious institutions and sometimes mentioned a lack of trust in charitable institutions. So few mentioned lack of trust in charities that an effective measure of this would not be possible, but enough spontaneously mentioned lack of trust in religion that it was possible to code for this factor and test its relationship with altruistic behaviors.

Table 2.28: Interview data on institution-specific trust (n = 91):

Variable:	No mention	Some mention
Distrust of charities:	83	8
Distrust of organized religion:	72	19

Life course stages:

While this dissertation only studies the first wave of the MIDUS sample, some information about changes in altruistic behavior through the life course can be ascertained even though the data is cross-sectional. The respondents in the sample were divided into five life stages, according to family and employment status. The first stage contains single adults under the age of fifty with no children. The second consists of married adults under age fifty with no children, and the third stage contains people with children under age eighteen, regardless of marital status. The fourth stage contains adults still in the labor force whose children have left the household, and the fifth stage contains adults with grown children who have left the labor force. The sample was divided at age fifty to separate young adults without children from adults who had passed the age of childbearing without having children. Only one hundred and twenty adults in the sample were over fifty and had no children, and they were evenly distributed among adults still

in the labor force and retirees. Since the categories were also divided by gender, there were only about thirty people in each sub-category, too small a number for regression analysis, and these respondents were excluded from the sample in the analysis of life stage differences.

Table 2.29: Number and mean age of respondents in each life course stage:

	MEN:		WOMEN:	
	N	Mean age	N	Mean age
Stage 1 (Unmarried, no children)	227	33.9	167	33.5
Stage 2 (Married, no children)	103	32.4	74	33.1
Stage 3 (Minor children)	729	40.2	649	37.6
Stage 4 (Grown children, still in labor force)	464	55.1	543	53.9
Stage 5 (Grown children, retired/not working)	261	64.9	348	62.1
Excluded respondents (over 50, no children):				
Still in labor force:	34	56.0	26	55.7
Retired:	27	64.0	33	64.5
TOTAL:	1845		1840	

Overall, the MIDUS survey and interview data contain usable measurements of all of the causal, contingent, and dependent variables proposed for this study. For most of the proposed factors there are multiple measurements within the survey, and additional measurements that can be generated through coding the interview data. The presence of multiple measurements of each variable makes it possible to test the hypotheses of this study in a number of different ways. The results of the tests of these factors on the entire sample are contained in the next chapter, and the chapter following examines how the effects of these factors vary by gender and stage in the life course.

Chapter Three – Testing the General Theory:

In this chapter, I examine the relationship between the proposed causal and contingent factors and altruistic behaviors, using both the survey and the interview data. There are three main findings. First, the proposed factors are good predictors of altruistic behaviors. Nearly all of the factors correlate with altruistic behaviors, and the factors combine to explain a large proportion of the variation in altruistic action. Second, both psychological characteristics and contextual factors are important in predicting behavior. Individuals have a predisposition to act altruistically, according to their personality characteristics, motivations, and values, but these psychological traits interact with social context to influence altruistic behavior. Third, the psychological characteristics of most importance are those which develop during adulthood, particularly religious beliefs, generativity, altruistic role identity, and moral universalism. These factors correlate much more with altruistic behavior than childhood factors, such as family of origin characteristics and empathy.

The regression results (full tables in the Appendix) show that the proposed causal variables demonstrated a strong relationship with altruistic behaviors. All of the proposed causal and contextual factors had a statistically significant relationship with at least one altruistic behavior. By social science standards, the full model described a large proportion of the variation in the independent variables, with Nagelkerke pseudo R square values of .259 for volunteering, .402 for religious giving, and .198 for secular giving.

Both psychological characteristics and the social environment had an important influence on altruistic action. The strongest predictors of altruism were religiosity,

community integration, and trust, which are variables that measure both individual characteristics and the social environment. Two of the psychological characteristics, altruistic role identity and generativity, were about equally strong in predicting altruistic behavior, but other psychological traits were less effective.

Finally, the regression results give strong support to Colby and Damon's theory (1992) that altruism develops largely during the adult life course. The strongest causal factors were all those that measured motivations that develop at least partially during adult life, such as altruistic role identity, religiosity, generativity, generalized reciprocity, and moral universalism. Purely childhood factors – parental discipline, parental modeling of generosity, family of origin religiosity, and empathy – had little or no relationship to altruistic behaviors in adulthood.

For an overview of the relative strength of these factors, a comparison of the Tobit coefficients (Table 3.1) and odds ratios for logistic regressions (Table 3.2) are presented below for bivariate regressions of each dependent variable on factor scales that measure each independent variable. Table 3.1 shows that nearly all of the factor scale measurements of causal and contingent variables had statistically significant relationships with the dependent variables. Each log of the odds ratio may be read as the increase in the likelihood of engaging in that behavior as a consequence of a single standard deviation increase in that factor. For example, the value of 1.890 for role identity and volunteering means that for each increase of a standard deviation in the scale measuring altruistic role identity, a respondent would be 89% more likely to volunteer.

Table 3.1. Log of the odds ratio of bivariate logistic regressions of factor scales:

Volunteering:		Religious Giving:		Secular giving:	
Factor:	Exp (B)	Factor:	Exp (B)	Factor:	Exp (B)
1. Role identity	1.890	1. Religiosity	4.741	1. SES	2.165
2. Religiosity	1.720	2. Community	1.631	2. Trust	1.555
3. Trust	1.656	3. SES	1.503	3. Community	1.521
4. SES	1.614	4. Role identity	1.403	4. Generativity	1.308
5. Generativity	1.574	5. Obligations	1.360	5. Obligations	1.296
6. Community	1.546	6. Happiness	1.347	6. Moral universalism	1.273
7. Moral obligations	1.506	7. Trust	1.344	7. Altruistic role identity	1.264
8. Happiness	1.258	8. Generativity	1.268	8. Happiness	1.261
9. Moral universalism	1.250	9. Moral universalism	1.206	9. Family of origin factors	x
10. Family of origin factors	1.139	10. Family of origin factors	1.201	10. Empathy	x
11. Empathy	1.122	11. Empathy	1.090**	11. Religiosity	x

x = Not significant ** Significant at p < .01
If not otherwise noted, significant at p < .001.

The interpretation of Table 3.2 is less straightforward. The Tobit coefficients do not represent the predicted increase in hours volunteered or money donated, as would be the case in Ordinary Least Squares regression. Instead, the Tobit coefficients take into account both the likelihood of engaging in any giving or volunteering, and the increase in the amount of money or time given, for each increase of a standard deviation in the independent variable. While the Tobit coefficients cannot be interpreted in as straightforward a way as the logistic odds ratios, they do take into account both the likelihood of giving or volunteering and the amount, and are therefore a more complete measure of the variation in the dependent variable. The use of factor scales makes it possible to compare the relative importance of factors. The results are similar between Table 3.1 and 2, with the variables ranked similarly in both tables.

Table 3.2. Tobit coefficients of bivariate regressions of factor scales:

Volunteering:	Hours:	Church giving:	Dollars:	Secular giving:	Dollars:
1. Role Identity	8.14***	1. Religiosity	106.49***	1. SES	47.89***
2. Religiosity	6.07***	2. Community	60.09***	2. Community	26.60***
3. Trust	5.90***	3. SES	58.41***	3. Trust	26.07***
4. Generativity	5.90***	4. Happiness	44.54***	4. Generativity	18.19***
5. Obligations	5.18***	5. Role identity	44.14***	5. Happiness	17.85***
6. Community	4.89***	6. Trust	38.39***	6. Obligations	17.44***
7. SES	4.76***	7. Obligations	36.61***	7. Role identity	16.39***
8. Happiness	2.77***	8. Generativity	31.80***	8. Universalism	16.23***
9. Universalism	2.67***	9. Universalism	24.61***	9. Religiosity	1.16
10. Empathy	1.97***	10. Family	19.98***	10. Empathy	-0.58
11. Family	1.84***	11. Empathy	6.77^	11. Family	-5.22*

^ Significant at p < .10 * Significant at p < .05 ** Significant at p < .01 *** Significant at p = .001

The results of the survey data were replicated by the analysis of numerical coding of the transcripts of interviews with the sub-sample of ninety-one respondents. It was possible to code for only five of the seven causal factors: family of origin factors, empathy, religiosity, general reciprocity, and moral universalism; measurements were not possible for generativity and altruistic role identity. These independent variables were correlated with a single variable measuring overall altruistic behavior across the domains of volunteer work, paid work, secular giving, and religious giving. The independent variables were measured on a zero to two scale, with zero representing no mention of or no importance placed on that variable in the interviews, one representing moderate mention and/or importance, and two representing frequent mention and/or great importance in the person's life history. Overall altruism was measured on a zero to three scale, with zero representing no altruistic activity, one representing very little, two representing some altruistic activity, and three representing highly altruistic individuals.

The results from the interview data replicate in many ways the results from the survey data. All three measures of religion had strong and statistically significant

correlations with altruistic behaviors, and moral universalism, reciprocal obligation, and trust had a statistically significant but weaker relationship. Family of origin factors, abuse in childhood, and empathy had no statistically significant relationship with altruistic behaviors (Table 3.3):

Table 3.3: Correlations between factors measured in the interview data and overall level of altruistic behaviors (n = 91):

Theme:	Number coded 1 or 2:	Correlation:[1]
Parental generosity	34	.029
Family of origin religiosity	76	.114
Childhood abuse/neglect	21	-.110
Childhood empathy	7	-.204
Adult empathy	16	-.027
Total empathy	21	-.071
Religious attendance	54	.420***
Religious intensity	83	.383***
Religion = altruism	32	.417***
Good fortune in childhood	18	.109
Good fortune as an adult	64	.113*
Combined good fortune	67	.134
Number of communities	70	.244**
Distrust of charities:	8	-.163
Distrust of religion:	19	-.234*
Altruistic role models in childhood	22	.063
Altruistic role models in adult life	15	.286^
Altruistic heroes	13	.264^
Total altruistic role models/heroes:	41	.250*

^ Significant at p < .10 * Significant at p < .05 ** Significant at p < .01 *** Significant at p = .001

[1] Correlations are measured with Somer's D. Significance levels are measured with the Chi Square statistic.

The survey data were also examined using stepwise multivariable regression (see Table 3.6). This analysis showed relatively little correlation among the independent variables, with the exception of happiness and empathy. Happiness becomes non-significant once measures of socioeconomic status are added to the model, which seems to indicate that the correlation between happiness and altruistic behaviors is an artifact of the association between happiness and socioeconomic status, not an independent effect. Empathy has a significant and positive bivariate association with volunteering and religious giving, but empathy first becomes non-significant and then negatively associated with helping as other causal factors are added. This is a puzzling result, and possible explanations are discussed below in the section on empathy.

The overall strength of the models was large. For the full model (Appendix tables A.1-A.3) the Nagelkerke pseudo R squared values were .374 for volunteering, .496 for religious giving, and .228 for secular giving. For the seven causal factors only, leaving out all control and contingent variables, the pseudo R squared values were .248, .450, and .146, respectively. To examine whether the causal variables predicted any helping or any social activity, as opposed to strictly altruistic activity, I regressed volunteer assistance to family members, monetary assistance to family members, and attendance at non-altruistic voluntary association meetings on the causal factors. For the full model, the pseudo R squared values were .105 for volunteer assistance to family members, .198 for attendance at non-altruistic voluntary association meetings, and .186 for giving money to family members. Without the control and contingent variables, these are .050, .077, and .129, respectively. Thus, it is evident that the causal factors are much more predictive of

altruistic behavior than of helping behaviors directed towards family members and participation in non-altruistic voluntary associations.

Table 3.4. Comparison of model strength in logistic regressions predicting altruistic and other social behaviors:

Dependent variable	Predictive power (Nagelkerke pseudo R squared)	
	Causal variables only	Full model
Volunteering	.248	.374
Religious charitable giving	.450	.496
Secular charitable giving	.146	.228
Volunteer help to family	.050	.105
Monetary help to family	.077	.186
Attendance at voluntary meetings	.129	.198

The results from the factor scales (Tables 3.1 and 3.2) give the best general overview of the relative importance of each causal and contingent factor. A more nuanced view comes from examining the relationship between each of the components of each factor scale to each outcome variable. These relationships are addressed in the following section.

Individual causal factors:

Causal variable 1 – Family of origin characteristics:

Developmental psychologists who study altruism consider parenting styles and family of origin characteristics to be important predictors of adult altruism (Oliner and Oliner 1988, Eisenberg 1998, Hoffman 2000). While one survey study has borne out this relationship (Hodgkinson 1995), other survey research has found little relationship between parents' actions and their children's adult volunteering (Mustillo, Wilson, and

Lynch 2004). In the MIDUS sample, parenting styles and parental modeling of generosity had little relationship with adult altruism. The parental and family of origin variables correlated with religious giving at a bivariate level, but only a few of these variables correlated with volunteering and secular giving. The variables measuring the behaviors of individual parents – paternal and maternal affection, discipline, and generosity – correlated weakly or not at all with the variables measuring altruistic behaviors. I combined parental affection and discipline into a single dummy variable, measuring authoritative parenting, thought by Oliner and Oliner (1988) and others to predict altruistic behaviors in adulthood. This variable did not have a significant correlation with volunteering or secular giving; nor did a dummy variable measuring whether the respondent came from an intact two-parent family.

Table 3.5: Family of origin variables (bivariate Tobit coefficients)

	Volunteering:	Religious giving:	Secular giving:
Chores	1.73**	15.39*	-26.44*
Time-use rules	2.59***	28.27***	-11.43
Religiosity	1.25*	63.31***	7.6
Intact family (dummy)	1.03	11.99**	24.31
Authoritative parenting (dummy)	2.77**	10.56***	-25.37
Maternal affection	1.17	30.94***	12.05
Maternal discipline	1.15	33.59***	-28.37*
Maternal generosity	1.18^	19.08**	6.63
Paternal affection	1.12^	26.92***	2.4
Paternal discipline	0.93	20.04**	-22.98*
Paternal generosity	1.37*	23.07***	12.14

^ Significant at p < .10 * Significant at p < .05 ** Significant at p < .01 *** Significant at p = .001

While variables measuring the behaviors of individual parents had little or no relationship to helping behaviors, variables measuring the general atmosphere of the respondent's family of origin did predict altruistic behaviors. These variables include the amount of time-use rules the respondent's parents established, the amount of chores the respondent had to do growing up, and how religious the respondent's family was. When

both general family environment and parent-specific variables were included in a regression analysis, only the general family environment variables remained significant (Appendix Tables A.1-A.6). Accordingly, I dropped the parent-specific measures from subsequent models and retained only the measurements of rules, chores, and religiosity.

In the multivariate Tobit and logistic regression analyses, the variable measuring the amount of time-use rules in one's family of origin retained a significant and positive relationship with volunteering and church giving, regardless of what other variables were entered into the model. The variable measuring family of origin religiosity remained a significant predictor of religious giving throughout the multivariate model, but became non-significant in predicting volunteering once adult religious behaviors were considered. Neither time-use rules nor family of origin religiosity had any significant relationship with secular giving.

A puzzling and surprising result occurred with the variable measuring the amount of chores a person had in childhood. This variable has a weak and positive relationship with volunteering and religious giving, but this relationship becomes non-significant when other variables are added to the model. The chores variable also has a strong, negative relationship with secular charitable giving, which persists throughout the multivariate models. This result may be a function of age and class background. Older people and people who grew up in working-class or rural families had more chores to do while growing up, and also may be less likely to give to secular charities than younger people and people who grew up in middle class homes and urban or suburban environments.

The coding of interview data also found that there was no statistically significant relationship between parental characteristics and altruistic behaviors. Coding for three measures of parental influences were attempted: parenting style (authoritative, authoritarian, permissive, and neglectful), parental modeling of generosity, and experience of abuse during childhood, either from parents or from other adults. Inconsistency in the questions asked during the interviews made it impossible to code accurately for parenting style, as some interviews contained extensive information about the respondents' childhood, while in others the questioner skipped over the respondent's childhood years after asking a single question. Interviewers did not ask specifically about abuse or neglect during childhood, but so many people (twenty-one out of ninety-one) volunteered information about this topic that coding for it was possible. The interviewers were consistent in asking respondents about parental modeling of generosity, so the measure of this factor should be fairly accurate.

Neither of the two measurable factors, abuse or neglect in childhood and parental modeling of generosity, had a statistically significant relationship with adult altruism. Abuse or neglect in childhood had a strong effect on individuals' lives, but affected them in a complex way. Six respondents were affected very negatively by the abuse, and as adults had difficulty in maintaining loving relationships and holding a job, and also experienced problems with drug or alcohol abuse. These respondents engaged in very few altruistic behaviors. On the other hand, three respondents managed to overcome their experience of abuse, and some of these found their abuse experience a motivator to helping others. One man, who had been sexually molested by a friend of the family, volunteered as a youth mentor, and also helped a coworker work through some problems

he was having as an aftereffect of being molested as a child. Another man, who had been emotionally abused by his adoptive parents, murdered his adoptive mother and served a long prison sentence. During his time in prison, he enrolled in a psychological treatment program that helped him come to terms with his parents' abuse. Now released from prison, he volunteers as a fundraiser for a medical charity and has a leadership position in a motorcycle safety organization.

Parental modeling of generosity had only a weak relationship with altruistic behaviors in the survey data, and no statistically significant relationship with altruistic behaviors in the interview data. The interview data indicate that some respondents with generous parents were inspired to imitate their example, but that others had negative memories of their parents' generosity and resolved not to follow their example. One woman noted that her mother "kind of bends over backwards too much" for other people, to the point that it "hurts your family." "I don't jeopardize my home" to help others, she concluded, "unless it was really truly needed." Another woman recalled bitterly that her mother would sacrifice time with her own children in order to fulfill her responsibilities as a full-time volunteer with the a variety of charities. "I don't have the time and I wouldn't have the energy" to do as much volunteering as her mother, the respondent stated. "No way would I do that."

Among those who did try to imitate their parents' example of generosity, an additional problem arose due to changes in the nature of helping across generations. Many respondents grew up in small, tightly-knit communities, in which people helped one another as individuals not through institutions. Their parents example might inspire them to help friends, relatives, neighbors, and coworkers, but would not necessarily

inspire them to help strangers through charitable giving or formal volunteering. As one respondent explained, “these charitable things have all come around in the last thirty years.” Growing up, “you had the girl scouts that went to the door,” but little else. “I grew up in a small town, everybody helped everybody else. You know, somebody was sick, everybody pitched in and brought food. And you know, if there was a fire, everybody pitched in and brought clothes and furniture. It was just a different society.”

Some of the respondents took the lessons in generosity learned from their parents’ small-town, person to person helping, and developed altruistic activities suited to the more urbanized society and more formalized helping of their own day. One respondent recalled that her father did no formal volunteer work, but “took care of everybody,” including his employees, loaning them money when they needed help. This respondent donates thousands of dollars each year to her church and to various secular charities, and also does formal volunteer work. Two other respondents, who described their admiration for their parents’ generosity towards others, do little formal volunteering and charitable giving themselves.

Causal variable 2 – Empathy:

Empathy has only a weak bivariate relationship with volunteering and church giving, and no statistically significant correlation with charitable giving (Tables 3.1 and 3.2). The Tobit coefficients for the regression of hours of volunteering on the empathy factor scale is 1.97 (significant at $p < .001$); the Tobit coefficient is 6.77 for religious giving in dollars (significant at $p < .10$), and for secular giving in dollars the Tobit coefficient is -0.58 (not statistically significant). In the multivariate analyses, the relationship between empathy and altruistic behaviors actually becomes negative for both

logistic and Tobit regression when other predictors of altruistic behavior are added to the model (Table 3.6 shows the logistic regression of empathy and volunteering; tables A.2 through A.6 in the appendix show a similar relationship for religious and secular giving and for Tobit regression).

Table 3.6. Empathy in the multivariate logistic regression of volunteering:

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10
Male:	.867*	.870*	.916	.977	.942	.946	.784	.991	.915	.853^
Black:	.902	.854	.848	.608***	.603***	.577***	.516***	.508***	.599**	.681*
Age:	1.100***	1.097***	1.098***	1.117***	1.122***	1.103***	1.079***	1.075***	1.049*	1.031
Age2:	.999***	.999***	.999***	.999***	.999***	.999***	.999***	.999***	.999**	1.000^
Rules:		1.139***	1.133***	1.099**	1.095*	1.064^	1.061	1.044	1.060	1.085*
Empathy:			**1.103****	**1.056**	**1.020**	**.930^**	**.856*****	**.818*****	**.806*****	**.855*****
Religiosity:				1.749***	1.728***	1.696***	1.625***	1.629***	1.613***	1.630***
Happiness:					1.223***	1.151***	1.132**	1.105*	.939	.912*
Obligations:						1.472***	1.298***	1.261***	1.199***	1.212***
Obs ratio:						1.302***	1.276***	1264***	1.213***	1.184***
Role identity:							1.698***	1.600***	1.551***	1.556***
Generativity:								1.245***	1.177***	1.115*
Community:									1.351***	1.293***
Trust:									1.260***	1.181***
SES:										1.427***
Nagelkerke:	.011	.016	.019	.101	.111	.153	.205	.212	.237	.259
Cox & Snell:	.008	.012	.014	.074	.082	.113	.151	.157	.175	.191
% correct (base of 61.2)	61.2	61.2	60.8	65.9	66.0	67.3	69.5	69.7	70.3	71.4

These findings are surprising, given the extensive psychological literature on the importance of empathy in motivating altruistic behavior. In a separate paper (Einolf 2006), I explored this finding by testing several explanations, including that the finding was the result of poor measures of either empathy or helping behaviors, and that empathy motivates informal assistance to particular individuals more strongly than formal helping through institutions. Neither of these explanations sufficed. The 2002 General Social Survey (GSS) contains different measurements of empathy and helping, but these measures also showed little correlation. In both the GSS and the MIDUS data, the correlation between empathy and person to person helping was just as weak as the correlation between empathy and formal helping.

The fact that empathy becomes non-significant when other variables are added is a result of multicollinearity. Empathy correlates with many other causal variables (Table 3.7), so that adding these variables to the model causes empathy to become non-significant. Multicollinearity does not completely explain the fact that empathy eventually becomes significant again and negative, as more causal variables are added to the model. It may be that the empathy scale used in the MIDUS survey is particularly susceptible to positive self-attribution bias, so that it measures both positive self-attribution and the respondent's actual tendency towards empathy. If the other causal variables also measure or correlate with actual empathy, then controlling for these variables causes the portion of the empathy scale that actually measures empathy to become non-significant, leaving only the self-attribution aspect of the scale as significant. This self-attribution bias then correlates negatively with helping.

Table 3.7. Correlations (Pearson's R) between empathy and other independent variables:

Variable	Correlation with empathy
Religiosity	.121**
Obligations	.331**
Altruistic role identity	.269**
Generativity	.322**

** Significant at p = .01.

A more likely explanation of the negative relationship between empathy and helping in the full model lies in the relationship between empathy, sympathy, and personal distress. Batson (1991) and Eisenberg (2002) explain that the raw emotion of empathy aroused by a situation in which a person witnesses another person's suffering can be transformed into one of two emotions. A person may feel sympathy, an other-oriented response that motivates helping, or a person may feel personal distress, a self-directed response that motivates one to escape the situation. Factors such as generativity, moral obligations, religiosity, and moral universalism may correlate with a person's tendency to respond to suffering with either sympathy or personal distress, so that controlling for these factors may cause the empathy variable to measure personal distress, and therefore have a negative relationship with helping.

Some support for this hypothesis comes from the interview data. The numerical coding of the interview data also showed no significant bivariate relationship between empathy and helping. However, a number of respondents made statements that supported the distinction between sympathy and personal distress analyzed by Batson and Eisenberg. Respondents often cited an empathy experience as a reason to get involved in altruistic work, but also frequently cited empathy as a reason to stop helping others.

Five respondents described empathy experiences that led them to begin helping. A man who had been imprisoned for murder once met some children with muscular dystrophy as part of a service project being done at the prison. One of the children told him, “You know, I’m just like you. I’m doing a sentence too – only one day, you’re going to get away from your sentence, but I’m doomed to mine.” The experience made such an impression on the man that he made a lifelong commitment to helping disabled children, and now that he is out of prison, he participates in fundraising efforts for muscular dystrophy charities. Another respondent remembered being horrified by stories of the Holocaust when she was a middle school student, and reading all about the Holocaust as a way of understanding it. As an adult, she teaches art to elementary school students, and uses art as a way of teaching tolerance.

One man made a decision to adopt two babies with cerebral palsy, and later became involved in charity work to helped disabled children, due to a single, powerful empathy experience. He and his wife were unable to have children and had decided to adopt, but had not made a commitment to adopting special needs children. He went to the hospital to visit a pair of twins with cerebral palsy, and “fell in love” with them when one of them reached out of the cradle and grabbed his tie. He decided to adopt the children, and later volunteered with a number of charities that assist disabled children, and became the volunteer leader of an effort to establish a day care center for handicapped children.

While empathy motivated these five respondents to help, it caused four other respondents personal distress, leading them to avoid helping activities. Two respondents stated that their experiences as volunteers in health care settings in high school or college disturbed them so much that they decided against a career in medicine. One volunteered

in the geriatric ward of a local hospital, and enjoyed spending time with the elderly women there, but found it too disturbing to continue. “These ladies would then die one-by-one, and as I did not have the professional background, I couldn't take it. I had to stop because I just absolutely couldn't take it.” Another respondent worked as a volunteer on a rescue squad, but quit when a child he was attempting to save died. The child was about the same age as his own son, and the experience haunted him too much for him to continue with the work. Another respondent considered doing volunteer work in a nursing home, but remembered how disturbed she was when a close friend of hers, an elderly woman, died. She decided not to work in a nursing home, as “I get too attached to people and it would be to hard for me.”

The key difference between empathic people who help others and empathic people who avoid suffering seems to be the cognitive strategies they use to manage feelings of personal distress. A physician’s assistant who works with leukemia patients admits that her work is difficult. “Everybody always asks, ‘How do you do that? Isn’t that depressing?’” The majority of her patients die, and “you feel for 'em sure, you're nuts if you don't.” But “I get incredible strength from these people. They are so sick, but yet they smile at you every day and they are so grateful for everything that you do.” She also feels hopeful about the future, as new medical techniques are constantly being developed that will make it possible for her to save a higher proportion of her patients.

A veterinarian states that his job is usually enjoyable, as he can make sick animals better and reassure children that their sick pets will be okay. Sometimes, however, “there are some tear-jerkers where an animal is going to die,” and there is nothing he can do to save it. He still feels useful in these situations, however, as he can help “ease the pain” in

the animal by administering drugs and euthanasia, and can help the owners by explaining the need for euthanasia and helping them through the grieving process.

In conclusion, both the survey and the interview data found little or no correlation between levels of empathy and altruistic behavior. From the interview data, we can see that empathy does have a strong effect on altruistic motivation, but it can motivate people either to help others or to avoid others' suffering. The interview data also suggest that highly altruistic individuals are those who succeed in developing cognitive strategies to manage their own feelings of empathy, keeping their feelings of sympathy while minimizing or coping with feelings of personal distress. The small size of the interview sample makes it impossible to generalize from these few cases, but these findings are suggestive of productive avenues for further research.

Causal variable 3 – Religion:

Religious beliefs and behaviors correlate very strongly with volunteering and religious giving, but not with secular giving. In the survey data, religious service and meeting attendance is much more important than subjective religiosity. This is not the case in the interview data, where religious attendance, felt importance of religion, and the degree to which religious beliefs incorporate ideals of altruism all correlate with altruistic behavior with roughly equal strength. This discrepancy may indicate that the greater importance of religious behaviors over religious beliefs and attitudes in motivating altruistic behaviors found in much survey research may be an artifact of the types of measurements used, not of the true relative importance of these factors.

In the survey data, religious services and meeting attendance correlated strongly with volunteering and religious giving, while subjective religiosity correlated only with religious giving. None of these measures had any correlation with secular charitable giving. There were also many differences by denomination, and between born-again and fundamentalist Christians and liberal Christians (Table 3.8).

Table 3.8: Religion variables (Tobit coefficients)

	Volunteering: (hours)	Religious giving: (dollars)	Secular giving: (dollars)
Protestant[a]	3.12***	80.70***	-10.26
Catholic[a]	-2.05^	4.47	22.96
Jewish[a]	3.98	-13.08	128.37**
Jehovah's Witnesses and Mormons[a]	11.81***	34.01***	-87.69
Other religion[a]	-1.54	-89.77**	-7.66
Born-Again[b]	3.67***	145.24***	-60.56***
Fundamentalist[b]	-1.43	128.05***	-127.93***
Services attendance	2.04***	42.88***	2.92
Meeting attendance	3.18***	50.73***	-.64
Subjective religiosity	3.25	125.21***	-44.30
Family of origin religiosity	1.25*	63.31***	7.6

^ Significant at p < .10 * Significant at p < .05 ** Significant at p < .01 *** Significant at p = .001
[a] Dummy variable; default category is no religion.
[b] Dummy variable, asked of Christians only.

The results support Hoge's (1995) findings that religious giving varies greatly by denomination, and contradict the findings of Wilson, Janowski, and Musick (1998) that volunteering does not differ greatly by denomination. Fundamentalist and born-again Christians donate more money to their churches than other Christians, and Jehovah's Witnesses and members of the Church of the Latter-Day Saints are much more likely than other Christians to do volunteer work and donate money to their churches. Jews are more likely than most Christians to volunteer and donate money to secular charities, but less likely to donate money to religious institutions. People who do not identify with any

religious denomination are less likely than Protestants, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Mormons to volunteer and donate money to religious institutions, but are slightly more likely to volunteer than Catholics ($p < .10$). People with no religious affiliation are more likely than born-again and fundamentalist Christians to donate money to secular charity, but there is no statistically significant difference between unaffiliated people and mainline Protestants and Catholics.

All of these religiosity measures correlate, so that in the full regression models of volunteering, the variables measuring family of origin religiosity and most of the denominational variables become non-significant once religious services and meetings attendance are included. With religious giving, all of the variables retain their significance in the full model (Appendix Tables A.1-A.6).

In the survey data, the variables measuring religious behaviors are much better predictors of altruistic behaviors than the variable measuring subjective religious feeling. This finding is consistent with the existing literature on religion and volunteering (Becker and Dhingra 2001; Park and Smith 2000), which has found that religious activity is more important than subjective religious feeling in motivating volunteer work. This does not necessarily mean that religious thoughts and feelings are unimportant, however. It may be the case that religious ideas, values, and beliefs motivate people both to attend religious meetings and services, and to engage in altruistic behaviors. Evidence in support of this possibility comes from the fact that the addition of other measurements of social capital and social networks to the regression model (attendance at secular voluntary organization meetings, relationships with neighbors, home ownership, family status, and trust) has very little effect on the strength of the relationship between religious behavior and

altruism (Appendix Tables A.1-A.6). If religious services and meeting attendance only measured access to social networks, then one would expect the correlation between religious attendance and altruism to decrease as other measurements of social networks were added to the model. Since this does not occur, it seems that religious attendance is also an indirect measurement of religious beliefs and values.

The interview data made it possible to code more accurately for factors related to religion. Religious attendance, coded from the interview data, had a strong correlation with overall altruistic activity, a finding consistent with the survey data. The coding for subjective intensity and importance of religion also correlated strongly with altruistic activity, much stronger than the survey measurement. This may indicate that the coder evaluation of religious intensity, taken from transcripts of interviews in which people talked extensively about their religious beliefs and practices, is a more accurate measure of subjective intensity and importance of religion than the numerical measures in the survey. If the interview coding is, in fact, a better measure of subjective religiosity than the survey measure, then it seems that subjective religiosity does correlate with altruistic behaviors, independent of religious attendance.

Table 3.9. Correlations between interview measures of religiosity and altruistic behaviors (n = 91):

Variable	Number coded 1 or 2	Correlation (Somer's D)
Religious attendance	54	.420***
Religious intensity	83	.383***
Religious beliefs include a call to altruism	32	.417***

*** Significant at p < .001

Finally, coding was done specifically for whether respondents equated religion with altruism, and this measurement correlated strongly with altruistic behaviors (Somer's D = .417). Respondents equation of religion with altruism did not seem to depend on their denomination, fundamentalism or born-again status, religious intensity, or religious service attendance. The equation of religion and altruism equated with religious services attendance at Somer's D = .491 (significant at $p < .01$), and with subjective religiosity at .613 ($p < .01$), indicating that altruistic religious motivation correlates to some degree with subjective religiosity and religious attendance, but is conceptually and empirically distinct from these two variables.

Within both conservative and liberal Christianity, some individuals equated spirituality with altruism while other individuals, equally religious in other ways, did not. One highly altruistic born-again Christian stated explicitly that her born-again experience motivated her to help others. "He [Jesus] didn't save us just to leave us here to be inactive, so if we're not doing ministry after we're saved then we're not really doing Him any good. Because if we weren't supposed to do it, then He would just save us and take us up to Heaven at the same time. But I feel that if He loved me enough to die for me, then I can spread His worth through word or deed or love, whatever I can do to further the kingdom." Another stated that when God "sacrificed His son for our sins by the shedding of His blood, He gave the ultimate sacrifice of love." This act is "something that He would want us to share with our friends and neighbors," to "emulate that same love."

In contrast, other born-again Christians do not view their salvation as a call to altruistic action. One born-again Christian who attends church regularly but does

relatively little to help others values his born-again status because it lets him know that his sins are forgiven and he will go to heaven when he dies. This makes him feel "loved," "accepted," and "hopeful," and takes away his fear of death. He does not, however, feel any call to serve others. A number of other born-again Christians took a similar view, expressing how they personally gain from being saved but not mentioning a call to help others.

Other conservative Christians, only some of whom describe themselves as born-again, do not equate religion with altruism, but focus on other aspects of religious belief. Several equated religious morality with the obedience to moral restrictions like the Ten Commandments and restrictions on sexual behavior. One churchgoing Catholic valued his religious faith for the comfort and spiritual elevation he received from ritual and the sacraments. A conservative mainline Protestant valued religion primarily for its contributions to family life. For him, church involvement is valuable because it teaches that "you're supposed to forgive, regardless," shows "how to express yourself," and "how not to get angry when something happens." As a result, "you learn to communicate more with your family." If you have a problem, "you can always go talk to the preacher, or to your wife, or to your kids." And "instead of hollering… you know more or less how to make it come out without showing your anger, how to be more tactful."

Among liberal Christians there is also a range of views on the relationship between religious belief and altruism. Altruistic liberal Christians tend to trace their inspiration to Jesus' teachings and example, not to the power of salvation gained through Christ's crucifixion. One man emphasized that he was not a "fundamentalist" and was "skeptical" of dogma and organized religion. To him, the most important aspects of the

Christian faith are "the admonitions and exhortations of Jesus to love your friends, and love your neighbors… with a special bias toward helping those who are most in need." While he was raised in the Christian faith and currently attends an Episcopal church, he believes that Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism all share what is most important in the Christian faith, the "basic principles of responsibility for one's brothers and sisters."

Of course, not all members of liberal religious denominations are altruistic. One woman of Jewish heritage who attends the Unitarian church not only dismisses religion as a source of altruistic motivation, but states that organized religion is more often a source of harm in the world than a source of help. She likes the Unitarian church for its "inclusiveness," "brotherliness," "positiveness," and lack of dogma, but makes no mention of her religious belief or practice motivating her to help others. She has some involvement in volunteering and charitable giving, but her motivations seem to come from other sources than her religious beliefs.

Causal Variable 4 – Generalized Reciprocity:

The theory of generalized reciprocity postulates a causal link among three mental states: the feeling that one has experienced good things in life, the perception that these good things are a gift or blessing, and a feeling of obligation to repay God or society for these gifts by engaging in altruistic behavior. The questions on the MIDUS survey only measure the first and the last of these three components, happiness and obligation, making a full test of this theory impossible with the survey data. Even so, if happiness and moral obligations are positively correlated with one another and with altruistic

behaviors, this finding would offer at least some support for the theory of generalized reciprocity. Furthermore, the interview data do contain statements about good fortune and blessedness, so that coding for these measures can establish whether there is a link between feelings of good fortune and altruistic behaviors.

The results of the data indicate a statistically significant but substantively weak link between generalized reciprocity and altruistic behavior. In the survey data, happiness and moral obligation correlate both with each other and with altruistic behaviors. On the other hand, the relationship between happiness and altruism becomes non-significant when measures of socioeconomic status are added to the model, suggesting that the relationship between happiness and helping behaviors is a spurious effect of income and education. The correlation in the interview data between feelings of good fortune or blessedness and altruistic behaviors was statistically significant but weak. While the link between happiness, feelings of good fortune or blessing, and the obligation to reciprocate seems to be real, it also seems to have a relatively weak relationship with altruistic behaviors.

4a. Life satisfaction and altruistic behaviors:

At the bivariate level, most of the life satisfaction measures correlate positively with helping behaviors. On the other hand, improvements between past and future happiness, which I had hypothesized might be a strong measure of a sense of giftedness or blessedness, have a weak, non-significant, or even negative correlation with altruistic behaviors (Table 3.10).

Table 3.10: Life satisfaction variables (Tobit coefficients)

	Volunteering:	Religious giving:	Secular giving:
Current life satisfaction	2.82***	47.39***	45.58***
Future life satisfaction	1.90***	11.72***	9.42^
Current financial satisfaction	0.68**	22.53***	32.90***
Improvement in current over past life satisfaction	0.17	3.59^	3.03**
Anticipated improvement in future over current life satisfaction	0.16	-12.57***	-4.68***

^ Significant at p < .10 * Significant at p < .05 ** Significant at p < .01 *** Significant at p = .001

In multivariate analyses, the variables measuring satisfaction with life and finances became non-significant, or nearly so, when measures of socioeconomic status were added to the model (Appendix Tables A.1-A.6). This seems to indicate that much of the correlation between happiness and altruism can be explained by the correlation between happiness and socioeconomic status, rather than a feeling of blessedness or giftedness that motivates people to reciprocate.

4b. Life satisfaction and obligations:

General reciprocity theory supposes that a feeling of being blessed or fortunate in life would lead a person to feel obligated to reciprocate, and thus predicts that feelings of happiness in life should correlate with feelings of obligation. This theory is supported by the statistically significant correlations between measures of satisfaction and measures of moral obligations. Satisfaction measures are most correlated with feelings of obligation towards civic institutions, followed by obligations to work, family, altruistic activities, and friends.

Table 3.11: Correlations (Pearson's R) between happiness and obligation measures:

	General satisfaction	Financial satisfaction
All obligations	.204**	.132**
Civic obligations	.206**	.190**
Work obligations	.161**	.136**
Family obligations	.172**	.079**
Altruistic obligations	.108**	.091**
Friend obligations	.083**	-.021

** Significant at p < .01

4c. Obligations and altruistic behaviors:

All of the obligations scales correlate with altruistic behavior to some degree. Obligations to civic institutions have the strongest correlation with altruistic behaviors, followed by obligations to family, obligations to altruism, obligations to one's employer, and obligations to friends. Combined with the correlation between happiness and moral obligation, this finding supports the theory of general reciprocity.

Table 3.12: Regression of altruistic behaviors on obligations variables (Tobit coefficients)

	Volunteering:	Religious giving:	Secular giving:
Family obligations (0-10 index)	1.98***	19.62***	18.92***
Friend obligations (0-10 index)	1.01***	5.12*	2.53
Work obligations (0-10 index)	1.71***	18.20***	13.91**
Civic obligations (0-10 index)	2.45***	25.60***	36.09***
Altruistic obligations (0-10 index)	1.88***	7.08***	17.26***
All obligations (factor scale)	5.18***	36.61***	17.44***
Moral universalism (factor scale)	2.67***	24.61***	16.23***

^ Significant at p < .10 * Significant at p < .05 ** Significant at p < .01 *** Significant at p = .001

4d. Feelings of good fortune or blessing:

The interview data make it possible to measure directly how an individual's feelings of good fortune or blessedness relate to altruistic behavior. The interviews were coded for how frequently respondents mentioned themes of being lucky, fortunate, or

blessed, and were also coded for expressions of an obligation to pay back society for this good fortune. Enough people mentioned good fortune or blessing to make statistical analysis possible (64), and there was a weak but statistically significant and positive correlation between mentions of good fortune in adulthood and altruistic behavior (Somers D = .113, significant at $p < .05$).

Some highly altruistic respondents made a large number of references to their good fortune during the course of their interviews, and these fortunate events ranged from the substantial to the trivial. Many talked about their good fortune in having good marriages, in having raised happy and successful children, in having good relationships with other family members, and in having success in their careers. Some described the avoidance of bad fortune as good fortune. One respondent spoke of his good luck in having never been the victim of a violent crime, while another felt blessed in that he had never had to make difficult ethical decisions in his job, and had never experienced a crisis in his religious faith.

Some highly altruistic respondents even reported that what most people would see as negative events were blessings or fortunate events. A highly altruistic medical professional described her diagnosis with ovarian cancer as one of the most fortunate events of her life, as it led her to stop working as an x-ray technician, a job that she was overqualified for, and go back to school to become a physician's assistant. Another woman described her son's death at a young age from cancer as both a tragedy and a blessing, as the experience brought her closer to God and encouraged her to help others as a way of doing God's work.

Only three of the ninety-one respondents drew an explicit connection between being fortunate and wanting to pay back society for their good fortune. One respondent fled Nazi Germany as a child because she was Jewish, and eventually came to the United States with her family. She feels that “America took me in, and I’ve wanted to pay it back to America.” Another respondent stated, “You know, if you've gotten a little, it's nice to give back something. It's a good feeling.” A third stated, “because I'm so thankful about all the blessings I've had, I wanted to volunteer and kind of give back to people the nice things that I've had.” While these respondents did engage in some altruistic behaviors, the rarity with which this motive was mentioned lends only weak support to the theory of reciprocal obligation.

Causal variable 5 – Moral universalism:

Factor analysis of the nineteen MIDUS survey questions measuring moral obligations revealed two main factors. All of the obligations load positively to some degree on the first factor, which is used here as a measurement of the respondent’s overall sense of moral obligation. Obligations to civic institutions and altruistic actions load positively on the second factor, while obligations to friends and family load negatively, making the second factor a measure of moral universalism. Positive scores on the moral universalism factor scale correlate with all three types of altruistic behavior (Table 3.11, above), and do so independently of the measure of moral obligation (Appendix Tables A.1-A.6).

An examination of the five domains of obligations (family, friends, work, civic, and altruistic) provides some support for Monroe’s theory, but the results here are not

fully consistent (Table 3.11). Altruistic and civic obligations predict helping behavior, as Monroe's theory would expect, but obligations towards family are a better predictor of altruistic behavior than obligations to do altruistic work. This finding, that near-other obligations are a better predictor of altruistic behavior than distant-other obligations, seems to contradict Monroe's theory of moral universalism. This finding is not surprising, however, given that much volunteering and charitable giving is done with organizations that benefit family members, such as churches, parent-teacher associations, community organizations, and youth recreational groups. If the MIDUS survey had more detailed information about the kinds of organizations respondents assisted, it seems likely that family obligations would predict donations of time and money to organizations that provide benefits to the respondent's own children and family members, while altruistic obligations would predict donations of time and money to organizations that do not provide benefits to the respondent's family.

The interview data do not contain good measures of moral universalism. While respondents were asked to define both morality and "moral courage," their definitions provide little insight into the issue of moral universalism. Most people had difficulty defining what they meant by morality. They usually gave simple definitions, like "your sense of right and wrong," or provided examples of virtues, like integrity or tolerance. Many spoke only of issues of sexual morality.

Only one respondent in the entire sub-sample made an explicitly universalistic statement about morality; a highly altruistic volunteer and charitable donor, she stated that she feels that "the world is my community." On the other hand, several respondents articulated a sense of moral particularism, the idea that one's primary responsibilities are

to those close to oneself, rather than to people in general or more distant others. Two men stated that they considered it a virtue that they made their own families their first priority, and another stated that raising his children well was how he could best contribute to the well-being of society.

I obtained a type of measurement of moral universalism from respondents' answers to a question about community. Each of the respondents was asked to name and describe any communities that they belonged to, and I assigned a numerical code to the number of communities outside of family that each respondent named. A respondent who belonged to two or three communities outside of his or her family would have a broader range of people to whom he or she owed moral obligations than a person who only belonged to one community, or no communities. This measure is problematic, as it seems to also measure trust or social integration, but it can serve as at least an approximate measure of moral universalism. The variable measuring the number of communities named by each respondent had a statistically significant and moderately strong correlation (Somer's D = .244) with altruistic behavior, lending some support to the theory of moral universalism.

Causal variable 6 – Altruistic role identity:

Most of the measurements of an altruistic self-conception correlate at the bivariate level with altruistic behaviors. In the bivariate correlations and the logistic and Tobit regression analyses, the strongest predictors of current altruistic behavior are the measurements of anticipated future helpfulness and volunteering. Past helpfulness and volunteering also predict present behavior, but the finding that anticipated future behavior

has more predictive power offers particularly strong support for the role identity hypothesis.

Table 3.13: Altruistic role identity variables (Tobit coefficients)

	Volunteering:	Religious giving:	Secular giving:
High past volunteering	18.97***	85.12***	116.51***
High future volunteering	16.58***	93.34***	70.23***
Past contributions to others' well-being	1.31***	9.44***	10.54**
Future contributions to others' well-being	3.00***	16.38***	18.26***

^ Significant at p < .10 * Significant at p < .05 ** Significant at p < .01 *** Significant at p = .001

Past volunteering and helping are less effective measures of altruistic role identity than anticipated future volunteering and helping, because of uncertainty about what past behaviors truly measure. Past volunteering and helping might indicate the presence of an altruistic role identity, but it may also be the case that some unmeasured third factor, unrelated to altruistic role identity, causes volunteering and helping both in the past and the present. By contrast, plans to engage in altruistic action in the future are a mental construct, not a behavioral measure, and thus seem to be a more accurate measure of altruistic role identity.

The importance of altruistic role identity is emphasized further by the fact that anticipated future volunteering correlates not only with current volunteering, but also with current secular and religious giving. This implies that people with altruistic role identity express this identity through a combination of volunteering and charitable giving, depending on their life situation. Presumably, some respondents are too busy with their paid work at the present time to engage in extensive volunteering, so they express their altruistic role identity by donating money to charity. In the future, perhaps when less busy

with their paid employment, they plan to express their altruistic role identity through extensive volunteering.

The interview data did not confirm the results of the survey data, as the interview data showed no statistically significant correlation between expressions of altruistic role identity and actual altruistic behaviors. While a few respondents described themselves as "givers" or "helpers," many of these people were not particularly altruistic. For example, one respondent described herself as "sensitive" and "always giving," while another stated that helping was "natural" for her, "just like walking down the street, and walking and smiling and saying hello." Ironically, neither of these respondents engage in any volunteer work, and they do little to help family and friends. The only thing they do currently to help others is donate small amounts of money to charity.

Not a single one of the highly altruistic people described himself or herself as especially generous, giving, or helpful. When the measurement from the survey questionnaire was used, however, the highly altruistic people in the interview sample scored much higher than average. This measurement asked people to rate their current level of helpfulness to others, on a scale from zero to ten. The highly altruistic people averaged 7.3, as compared to 6.2 for the less altruistic people in the interview sample, and 6.6 for the average for the entire sample of 3290 respondents.

There are two possible explanations for the difference in findings between the two measurements. First, the survey question asks people to rate themselves on their behaviors, not on their personalities. Highly altruistic people may realize that they do more to help others than average, but may not see themselves as possessing particularly generous personalities, attributing their helping behaviors to other motives or

circumstances instead. Also, highly altruistic interviewees may be modest, and disinclined to volunteer that they think of themselves as altruistic in face to face interviews, but more inclined to describe themselves as helpful in the anonymous format of a survey questionnaire. These possibilities give weight to the conclusion that the survey measures of altruistic role identity are better measures than the coding of the interview data, and that the strong correlation between altruistic role identity and altruistic behaviors in the survey data indicates the true importance of altruistic role identity; the lack of correlation found in the interview data seems to result from measurement problems, not from a lack of correlation in the population.

Causal variable 7 – Generativity:

At the bivariate level, scores on the generativity scale correlate highly with altruistic behaviors (see Table 3.2, above). The Tobit coefficient for the regression of volunteering on the generativity factor scale is 5.90; for religious giving, the coefficient is 31.80, and for secular giving, the coefficient is 18.19 (all are significant at $p < .001$). In multivariate models, generativity retains a strong effect on volunteering and secular giving throughout the model, but has little or no significant relationship to church giving once religiosity measures and altruistic role identity are included (Appendix Tables A.1-A.6).

Few respondents mentioned concerns about the next generation in the course of their interviews, and there was no statistically significant difference between highly altruistic and less altruistic people in their frequency of mentioning next generation concerns. Almost all of the respondents who did mention generativity concerns were

male. They included a firefighter who considers himself a role model for children, an army officer who likes to mentor younger officers, and a man who started a recycling program at his workplace as a way of preserving the earth for future generations. They also include a black man who had experienced discrimination in his life and worked as a civil rights advocate to make the world a better place for his own children and the next generation of African Americans. Finally, one man substituted caring for others' children as a way of compensating for his lack of contact with his own. As he is divorced and rarely sees his own children, he became involved in a youth mentoring charity as "a way of doing something for somebody else's kids that I couldn't do for my own."

The discrepancy between the survey data, which found a large correlation between generativity and altruistic behaviors, and the interview data, which did not, can be explained in one of two ways. The fact that respondents rarely mentioned concerns for future generations or younger people in the interviews may only result from the fact that they were not directly asked about this, and that for whatever reason they rarely came up with this explanation spontaneously. However, it may also be that the interview measurement is more accurate than the survey measurement, and that generativity truly has little relationship with altruistic behaviors.

The survey measurement was designed specifically to measure generativity, and would normally be considered a more effective measure of generativity that coding of interview data in which no questions about generativity were asked. The difference in sample size (3290 versus 91) also works in favor of the survey measure. However, the survey questions about generativity ask respondents about their commitment to helping and teaching others, but no questions specifically about their commitment to young

people or future generations. The survey questions may therefore be only a measure of generosity, altruistic role identity, or general motivation to altruism, rather than a measure of concern for the next generation. A more narrow definition of generativity, and more specific and exclusive measures of generativity, will be needed before the question of the relationship between generativity and altruism can truly be answered.

Contingent factors:

Trust:

Theorists of social capital have argued that trust is both an effect and a component of social capital, so that a person's trust in members of a group indicates the extent to which that person considers himself or herself to be a member of that group. This theory relates in an interesting way to the correlations between trust measures and altruistic behavior in the MIDUS study. Simple principal components factor analysis found two types of trust measured by the MIDUS survey questions: trust in the members of one's local community, and trust in other people or the world in general. Trust in one's community correlates more strongly with volunteering and religious giving, while trust in the world in general correlates more strongly with secular charitable giving. This relationship implies that religious donors may have a more local orientation and definition of community, while secular donors may have a more cosmopolitan or universal idea of community.

Table 3.14: Trust variables (Tobit coefficients)

	Volunteering:	Religious giving:	Secular giving:
Overall trust (factor scale)	5.90***	38.39***	26.07***
Trust in local community	5.08***	45.40***	36.58***
Trust in society/people in general	2.38***	10.28**	51.70***

^ Significant at p < .10 * Significant at p < .05 ** Significant at p < .01 *** Significant at p = .001

The interview data suggest that both trust in people in general and trust in religious and charitable institutions in particular affect individuals' altruistic behavior (Table 3.3). While the survey data contained no information about trust in charities or religious institutions, many respondents did express cynicism or distrust of these institutions in the course of the interviews, and these expressions of distrust correlated negatively with altruistic activity. Of the ninety-one interview subjects, nine expressed distrust of private charities, and twenty-five expressed distrust or disaffection with organized religion.

The nine respondents who were distrustful of private charities were less altruistic, on average, than the total interview sub-sample. This difference was not statistically significant, but a significant difference might be found with a larger sample size. Typical of the complaints about secular charities were those of one man who objected to the fundraising practices of a charity that he patronized. Once he gave them a donation, they "started sending me literature for more donations, for more, and more and more." He suspected that most of his money went to pay high salaries for the charity's executive officers, and objected to their manipulation of his feelings of empathy in their fund-raising materials. "They send you these crying pictures, little kids with no arms and no legs, one shoe," but "that's just to get more money out of you."

The twenty-five who were distrustful of or disaffected from organized religion were less altruistic than the total sample, and this difference was statistically significant. Respondents' disaffection with organized religion took a variety of forms. Eight of the twenty-five were skeptical about whether religious claims about the existence of God, heaven, and other matters were true. The majority of these respondents were not bitter or angry about organized religion, but merely reported that they no longer believed in the religious teachings they had received as children. One of these respondents, a self-described atheist, even took her daughter to Sunday School every week, because she felt that exposure to religion was good for her daughter's moral development.

Eight of the twenty-five respondents dissatisfied with religion were opposed to what they saw as the corruption and greed of organized churches, and fourteen were opposed to church for other moral reasons. These include what they see as the hypocrisy, intolerance, and divisive tendencies of organized religion, or the teachings of their denomination on sexual morality, such as divorce, homosexuality, and birth control.

Many of the most critical respondents are former Catholics. Eleven of the twenty-five religious skeptics or opponents were raised Catholic, a number disproportionate to the total number of Catholics in the interview sub-sample. Many of these former Catholics are extremely bitter and angry about the Catholic church. One highly altruistic man, who left the Catholic church because of his homosexuality, viewed his decision to stop donating money to the Catholic church as a moral decision that he was highly proud of, adding, "if there's a more morally corrupt institution on the planet, I couldn't know what it is." Some respondents expressed similar sentiments in regards to what they saw as the church's hypocrisy and corruption, while others were more opposed to what they saw

as its greed for donations. One respondent complained that “everybody gives what they can, and they always want more, more, more. Give me, give me, give me. Don't they know that give me, give me, give me, never gets.”

Other contingent variables:

Nearly all of the contingent variables correlate strongly with measures of altruistic behavior (Table 3.15). Socioeconomic class variables correlate with all three outcomes, with education showing the strongest correlation, followed by occupational prestige, income, and wealth. Also correlated with all three outcomes are variables that relate to access to social networks, such as marriage or cohabitation, having children, contact with neighbors, labor force participation, and participation in non-altruistic voluntary organizations. Ability to give and volunteer, as measured by income, wealth, health, and free time, also correlate with all three outcomes.

Many of these variables correlate with one another fairly strongly, so not all of them maintain significance in the multivariate models. The variables measuring socioeconomic class retain independent significance in most of the regression models (Appendix Tables A.1-A.6). Among the variables measuring social networks, being in a romantic union (married or cohabiting), having minor children in the household, attendance at meetings of non-altruistic voluntary associations (such as sports groups, social clubs, labor unions, and professional associations), and owning one’s home are the most significant predictors of altruistic action.

The variables measuring ability to volunteer, in terms of health and free time (hours spent in paid work), are the least predictive of altruistic behavior. Health has a

strong correlation at the bivariate level, but correlates with so many other variables, particularly income, education, and happiness, that health measures become non-significant in the multivariate models. The number of hours one spends in paid employment has a slight negative relationship with volunteering, but no relationship to charitable or secular giving.

Wealth and income are of different importance in religious and secular giving. Variations in wealth and income have only a moderate effect on religious giving, but a very large effect on secular giving. Borrowing terms from economics, one could describe religious giving as a necessary good, but secular charitable giving as a luxury. In other words, income has little effect on religious giving – people donate to their churches, mosques, temples, and synagogues whether or not they have much money to give – but income has a strong effect on secular giving, meaning that people are more likely to donate to secular charities when they have excess income to spend.

Table 3.15: Contingent variables (Tobit coefficients)

	Volunteering:	Religious giving:	Secular giving:
Community satisfaction	7.22***	102.84***	149.35***
Contact with neighbors	3.78***	25.03***	17.09**
Home ownership (dummy)	7.80***	141.82***	129.02***
Attendance at voluntary association meetings	1.48***	4.56***	10.35***
Married or cohabiting (dummy)	4.32***	99.60***	80.03***
Total children	1.52***	17.67***	-.23
Minor children in household (dummy)	4.69***	10.35	-29.45^
Any children (dummy)	6.05***	85.07***	18.51
In labor force (dummy)	-1.54	-34.17**	5.94
Total work hours	-.04^	-0.24	0.4
Health	2.85***	36.47***	65.75***
Education	5.62***	51.02***	110.22***
Occupational prestige	0.26***	2.80***	6.91***
Income (in thousands)	0.049***	0.85***	1.66***
Wealth (in thousands)	0.011***	0.23***	0.35***

^ Significant at p < .10 * Significant at p < .05 ** Significant at p < .01 *** Significant at p = .001

Conclusion:

The regression analyses discussed in this chapter offer support for most of the hypotheses proposed in this dissertation. Each of the proposed causal and contingent factors had some correlation with altruistic behaviors, and in most cases correlations were found in multiple measurements for each factor. Stacked regression analysis revealed little interaction among independent variables, meaning that the causal factors appear to predict altruistic behaviors independently of one another. The overall model fit was good by social science standards, as the full logistic regression models had Nagelkerke pseudo R square values of .259 for volunteering, .402 for religious giving, and .198 for secular giving.

Both the characteristics of individuals and the position of individuals in communities had a significant and independent relationship with altruistic behaviors. Individual characteristics such as subjective religiosity, reciprocal obligation, moral

universalism, generativity, and altruistic role identity all correlated with altruistic behaviors, but variables measuring the relationship between individuals and the community also correlated with altruism. These include social networks measures such as attendance at religious services and meetings, attendance at other meetings, contact with neighbors, marital status, the presence of children, and employment, and also included education, health, income, wealth, and trust. In other words, both an individual's personality and an individual's position within his or her community influence his or her level of altruistic activity.

One of the most interesting findings was the relative weakness of empathy and family of origin characteristics in predicting altruistic behaviors. A number of psychologists have focused primarily on developmental factors and empathy as motivators of altruism, and have found experimental and life history evidence to support these theories. The data from the MIDUS survey finds only a weak link between empathy and altruism, and between family of origin characteristics and altruism. On the other hand, Colby and Damon's contention that altruistic motivation develops primarily during adulthood was well supported. Adult religious beliefs and behaviors, generativity, and altruistic role identity all had strong relationships to altruistic behaviors, and generalized reciprocity and moral universalism had moderately strong relationships.

Another interesting finding is that subjective religiosity had a strong relationship with altruistic behaviors in the interview data. Other researchers using survey data have found that subjective religiosity has little effect outside of religious attendance, and the analysis of the MIDUS survey data found similar results. However, the measure of subjective religiosity generated by coding the interview data did correlate strongly with

altruistic behavior, as did the measure of the extent to which respondents in the interview sub-sample equated their religious beliefs with altruistic values. These results imply that subjective religiosity and religious values of helping may indeed motivate altruistic behaviors, but that this relationship has been obscured by the poor measures used in much survey research.

Finally, generalized reciprocity, a concept original to this dissertation, was found to have a statistically significant relationship with altruism. Generalized reciprocity was not the strongest predictor of altruistic behavior, but measures of happiness and moral obligations did correlate at a moderate level with altruistic behaviors when compared to other causal factors (Tables 3.1 and 3.2), and the number of mentions of good fortune or blessing from the interview data had a statistically significant correlation with altruistic behaviors (Table 3.3). These results are not conclusive, but strong enough to warrant further research on generalized reciprocity.

The findings reported in this chapter demonstrate how causal and contingent factors relate to altruism in the sample as a whole. These factors may have different strength and effects in men and in women, and may vary in importance through different stages of the life course. The question of gender and life course variation in altruistic behaviors and their correlates is taken up in the next chapter.

Chapter Four: Gender and life stage differences

Participation in altruistic behaviors varies greatly by gender and life stage, as do the values of the variables that predict participation in altruistic behaviors. In general, women score higher than men on variables measuring altruistic motivation, but men score higher than women on income, education, and access to social networks. These two differences tend to cancel one another out, with the end result that men and women engage in roughly equal amounts of altruistic activities.

Altruistic behaviors and their motivations vary across the life course. The variation in charitable giving relative to age may be more of an effect of birth year than of life course transitions, but transitions do seem to have a strong effect on volunteering. The effect of life course events is more important for men than for women. The survey data account for aggregate and average effects of life course events, but the interview data indicate that these events vary greatly in their effect on individuals, with the same event causing some individuals to volunteer more, others less, and having no effect on still others. Data taken from the life history interviews demonstrate some of the complexity in the interaction between life transitions and volunteering.

Gender differences:

Men and women engage in roughly the same amount of altruistic activity, but they arrive at this result by different paths. Women outscore men on a large number of causal factors related to altruistic motivation: empathy, religiosity, obligations, altruistic role identity, and generativity, whereas men outscore women only on moral universalism. Men score slightly higher than women on some contingent variables, such as community

satisfaction, contact with neighbors, attendance at meetings, and trust, and score higher than women on education, occupational prestige, income, and wealth. The two effects largely cancel each other out, so that men and women's total amounts of altruistic behaviors differ only slightly.

Men and women differ on the type of altruistic activities they engage in. On average, men do more charitable giving, and women do more volunteering, which seems largely to be a function of gender differences in employment and income. On average, men work more hours than women and have higher incomes, so that men have more money to contribute to charity, while women have more time to volunteer. Some caution should be used in interpreting these results, however, as the majority of the people in the sample are married, and married people often make decisions about charitable giving as a couple, not as individuals. The following tables show gender differences on means and proportions of altruistic behaviors, causal factors, and contingent factors.

Table 4.1. Gender and altruistic behaviors:

	Women:	Men:
% who do so:		
Volunteering:	**40.1^**	37.1
Religious giving:	43.0*	**46.2**
Secular giving:	43.1*	**46.9**
Amount:		
Volunteering (hours/month):	**5.7****	4.6
Religious giving (dollars/month):	44.96**	**60.69**
Secular giving (dollars/month):	17.77	31.28

Statistical significance is measured with t-tests.
^ Significant at p < .10 * Significant at p < .05 ** Significant at p < .01 *** Significant at p = .001

There are also some differences in the types of organizations to which men and women give their time and money. The MIDUS survey contains only a few categories for

type of volunteering, but there are statistically significant differences between men and women by these organization types (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2. Gender and types of volunteering:

	Women:	Men:
% who do so:		
Medical/health	**8.2*** **	4.1
Youth/education:	**20.8*** **	17.8
Other:	26.2^	**27.4**
Amount (hours/month):		
Medical/health	**.95*** **	.38
Youth/education:	**2.09***	1.62
Other:	2.71	2.64

Statistical significance is measured with t-tests.
^ Significant at p < .10 * Significant at p < .05 ** Significant at p < .01 *** Significant at p = .001

A better measure of organization type can be gained from the interviews, in which respondents were asked to name the organizations to which they donate time and money. While the information available is detailed, the sample size is small and the number of people participating in each type of organization is even smaller, so that tests of statistical significance would not be appropriate. Even so, the evidence suggests only minor differences in the types of charitable organizations that men and women support. Men in the interview sub-sample reported more participation in fundraising activities, all of which were for medical charities, and more participation in fraternal organizations. The one female volunteer in a “fraternal” organization was a member of the women’s auxiliary to the Masons. In charitable giving, more women gave money to charities that benefited children and education, and men gave more money to veterans and civil rights causes. For other types of organizations, the participation rates were similar among men and women.

Table 4.3. Volunteering by gender and type of organization (n = 91)

Type of organization	Men	Women
Children/youth	7	4
Medical charity: fundraising	6	1
Medical charity: direct service	2	3
Fraternal	4	1
Environment	2	1
Arts	1	1
Other	4	3
Total:	26	14

Table 4.4. Charitable giving by gender and type of organization (n = 91)

Type of organization	Men	Women
Medical charity	22	17
United Way	11	8
Youth	6	11
Poverty/homelessness	6	5
Public TV/radio	4	6
Animals/environment	4	5
Veterans	5	1
College	2	3
Civil Rights	3	0
Any – when asked	2	0
Other	2	5

Table 4.5. Gender and causal factors (means):

	Women:	Men:
Chores	3.0	3.1
Rules	2.8	2.8
Family religiosity	**3.23****	3.15
Empathy	**3.6*****	3.3
Religious services	**3.2****	2.8
Religious meetings	**1.8****	1.7
Subjective religiosity	**2.59*****	2.55
Happiness	**5.56***	5.64
Financial satisfaction	**5.9****	6.1
Family obligations	**8.6*****	8.1
Friend obligations	**6.7*****	6.1
Work obligations	**7.7****	7.5
Civic obligations	**7.8^**	7.6
Altruistic obligations	**6.0*****	5.4
Total obligations (factor scale)	**.15*****	-.15
Moral universalism (factor scale)	-.10***	**.10**
High past volunteering	11.0	9.5
High future volunteering	**31.4*****	23.6
Past helpfulness	**6.4*****	5.7
Future helpfulness	**7.2*****	6.6
Generativity	**2.9****	2.8

Statistical significance is measured with t-tests.

^ Significant at p < .10 * Significant at p < .05 ** Significant at p < .01 *** Significant at p = .001

Table 4.6. Gender and contingent factors (means):

	Women:	Men:
Community satisfaction	3.4**	**3.5**
Contact with neighbors	4.0^	**4.1**
Home ownership	72.0	73.8
Meeting attendance	2.2^	**2.5**
Local trust	4.7	4.6
General trust	4.0***	**4.2**
Education	2.8***	**3.0**
Occupational prestige	37.4***	**41.5**
Income (in thousands)	58.9***	**75.0**
Wealth (in thousands)	98.0***	**149.6**

Statistical significance is measured with t-tests.
^ Significant at p < .10 * Significant at p < .05 ** Significant at p < .01 *** Significant at p = .001

While the mean values of many causal and contextual factors vary significantly by gender, only in a few cases do the regression coefficients for men and women differ in a statistically significant way. Statistical significance was tested by creating interaction terms for gender and each of the causal variables. Table 4.7.a. shows the statistical significance of the coefficients themselves, while Table 4.7.b. shows which coefficients have a statistically significant *difference* by gender. Empathy is a stronger motivator for women than for men in volunteering and charitable giving ($p < .10$). For men, community integration and satisfaction is a stronger motivator for volunteering ($p < .10$) and religious giving ($p < .01$). Religiosity ($p < .001$) and life satisfaction ($p < .01$) are much stronger motivators of religious giving for men than for women. With these exceptions, the regression coefficients for men and women are identical on causal and contingent variables.

Table 4.7.a. Statistical significance of bivariate Tobit coefficients:

	Volunteering:		Church giving:		Secular giving:	
	Women:	Men:	Women:	Men:	Women:	Men:
Family	1.71**	1.92***	12.10*	29.25***	-2.96	-7.40*
Empathy	2.85***	1.15*	13.04*	10.20^	5.79^	-1.66
Religiosity	6.34***	5.64***	96.80***	120.44***	0.77	2.84
Happiness	2.38***	3.36***	32.59***	58.93***	14.61***	21.47***
Obligations	4.96***	5.23***	31.76***	46.94***	17.89***	19.62***
Universalism	2.85***	2.75***	14.42*	31.87***	12.77***	18.64***
Role Identity	8.93***	7.36***	41.94***	52.71***	18.21***	17.24***
Generativity	6.56***	5.13***	28.00***	36.66***	16.28***	20.58***
Trust	5.84***	6.04***	31.42***	43.80***	25.13***	26.37***
Community	4.38***	5.56***	46.12***	73.09***	25.35***	27.19***
SES	5.77***	4.46***	53.90***	61.32***	41.81***	48.62***

Statistical significance is measured through t-tests of the significance of coefficients.
^ Significant at p < .10 * Significant at p < .05 ** Significant at p < .01 *** Significant at p = .001

Table 4.7.b. Statistical significance of gender differences in bivariate Tobit coefficients:

	Volunteering:		Church giving:		Secular giving:	
	Women:	Men:	Women:	Men:	Women:	Men:
Family	1.71	1.92	12.10^	**29.25**	-2.96	-7.40
Empathy	**2.85^**	1.15	13.04	10.20	**5.79^**	-1.66
Religiosity	6.34	5.64	96.80***	**120.44**	0.77	2.84
Happiness	2.38	3.36	32.59**	**58.93**	14.61	21.47
Obligations	4.96	5.23	31.76	46.94	17.89	19.62
Universalism	2.85	2.75	14.42^	**31.87**	12.77	18.64
Role Identity	8.93	7.36	41.94	52.71	18.21	17.24
Generativity	6.56	5.13	28.00	36.66	16.28	20.58
Trust	5.84	6.04	31.42	43.80	25.13	26.37
Community	4.38^	**5.56**	46.12**	**73.09**	25.35	27.19
SES	5.77	4.46	53.90	61.32	41.81	48.62

Statistical significance is measured through t-tests of the significance of coefficients of interaction terms.
^ Significant at p < .10 * Significant at p < .05 ** Significant at p < .01 *** Significant at p = .001

Life stage differences:

Volunteering and charitable giving both vary through the life course, but they vary in different ways. Charitable giving to secular and religious institutions increases steadily through the life course, and this increase seems to be caused primarily by an

increase in wealth and income through the life course. Volunteering, by contrast, increases or decreases with each life stage change. Volunteering increases, on average, with marriage and childbearing, decreases when children grow up, and increases again on retirement. These differences are more marked with men than with women. Likewise, many of the changes in causal and contextual factors change in a linear way through stages of the life course, indicating that age or cohort effects, not the effect of life course transitions, may explain the changes. Further tests of this hypothesis will be made when the 2005 panel data becomes available.

Life stage differences in volunteering:

For men, life stage transitions have a larger effect on participation in volunteering than for women. Unmarried men do very little volunteer work. Married men do much more volunteer work than single men, and married men with children do even more volunteer work. This percentage drops for men whose children have left the household, but rises again greatly for men who are retired. If the cross-sectional data accurately reflect changes in the life course, then all of the life stage transitions have important effects for men: men increase their volunteer work with marriage and having children, cut back on volunteering when their children leave the home, and increase again upon retirement.

Women's volunteering shows less variation by life stage. Married and unmarried women volunteer in roughly equal amounts, but women with minor children at home volunteer much more than women without children or women whose children have left the home. Also, women who have left the labor force and have grown children volunteer

less than those who are still in the labor force, a markedly different pattern from that of men. Given that these are cross-sectional data, however, the difference may not reflect a change in each individual woman as she leaves the labor force, but rather the difference between women who pursued full-time employment and careers, as compared to women who never worked, or who stopped working after their children were born and never returned to the labor force.

Table 4.8. Volunteering by life stage for females:

	Percent volunteering:	Mean hours:
Unmarried	31.1	4.1
Married	28.4	4.0
Children	47.8	6.8
Empty nest	41.4	5.3
Retired	31.0	5.7
All females:	40.1	5.7

Statistical significance is calculated with ANOVA. Percentage differences are statistically significant at $p < .001$, but hours differences are not statistically significant.

Table 4.9. Volunteering by life stage for males:

	Percent volunteering:	Mean hours:
Unmarried	23.4	3.3
Married	31.1	4.7
Children	42.3	5.0
Empty nest	34.9	3.6
Retired	41.0	6.5
All males:	37.1	4.6

Statistical significance is calculated with ANOVA. Percentage differences are statistically significant at $p < .001$, and hours differences are statistically significant at $p < .01$.

Life stage differences in charitable giving:

Levels of religious and secular charitable giving follow a more linear path through the life course. Married men give much more money to charity than unmarried men, and men in each successive life stage give a steadily increasing amount of money to charity. Married women also give more money to both religious and secular charities than unmarried women, but charitable giving does not increase steadily through the remaining life stages. Religious giving is essentially stable across life stages for women, while secular giving fluctuates. Again, these differences for women probably reflect cohort differences, related to women's education and employment, not individual changes through the life course.

Table 4.10. Religious giving by life stage for females:

	Percent giving:	Mean amount in dollars:
Unmarried	29.3	18.46
Married	33.8	45.58
Children	43.0	46.10
Empty nest	47.9	45.28
Retired	43.7	54.18
All females:	43.0	44.96

Statistical significance is calculated with ANOVA. Percentage differences are statistically significant at $p < .001$, but differences in dollar amounts are not statistically significant.

Table 4.11. Religious giving by life stage for males:

	Percent giving:	Mean amount in dollars:
Unmarried	23.3	25.96
Married	37.9	49.56
Children	48.8	61.28
Empty nest	49.4	67.22
Retired	55.2	83.85
All males:	46.2	60.69

Statistical significance is calculated with ANOVA. Percentage differences and differences in dollar amounts are statistically significant at $p < .001$.

Table 4.12. Secular giving by life stage for females:

	Percent giving:	Mean amount in dollars:
Unmarried	29.3	18.46
Married	33.8	45.58
Children	43.0	46.10
Empty nest	47.9	45.28
Retired	43.7	54.18
All females:	43.1	17.77

Statistical significance is calculated with ANOVA. Percentage differences are statistically significant at $p < .001$, and differences in dollar amounts are statistically significant at $p<.10$.

Table 4.13. Secular giving by life stage for males:

	Percent giving:	Mean amount in dollars:
Unmarried	36.1	9.58
Married	48.5	21.69
Children	46.0	20.85
Empty nest	52.2	29.32
Retired	49.4	31.48
All males:	46.9	31.28

Statistical significance is calculated with ANOVA. Percentage differences and differences in dollar amounts given are statistically significant at $p < .01$.

Life stage differences in causal and contextual factors:

There are significant differences in the mean values of many causal variables by life stage. These seem primarily to represent age or cohort effects, not the effects of life course transitions, as most increase steadily with each stage of the life course. For both men and women, religiosity and altruistic and civic moral obligations increase through the life course, and financial satisfaction also increases steadily, except for a decrease among respondents with minor children in the household. Community satisfaction, local trust, home ownership, wealth, and income all increase steadily through the life course

for both sexes. Education and occupational prestige are stable for men but decrease with life stages among women, which is almost certainly a cohort effect.

Young, unmarried men (but not women) score significantly lower than other respondents on a number of causal factors, including religiosity, moral obligations, happiness, and financial satisfaction. Unmarried men also do much less volunteer work and charitable giving than married men, a difference that does not exist for women. Nock (1998) has analyzed the important difference that marriage makes in many domains of men's lives, and the findings of this research confirms that marriage makes an important difference in men's prosocial motivations and behaviors as well. The tables below (Tables 4.14 through 4.17) present mean factor scores for men and women by life stage, and statistical significance as measured by ANOVA.

Table 4.14. Causal factor mean scores by life stage, for women:

	Single	Married	Children	Empty Nest	Retired
Chores	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.1	3.1
Rules	2.7	2.6	2.8	2.9	2.9
Family religiosity	3.1	3.0	3.2	3.3	3.3
Empathy	3.6	3.6	3.6	3.7	3.6
Religious services***	1.5	1.7	2.5	2.6	3.2
Religious meetings	0.6	0.5	0.9	0.7	0.9
Subjective religiosity	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6
Happiness***	5.4	5.7	5.4	5.7	5.7
Financial satisfaction***	5.4	6.0	5.4	6.2	6.3
Total obligations (factor scale)***	-.001	.07	.06	.29	.18
Moral universalism (factor scale)***	-.19	-.36	-.34	.06	.09
Family obligations	8.6	8.8	8.6	8.7	8.6
Friend obligations*	6.7	7.0	6.9	6.7	6.4
Work obligations***	7.2	7.3	7.5	8.1	7.7
Civic obligations***	7.5	7.5	7.4	8.1	8.0
Altruistic obligations**	5.8	5.4	5.8	6.1	6.3
High past volunteering	.14	.09	.11	.15	.10
High future volunteering***	.37	.36	.33	.35	.17
Past helpfulness***	5.3	6.0	6.1	7.0	6.8
Future helpfulness	7.7	8.0	7.6	7.3	6.0
Generativity***	3.0	2.9	2.8	2.9	2.8

Table 4.15. Contingent factor mean scores by life stage, for women:

	Single	Married	Children	Empty Nest	Retired
Community satisfaction***	3.3	3.4	3.3	3.5	3.4
Contact with neighbors***	3.8	3.6	4.0	3.9	4.3
Home ownership***	.39	.68	.70	.80	.81
Meeting attendance*	2.4	1.9	2.5	2.2	1.6
Local trust***	4.4	4.5	4.5	4.8	4.9
General trust***	4.3	4.6	3.9	4.0	3.6
Education***	3.4	3.4	2.8	2.8	2.3
Occupational prestige***	44.5	42.6	36.8	37.8	33.1
Income (in thousands)***	47.3	85.3	69.2	62.8	35.9
Wealth (in thousands)***	68.6	83.3	102.7	138.4	160.1

Statistical significance is tested with ANOVA.

^ Significant at p < .10 * Significant at p < .05 ** Significant at p < .01 *** Significant at p = .001

Table 4.16. Causal factor mean scores by life stage, for men::

	Single	Married	Children	Empty Nest	Retired
Chores***	2.9	3.1	3.0	3.2	3.1
Rules***	2.6	2.8	2.7	2.9	2.8
Family religiosity***	3.0	3.0	3.1	3.2	3.3
Empathy*	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.4	3.4
Religious services***	1.3	1.7	1.9	1.9	2.5
Religious meetings*	.28	.49	.69	.68	.68
Subjective religiosity**	2.5	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.6
Happiness***	5.1	5.8	5.6	5.8	5.9
Financial satisfaction***	5.3	6.2	5.8	6.5	6.9
Total obligations (factor scale)***	-.41	-.08	-.20	-.01	.01
Moral universalism (factor scale)***	-.21	.01	-.13	.27	.62
Family obligations**	7.7	8.3	8.1	8.2	8.2
Friend obligations***	6.3	6.5	6.3	5.9	5.4
Work obligations***	6.9	7.4	7.4	7.9	7.9
Civic obligations***	6.9	8.0	7.3	8.0	8.5
Altruistic obligations***	5.1	5.1	5.2	5.6	5.8
High past volunteering	.11	.12	.09	.12	.09
High future volunteering***	.31	.25	.23	.26	.12
Past helpfulness***	4.8	5.1	5.6	6.2	6.4
Future helpfulness***	6.8	7.2	7.0	6.4	5.9
Generativity**	2.7	2.9	2.8	2.9	2.8

Table 4.17. Contingent factor mean scores by life stage, for men:

	Single	Married	Children	Empty Nest	Retired
Community satisfaction***	3.2	3.4	3.4	3.6	3.6
Contact with neighbors***	3.6	3.9	4.0	4.1	4.5
Home ownership***	.34	.62	.76	.86	.87
Meeting attendance	2.8	2.9	2.5	2.3	2.3
Local trust***	4.1	4.6	4.5	4.8	5.0
General trust*	4.2	4.4	4.2	4.4	4.1
Education***	3.3	3.2	2.9	2.9	2.7
Occupational prestige**	43.7	44.4	40.3	41.7	41.5
Income (in thousands)***	54.7	87.1	80.0	89.3	46.8
Wealth (in thousands)***	45.1	60.0	82.6	172.3	200.1

Statistical significance is tested with ANOVA.

^ Significant at p < .10 * Significant at p < .05 ** Significant at p < .01 *** Significant at p = .001

Regression slope coefficient differences by life stage:

To test for life stage differences in the relationship between causal factors and altruistic behaviors, I divided the sample by gender, generated interaction terms for each variable and life stage, and tested these interaction terms for statistical significance. There were few statistically significant differences in the regression coefficients among the middle three life stages (married, children, and empty nest), but a number of differences between respondents in the first stage and the rest of the sample, and between respondents in the last stage and the rest of the sample. The tables below show the statistically significant differences in regression coefficients for men and women in the first and last stages of the life course. Significance tests were done by generating interaction terms between the factor scale variables and the life stage dummy variables, and then testing those interaction terms for statistical significance. The tables report the value of the regression coefficients of those interaction terms that achieved statistical significance, and the significance level of those coefficients as measured by t-tests.

Among young, unmarried men (Table 4.19), parental factors (amount of time-use rules in the family of origin) have a stronger effect on religious giving than for other men, and empathy has a stronger effect on both religious and secular charitable giving. There are no differences between unmarried women and the rest of the women in the sample on the slope coefficients for religious and secular giving, but a number of differences in the slope coefficients for volunteering. However, these differences do not follow any clear pattern. For young, single women (Table 4.18), empathy, religiosity, happiness, moral obligations, and community integration are less correlated with volunteering than for

other women, while family of origin rules and moral universalism are more correlated with volunteering.

Table 4.18. Significant differences in Tobit coefficients: Stage 1 females (young, single, no children)

	Volunteering:	Church giving:	Secular giving:
Rules:	4.41^	x	x
Empathy:	-5.18^	x	x
Religiosity:	-4.43*	x	x
Happiness:	-6.23**	x	x
Obligations:	-4.96*	x	x
Universalism:	6.75**	x	x
Generativity:	x	x	x
Community:	-4.40^	x	x

x = No significant difference ^ Significant at p < .10 * Significant at p < .05 ** Significant at p < .01
The numbers in the table are the coefficients of the interaction terms generated by multiplying the factor scales by the life stage dummy variable, on a sub-sample of women only. Statistical significance of these coefficients is measured using t-tests.

Table 4.19. Significant differences in Tobit coefficients: Stage 1 males (young, single, no children)

	Volunteering:	Church giving:	Secular giving:
Rules:	x	52.71*	x
Empathy:	x	55.54*	21.41*
Religiosity:	x	x	x
Happiness:	x	x	-18.21^
Obligations:	x	x	x
Universalism:	x	x	x
Generativity:	3.15^	x	-21.58*
Community:	x	x	x

x = No significant difference ^ Significant at p < .10 * Significant at p < .05 ** Significant at p < .01
The numbers in the table are the coefficients of the interaction terms generated by multiplying the factor scales by the life stage dummy variable, on a sub-sample of men only. Statistical significance of these coefficients is measured using t-tests.

There are many statistically significant differences in regression slope coefficients between retirees and the rest of the sample, and these follow a clear pattern. Community integration, trust, and altruistic role identity are more important motivators of prosocial behaviors for retired men and women than for other individuals in the sample (Tables

4.20 and 4.21). This finding has policy implications for organizations seeking to recruit elderly volunteers. The special importance of altruistic role identity among retired donors and volunteers indicates that charities interested in recruiting retirees will find their best prospects among those who already have a history of altruistic participation.

The special importance of trust and community indicates that retired people who feel that they are members of tightly knit communities are much more likely to volunteer than those who feel isolated or independent from their communities. Other researchers (Prisuta, 2003) have addressed the special challenges that retirees' migration poses for non-profits seeking to recruit volunteers; individuals who change residence upon retirement are less well integrated into the community than people who remain in an area where they have community ties. To recruit migrated elderly people into charitable giving and volunteering, special efforts may be warranted to reach out to elderly people who have migrated into a community from elsewhere. Those migrators who have a history of volunteering or charitable giving may be particularly interested in helping out in their new home. Charities with an interest in recruiting retired volunteers and donors may wish to focus their efforts first on integrating these new arrivals into the community, and then asking them to donate money and volunteer.

Table 4.20. Significant differences in Tobit coefficients: Stage 5 females (grown children, out of labor force)

	Volunteering:	Church giving:	Secular giving:
Rules:	x	x	x
Empathy:	4.18*	x	x
Religiosity:	x	-36.58***	x
Happiness:	7.82***	50.55*	x
Obligations:	x	x	13.64^
Universalism:	x	x	x
Generativity:	4.46**	x	22.98**
Community:	7.53***	x	15.29^
Trust:	x	x	13.13^
SES:	x	x	x

x = No significant difference ^ Significant at p < .10 * Significant at p < .05 ** Significant at p < .01
The numbers in the table are the coefficients of the interaction terms generated by multiplying the factor scales by the life stage dummy variable, on a sub-sample of women only. Statistical significance of these coefficients is measured using t-tests.

Table 4.21. Significant differences in Tobit coefficients: Stage 5 males (grown children, out of labor force)

	Volunteering:	Church giving:	Secular giving:
Rules:	x	-38.06*	x
Empathy:	x	x	x
Religiosity:	-3.39*	-24.69^	x
Happiness:	4.17^	x	x
Obligations:	x	x	17.43*
Universalism:	x	x	-16.57^
Generativity:	4.16*	x	25.18**
Community:	5.29*	45.33^	20.03*
Trust:	5.29***	39.14*	20.03*
SES:	x	x	24.04*

x = No significant difference ^ Significant at p < .10 * Significant at p < .05 ** Significant at p < .01
The numbers in the table are the coefficients of the interaction terms generated by multiplying the factor scales by the life stage dummy variable, on a sub-sample of men only. Statistical significance of these coefficients is measured using t-tests.

Interview data on life course transitions:

While the cross-sectional survey data provide information about differences between people in different stages of life, the data themselves do not explain how or why major life events cause changes in altruistic behaviors. The interviews provide important insights into how this occurs. Interviewers asked subjects to divide their lives into chapters and to reflect on their altruistic behaviors and motivations in each chapter.

Seventy-seven of the ninety-one subjects were in the later three stages of the life course, and could thus reflect retrospectively on how marriage and children had influenced their altruistic behavior. Forty-eight of the respondents had children who had already grown up and left the household, and fifteen were retired from full-time work.

Table 4.22: Life course stage of participants in the interview sub-sample:

Life stage:	Number of respondents:	Gender:
Stage 1 (Unmarried)	9	4 women, 5 men
Stage 2 (Married, no children)	5	2 women, 3 men
Stage 3 (Minor children)	29	13 women, 16 men
Stage 4 (Grown children, in labor force)	33	16 women, 17 men
Stage 5 (Not in labor force)*	15	7 women, 8 men
Total:	91	42 women, 49 men

* Two subjects, one man and one woman, were retired but had no children.

Marriage: In the interview data, as in the survey data, marriage made an important difference in volunteering for men, but not for women. Many of the older men in the sample described their younger selves as irresponsible, self-centered, career-oriented, or even criminal, and stated that marriage and fatherhood turned them into more responsible adults. Most of the men in the interview sample had been married for many years and had children, and did not make a distinction between the effects of marriage and of having children in their accounts. The survey data indicates that marriage alone has a positive effect on men's volunteering and charitable giving, but there were not enough married men without children in the interview sample to explore how and why marriage has this effect.

Children: For both men and women, the presence of children is an important influence on volunteering and religious giving. In the survey data, men and women with

children give more money to religious institutions than men and women without children. The interview data on the effect of children on volunteering is complex and difficult to summarize. On average, people with school-age children volunteer more than people without children. However, the time required to care for children can compete with time spent volunteering, particularly when parents have very young children at home. While the overall pattern in the interview sample was of increasing volunteer commitments with children, many respondents did not change their volunteer habits upon having children, and a few even stopped volunteering.

Twenty-eight of the interview transcripts of people with children still living at home contained information about whether and how their practice of volunteering was affected by having children. Of these twenty-eight, eight volunteered neither before nor after having children, four volunteered both before and after, twelve began volunteering for the first time when they had children, and four stopped volunteering because they lacked the time to continue.

The twelve respondents who began volunteering with the arrival of children typically began with school projects or church activities. Some of the four who volunteered both before and after having children continued with the same volunteering they had done before, while others changed to volunteer in activities that involved their own children. It should be noted that some individuals who volunteered to work with their own children's activities went beyond what was expected of them as parents, and took on altruistic responsibilities for others' children or for an institution as a whole. For example, one respondent, whose children have cerebral palsy, decided to found a day care center for handicapped children, so that his children and others could benefit from

appropriate care. Another highly altruistic respondent volunteered as the chair of the board of the private school that her children attended, and a third volunteered to be the president of the Parent Teacher Association at his children's school.

Table 4.23: Changes in volunteering due to life course transitions

	Childbearing (n = 28)	Empty nest (n = 23)	Retirement (n = 15)
Increased or started volunteering	10 (2F/8M)	2 (2F)	0
Decreased or stopped volunteering	4 (1F/3M)	5 (3F/2M)	4 (1F/3M)
Continued volunteering	4 (3F/1M)	4 (3F/1M)	3 (1F/2M)
No volunteering before or after	8 (5F/3M)	8 (2F/6M)	4 (3F/1M)
Other*	2 (1F/1M)	3 (2F/1M)	4 (1F/3M

* People in the "other" category changed their volunteer patterns during this time of their life for reasons unrelated to family or labor force status.

Empty Nest: Twenty-four respondents with grown children gave enough information about their volunteer history to trace how their children leaving the home affected their volunteer commitments. Eight of the twenty-four volunteered neither when their children were young nor after they left home, eight volunteered both before and after their children left home, and eight volunteered when their children were young but stopped when they grew older. Only two respondents, both women, volunteered for the first time after their children grew up. One woman started to volunteer as a literacy tutor when her children left the home, in order to have someone else to care for now that her children were grown. Another, a widow with grown children, volunteers as leader of a service club. Her volunteer work also seems to be a substitute for family life, as she describes her role as leader of the group as "more or less like being a mother of a whole bunch of children."

The most important factor in whether respondents continued to volunteer after their children grow up seems to be the nature of the program volunteered in. Volunteers with religious youth programs most often continued volunteering in the church after their own children leave home, while volunteers with other types of youth programs do not. Of the eight respondents who stopped volunteering when their children grew up, six volunteered with sports, school, or leisure activities, one volunteered with church programs, and one volunteered with both groups. Of the eight respondents who continued volunteering after their children left home, six volunteered through a religious institution. One began volunteering with a fraternal organization's children's program but switched to church volunteering later on, and the last volunteered in a large number of programs, including educational, religious, and community groups. While the sample is too small to make generalizations to the population, the data suggest that parents who get involved in children's programs through their religious institutions often continue after their children grow up, while parents who get involved with educational, sports, or leisure programs usually stop volunteering once their children leave the program.

There are two likely explanations for the great difference between religious and non-religious youth programs in volunteer retention. First, religious institutions promote values of altruism and service to others, which encourages participation in voluntary associations even when there is no direct benefit to the volunteer or the volunteer's family. Schools and community organizations do promote values, but these values are most commonly those of cooperation, responsibility, citizenship, and doing one's fair share, not of altruistic service to others. Second, religious institutions offer a variety of programs and services for children and adults, while most educational, sports, and youth

leisure organizations have little to offer adults without children. There is little incentive beyond altruism for an adult to continue volunteering in a youth program once his or her own child has outgrown it, but there are many rewards for continued participation in religious institutions.

Retirement: The survey data showed that retired men do more volunteering than men still in the labor force, and that retired women do less volunteering. However, the interview sample does not contain any individuals who took up volunteer work for the first time upon retirement. Of the fifteen retired people in the interview sample, eight people did not volunteer either before or after retirement, three continued their earlier volunteering, and four respondents stopped or greatly decreased their involvement in volunteer work.

The four who decreased their volunteer commitment did so for different reasons. One man, a retired school superintendent, temporarily cut back on volunteer work for the sake of his own mental health, as his wife had recently left him and he needed time to recover. A second person stopped volunteering because her adult daughter contracted cancer and needed help with chores, child care, and emotional support while she went through chemotherapy. The third person, a former high school teacher and coach, made a conscious and lasting choice not to continue with altruistic work, preferring instead to travel and spend time with his grandchildren. The fourth, a life long volunteer, wanted to continue with her work but was prevented from doing so due to poor health.

While this is too small a sample to make generalizations to the population, these data suggest that retirement is at least as likely to be a time to withdraw from helping activities as a time to increase them. The retired teacher and the retired superintendent

might seem to be good prospects for volunteering, but neither one is doing any altruistic work now. The most active volunteers were individuals who were merely continuing their commitment to altruistic work at levels similar to those undertaken before they retired from full-time work.

Conclusion:

There were large differences between men and women on the mean scores of causal and contingent factors related to altruistic behaviors, but little difference in the correlation between these factors and altruism. Women scored higher on most causal measures of altruistic motivation, while men had more ability to contribute, in terms of education and income, and participated in more social networks. However, there were few statistically significant differences in the regression coefficients among men and women for any of these variables, and what differences existed did not form a pattern.

The analysis of life stage variation produced a similar result: mean values of causal and contingent factors varied by life stage, but the relationship between these factors and altruistic behaviors did not vary much. For charitable giving and its correlates, most variables followed a linear path through life stages, indicating that age and year of birth, not life stage transitions, explained the differences. For volunteering, life course transitions did affect altruistic behavior independently of age and cohort effects, especially for men. There were large differences in the coefficients of variation by life stage only for the last life stage. For retired people, altruistic role identity, community integration, and trust are more important predictors of altruism than they are for other individuals in the sample.

An analysis of retrospective accounts of life history of volunteering shows that life course changes do matter for individuals, but that these changes are complex and vary greatly in effect from person to person. For some individuals, life course events such as marriage, having children, children leaving the home, and retirement cause an increase in altruistic behavior, while for others these events cause a decrease. Cross-sectional survey analysis, which examines the differences in means among large groups, fails to fully differentiate the effect of life course changes from age, cohort, and year effects. A better understanding of how life stage events affect individuals' volunteering behavior will be possible when the second wave of the MIDUS study is released.

Religion is again important in the analysis of life stage effects. Religion is a powerful motivator of altruistic behaviors during all life stages, and from the retrospective interviews we see that religious volunteers tend to continue with their volunteering steadily through life course changes, while volunteers with other organizations are much less likely to continue. There are a number of possible explanations for this finding. Religious institutions have something to offer individuals in each stage of the life course, whereas many other institutions have programs for individuals only in one stage. Religious institutions also provide individuals with moral guidance, a sense of meaning, and a community where they feel loved and accepted. Religious institutions are explicitly set up both to help members and to engage in altruistic helping of others, and thus appeal to both self-oriented and altruistic motives for volunteering. Further analysis of the special character and importance of religious institutions in motivating altruistic behaviors will be provided in the conclusion of this dissertation.

First, however, a more complete analysis of the life course development of altruism is needed. The analyses in this chapter show that life stage transitions have an effect on individuals' altruistic behaviors, but that these effects vary greatly from person to person. Some individuals increase their commitment to altruism during life transitions, others decrease and many are unaffected. The following chapter examines the full life histories of the respondents in the interview sub-sample, seeking common patterns in the life course development of highly altruistic people, and differences between highly altruistic and less altruistic respondents.

Chapter Five: The Life Course Development of Altruism

The life history interviews contained extensive retrospective data about respondents' commitment to altruistic work over the course of their lives, and these data were analyzed using open coding. Open coding is a strategy in which pre-existing hypotheses are not used or tested. Instead, the research examines the data looking for patterns intrinsic to the data themselves. In this case, the respondents were first divided into three categories: respondents who engaged in many altruistic activities (twenty-two respondents), those who engaged in a moderate amount (thirty-two), and those who engaged in little or no helping behaviors (thirty-seven). The highly altruistic individuals were the category of interest, and the least altruistic individuals were analyzed primarily as a control group, for comparative purposes. The life stories of the moderately altruistic individuals were not included in this comparison.

The highly altruistic individuals were analyzed first. Open coding was done to see whether there were common patterns to all the highly altruistic individuals' life stories, and whether they could be categorized into recognizable sub-groups. The same analytic strategy was used in examining the life histories of the least altruistic individuals in the interview sample. Finally, the two groups were compared to examine the differences in the life course development of highly altruistic and non-altruistic people.

From this analysis, three general conclusions can be drawn. First, altruistic motivation and behaviors develop extensively during the adult portion of the life course. By contrast, most adults who were not altruistic at the time of the interview had no history of altruism; it was rare for adults to engage in altruistic behavior early in life but not later. Second, gender has an important influence on the life course development of

altruism. Altruistic men and women both grow during the course of their adult lives, but they develop in different ways. Finally, the life histories of altruistic respondents follow a number of different patterns, and there were seven patterns evident among the twenty-two highly altruistic respondents in the interview sub-sample.

The interview data provide strong evidence in support of Colby and Damon's thesis that much altruistic development takes place during the adult life course. Of the twenty-two highly altruistic respondents in the interview sample, only two reported that their motivation to pursue altruistic careers developed in childhood. The rest developed altruistic motivations and began their careers of altruistic action as adults.

The interview data also provide evidence in support of gender differences in the development of altruism. Women are socialized from childhood to take on caring and helping roles, and their development as altruists generally involves a change of focus from helping family members to helping non-relatives, not a development of helping motivation itself. For many women in the sample, altruistic development also involved a change of motive, going from helping others out of a desire for love and acceptance to helping others for motives of true generosity.

Men develop in altruistic motivation differently than women, as they are not socialized from an early age to take on caring roles to the same extent that women are. Many of the altruistic men in the sample described themselves as selfish and career-oriented during their early adult lives, and only became concerned for others in later adulthood. In some cases, the development of altruistic motivation was gradual, but in many cases a specific event or experience caused them to become altruistic. These experiences include becoming a father, having a profound religious experience, and

undergoing a “redemption” story, defined as making a conscious decision to renounce one’s former ways and make a new beginning in a healthier and more moral life.

Open coding of the interview data for the twenty-two altruistic respondents in the sample revealed seven patterns of life course development of altruism. As some respondents were classified in more than one category, the total number adds up to more than twenty-two. The categories are altruistic from an early age (two respondents); gradual adult development of altruism (four); adult converts (seven); activists (three); generative fathers (two); redemption stories (three), and pleaser to mature altruist (five). Of these categories, three are gender specific. The members of the generative parents and redemption stories categories are male, and the pleasers to mature altruists are all female. The three activists are all men, but this seems to be an accident of the small sample size, as other studies of activists have found both men and women in this role. The other three categories contain both men and women.

Altruistic from an early age: Two respondents came from families where altruistic ideals and behaviors were modeled from early childhood, and they made an early and lasting commitment to helping others.

Gradual adult development: Five respondents made a gradual commitment to altruistic behavior in adult life. These were all respondents who chose helping careers for a mixture of altruistic and self-oriented reasons, and then found that they became increasingly committed to altruistic behavior, both at work and outside of work, due to the emotional rewards they received from helping others.

Adult converts: Seven respondents, both male and female, experienced a new-found commitment to religion during adulthood, either converting to a new religion or

becoming much more involved in the religion they had been raised in. Most of their volunteering and charitable giving takes place through religious institutions.

Activists: Two black men and one gay man took on altruistic activities as a form of activism against the discrimination and prejudice they had experienced personally.

Generative fathers: Two men first became involved in service work as a result of having children, both because they wanted to be involved in their children's activities, and as part of their concern that their children inherit a world worth living in.

Redemption narratives: Three men became involved in helping activities in mid-adulthood as part of a general progression in their lives from alcoholism, drug abuse, and criminal behaviors to social responsibility.

Pleasers to mature altruists: Five women took on the role of pleaser from early childhood, gaining self-esteem and acceptance by taking on helping roles. These respondents view their life development of altruism as a transformation in motives, from helping others in order to be liked and accepted to helping others out of true generosity.

Both of the respondents in the category of generative parents, and the three members with redemption stories, are men. In both categories, the respondents contrasted their self-centered or even criminal youth behavior with their mature adult behavior. For the generative fathers and for some of the redemption story respondents, marriage and children prompted the transition from self-centered to other-oriented behaviors. For the redemption story respondents, hitting a low point with alcohol, drug use, or criminal behavior caused them to change their actions and eventually become altruistic. In one case, an adult religious conversion also helped the respondent change from selfish, destructive behavior to healthy and altruistic actions.

All five members of the pleaser to mature altruist category are women. These women began altruistic activities both because they felt that society expected them, as women, to act as helpers and caregivers, and because they bound up their self-image and self-esteem in the praise and appreciation that they got for helping. Many of them had romantic relationships in which they attempted to help an emotionally troubled and abusive partner. As they matured, they became more confident in themselves and less motivated by insecurity and praise-seeking, and more motivated by ideals.

Altruists from an early age:

Two of the twenty highly altruistic respondents in the sub-sample, one woman and one man, had been motivated to altruistic careers since they were children. Barbara* developed an early interest in nursing for a variety of reasons, including the fact that two of her aunts were nurses and they encouraged her to take an interest in a nursing career. Her childhood heroes were nurses, such as Florence Nightingale and Clara Barton, and she volunteered at a doctor's office in middle school and high school. In addition to her aunts' example, Barbara was inspired towards altruism by her religious faith and by her parents' example. Her mother is a "gentle person" and an "encourager" who is always "doing for others," and both of her parents were strongly religious. They both worked in the business world, a world that Barbara perceived to be "cold and hard," and Barbara decided to pursue a career in a field that would allow her to express her generous nature. In addition to working as a nurse, Barbara volunteers in a leadership position at her children's school and donates money to religious and secular charities.

* All names used in this chapter are pseudonyms.

David also had generous, religious, and altruistically motivated parents, and traces his motivations to altruism to his childhood. Both of his parents were highly involved in their church and donated money to charity, and David's father was also politically active. David was active in politics in high school and college, and was strongly influenced by the example of a pastor in college who was involved in helping others. He first worked in a sales job after leaving college, but was dissatisfied with the profit-oriented nature of the business world and transferred to a position in medical services. He is now the director of a large community blood bank, a volunteer at his church, and a large donor to religious and secular charity. Like Barbara, he learned religion and altruism from his family, began his altruistic work as a teenager, and continued and expanded his commitment to helping others throughout his adult life.

Gradual adult development:

Three of the four respondents in this category are medical professionals, and the fourth is the director of a chapter of the Boy's Club. All of them began their careers for non-altruistic reasons and grew more altruistic over time. Finding their roles as helpers to be rewarding, they became more altruistic in their paid work and also sought out opportunities to help others through volunteering and charitable giving.

Joan, a nurse, did not have the same childhood commitment to helping others through nursing that Barbara did. She described her decision to go to nursing school as somewhat arbitrary, and stated that she couldn't even remember why she chose nursing as a career. She joined a service sorority in college because she thought it would look good on her resume, but discovered that she enjoyed helping others through volunteer

work. She had the same experience with her nursing career, and finds healing people and saving lives “rewarding.” “Somebody comes in bleeding and dying,” she stated, “and you correct that, and you can see a change before you leave.” Having found that she enjoyed helping others, she sought out this experience through other activities, volunteering as a child advocate, at nursing homes, and through her church, and donating money to local charities.

Mark, a veterinarian and military officer, also chose his career for reasons not related to altruism. He grew up on a farm, and wanted to pursue a career in agriculture, but knew that a career as an independent farmer would not be economically viable. He decided to become a veterinarian so that he could make a good salary and stay close to farm life, and went to college to study veterinary medicine. He enrolled in ROTC to pay for his education, but found that he liked military service and became a career officer and military veterinarian. Mark finds veterinary medicine to be very rewarding, and described the “high” he gets from curing sick animals and from helping people who are worried about their pets. Even when he is unable to save an animal, he feels good about his work, as he feels he can help ease the owner’s suffering by being personable and supportive, and explaining the medical reasons why the animal could not be saved. Mark volunteers for and donates money to his church, and mentors high school children as part of a volunteer program sponsored by his military unit. Like Joan, Mark pursued a helping career for reasons unrelated to altruism, discovered that he enjoyed helping others, and later expanded his helping activities through volunteer work and charitable giving.

Adult converts:

The largest single category of altruists, containing seven people, is the category of "adult converts," people who began altruistic activities after having a profound religious experience during their adult lives. There are three men and four women in this category. Three of the people in this category are born-again Christians, three are mainline Protestants, and one is a convert to the Church of the Latter-Day Saints (Mormons). While many of the respondents in the other categories of altruists are religious, what distinguishes the respondents in this category is the prominence of religious faith in motivating their altruistic behaviors, and the fact that a profound change in the character or strength of their religious beliefs during adult life motivated their commitment to altruism.

Joanna was raised in the Christian church, but states that she did not become a true Christian until she went through a born-again experience as a young adult. Joanna's mother was abusive, and her father was an alcoholic. Joanna married at nineteen, "primarily to get out of the house," and later found her marriage unsatisfying. She began having an affair with a married man, which went on for years.

Joanna had her born-again experience at the age of forty, and it was a striking and immediate experience for her. She was volunteering at a church camp for high school students, and an evangelical preacher spoke at the church camp to the high school girls. "I was sitting on a bench with one of the girls," she recalled, "and the minister was praying with the girl to accept Christ as her Lord, and I heard somebody say to me, 'You cannot ask somebody else to do what you've not done yourself.' I heard this so audibly that I turned around to see who was there, and there wasn't anybody there. And I knew…

for the first time in my life I realized that God was my Father, and that my Brother had gotten on the cross and died for me. No matter if anybody else had needed him, he had died for me. And I had never had anybody who loved me that much before, and this was fact. Now that changes you, once you realize that kind of love doesn't come from just anybody, that unconditional love."

Joanna worked as a conference planner and had a part-time job cleaning up construction sites, and her born-again experience did not cause her to change to a more altruistic career. Her born-again experience did cause her to help others through charitable giving and volunteer work at her church. Joanna led her church's youth ministry for twelve years, and she also tithes, giving one-tenth of her and her husband's income to the church and religious charities. Her altruistic work is inspired directly by her feeling of being saved. As she stated, Christ "didn't save us just to leave us here to be inactive, so if we're not doing ministry after we're saved then we're not really doing him any good. I feel that if he loved me enough to die for me, then I can spread his worth through word or deed or love, whatever way I can do to further the Kingdom."

Joanna's religious faith goes into all corners of her life, and she views even the most mundane tasks as service to God. She has a part-time job cleaning up construction debris from newly-built houses, which at first she did not consider important, as she was doing the job for the money and working for someone else. One day, however, she met a workman who "was whistling, and he was putting in closet shelves. And I said, 'You sound happy!' He says, 'Well, I do my work under the Lord, and I'm always happy.' And I said, 'Alright, as I scrape these windows I'm going to go, "I'm so happy!"' He made me see that no matter what you did, if you do it under the Lord therefore you're doing it

under somebody else," so even "if you're a garbage man, be the best garbage man you can be." Now, when she and her partner finish cleaning a house, "we look at it, and we say, 'Wow! We did something really good, and those people [who move into the house] will really like it!'"

Joanna's faith helped her get through the worst crisis in her life, the death of her teenage son from leukemia. Her son faced death with courage, and spoke at a number of churches in their area about how he had kept his faith in God despite his fatal disease, and how his faith gave him courage and strength. Joanna was inspired by his example to take on a more active role in volunteering. She first worked as a volunteer with people who were losing their relatives at the hospital, but she found this to be too painful after her own son's death, so she sought other opportunities. At the time of the interview, she was engaged in founding a lay counseling ministry, called the "Stephen Ministry," in her church. She had attended a two-week training conference and received materials from the organizers of this ministry, and was engaged in recruiting and training Stephen lay counselors at her own church.

Her decision to take up the Stephen Ministry relates directly to her faith and her crisis with her son getting leukemia. The Stephen Ministry pairs lay counselors one on one with people who are suffering because they are going through a divorce or a death in the family. "It's not a cure-giving ministry or a counseling ministry," she explains, "but somebody just to go to and talk to about what they're going through." While she was dealing with her son's illness, "I had lots of people who went through it with me. But I really couldn't go to them and just let myself go, because they were hurting as bad as I was hurting." The Stephen Ministry "gives them somebody to relate to who's not

emotionally involved in their situation, who can as an outsider look in" and give "support and feedback."

Lawrence, a hotel manager, was raised by parents who were not particularly religious or generous, and he did little volunteer work or charitable giving as a young adult. He went through a crisis in his life when he lost his job and his wife left him at about the same time. He turned to his pastor for help, and his pastor supported him emotionally through his divorce and through a long period of unemployment. His pastor had been divorced himself, so he was able to relate to what Lawrence was experiencing and offer good advice. The pastor became Lawrence's role model, and Lawrence tries to emulate him by "having a love for one's fellow man, not holding grudges, forgiving people, and helping others that are less fortunate than you." He helps others informally by being a good friend and listener, as his pastor helped him. He also does an extensive amount of charitable giving and volunteer work.

Lawrence does not view his paid job as a hotel manager as particularly expressive of his Christian ideals. All of his altruistic energy goes into his church life. He attends a very large church, with over 14,000 members, and he volunteers in many ways, including the single parent committee, the usher board, and the male chorus. He works as a fundraiser for the church and donates a large amount of his salary each year. He also volunteers with a number of church missions projects. Lawrence is black, and he participates in a program that sends successful black men into schools to act as role models for black youth. He also works for a church ministry that assists women on welfare. While he did not have the intense born-again experience that Joanna did, he does link his commitment to help others with his feeling that Jesus died to save him. He

explains that when God “sacrificed His son for our sins by the shedding of His blood, He gave the ultimate sacrifice of love.” As a Christian, Lawrence is called upon to “emulate that same love” by helping others.

Arnold also went through a profound adult religious experience, but unlike Lawrence and Johanna he is not a conservative or born-again Christian. Arnold’s parents were not religious, and he almost never went to church as a child. He is retired now, after a long career as an engineer and cost-benefit analyst for a company that built military equipment. While he went into engineering primarily because he enjoyed the work and because it brought a good salary, he also found his job to be meaningful, as he felt that his work was helping to protect the United States and the rest of the world from communism. For most of his adult life, he attended church because his wife did and because he thought it was good for his children, not out of a strong sense of religious commitment. He did some volunteer work for his church, mainly as a financial officer for the church governance committee, where his skills in management and budgeting were in high demand.

In the 1980’s, Arnold enrolled in a religious retreat program called “Curseal,” which he describes as “a three-day weekend experience designed to deepen your spiritual awareness and your spiritual life.” While “no great revelation came down or tons of fire descended on our heads” during the weekend, the experience was nevertheless “life-changing,” as it helped him “crystallize” his religious beliefs. “It kind of broke a log-jam of puzzlement and indifference, and clarified some things about the Christian faith for me.” The focus of the retreat “is to gradually make you aware of being loved by other people, and how good that feels, and how important getting love from other people and

giving love to other people is." At the end of the retreat, Arnold states, he had an inner revelation: "Hey! That's what they've been talking about all this time, all these church services I've been going to, and all these sermons I've read and the readings I've heard, church stuff." Before the retreat, his spiritual life was a "pretty secondary plain-vanilla routine." While Arnold had "a lot of intellectual knowledge about religions," the retreat made him realize that "that's not what religion really is – it has emotional ingredients, it's a spiritual kind of experiential thing that one never gets to, as far as I can tell, by just intellectual processes." "From that time on," Arnold concluded, "my spiritual life has been an important part of my life."

Arnold expressed his newfound commitment to religion through extensive volunteering and charitable giving. He continued his work as a volunteer on the church's governance boards, and increased his volunteer work in other areas. He does construction work for Habitat for Humanity, donates money to the organization, and participates in Habitat fund-raising drives. He increased his charitable giving to the level of a tithe, or ten percent of his income, and even when he retired he continued to donate the same dollar amount as before, even though his income greatly decreased. Some of his donations go to his own church, but much of it goes to church missions, primarily to ones that assist poor people and low-income people in the city where he lives. His volunteer work and charitable giving are directly inspired by his religious convictions, which tell him that "we're responsible for each other and you ought to help people out who are worse off than you are."

Activists:

Two of the three activists in the sample are black men, whose experience of discrimination inspired them to altruistic work. One of them is also included in the "generative fathers" category, as the experience of becoming a parent motivated him to engage in activism, fighting racism so that his own children and other young black people would not suffer from discrimination the way that he did. A third man only partially fits into the activist category. A homosexual, he donates money to AIDS and civil rights charities, but his main altruistic activity is his paid work as a city manager, and in this regard he belongs in the category of gradual adult development of altruism. All three of the activists in this sample are men, but this seems to be a chance effect, due to the small sample size. There is no reason to think that activist is a particularly male role, and other studies of altruistic people (Colby and Damon 1992; McAdam 1988) have found a number of female activists.

Marcus, a businessman and community leader, is both an activist and a generative father. He had always been aware of and opposed to racism, but he first became involved in volunteer work when his children were born. He was born in rural South Carolina in 1943, and was an adolescent and young man at the time of the Civil Rights movement. He "witnessed some pretty horrific things" during this time, but "I've used those things to motivate me as opposed to looking at it in a negative vein. I've dedicated my life to not allow the things that I've experienced to happen to my youngsters." While saddened by the racism he has encountered in American society, he remains committed to American ideals. "If America is to live up to the claim that it's the greatest nation in the world," he states, "it has to be great for everyone."

He faced discrimination as an adult when he became one of the few black truck drivers in a majority white company. While “a weaker person would have succumbed and given up,” he recalls, “I said no way,” and stuck it out. Marcus was accused falsely of stealing, a racially motivated charge, and although he was cleared of the charges he was fired from his job, an event that he calls the low point of his life.

A “playboy” as a young man, he settled down when he got married and had children, and became involved in community service. Marcus’ role models were his grandfather, who was a minister, landowner, and leader in his rural community, and his uncle, who he remembers as exceptionally kind and generous. He first became involved in volunteer work when his children went to school, as he joined the Parent Teacher Association and eventually became its president. He also chaired his neighborhood community association, became involved in local politics, and made an unsuccessful run for city council. He recently started his own business, and he currently volunteers with a program that shows young people how they can succeed in business pursuits as well.

He sums up how racism motivates him to try harder in some advice he recently gave his son. As a “young black man in America,” he advised his son, “you can be gobbled up and no one will ever know what happened to you.” By “building prisons, they are spending more money to incarcerate than to educate.” The system “doesn’t care very much about you, OK? But it’s up to you, you can’t be a victim. Anything in this life you want you can have,” and “you have to make a contribution to society” as well.

Thomas, an African-American doctor who volunteers as a mentor for young African-American men, advises them that racism should inspire them only to work harder, not to “sit around blaming everyone or taking fault. Sure, there'll be impediments,

but you'll have to try to go around them with your own mind." He uses his own life story as an example, as his family was on welfare when he was young, but he managed to graduate from college and go to medical school, and is now quite wealthy. "The fact remains that I remember we were on welfare. And that was an important part of our life, because it allowed us to grow out from it and establish ourselves… So I never tend to forget those days at all. And whenever I go back and we set examples for young men that we take as little brothers and take 'em around and make sure they understand that I'm not doing this because I have a lot of money. I'm doing this because, like you, I never had it." Thomas' altruism is motivated in part by his activism on racial issues, but he also has a strong generative impulse, as he enjoys passing on the lessons that he has learned in life to the next generation of young men.

Generative fathers:

Two of the men in the sample had little altruistic involvement as young adults, but changed when they became fathers. Marcus, described above, fits the profile of an activist, but was not motivated to activism until he had children. Having experienced discrimination himself, he did not want his children to experience what he had, and he set out, through volunteer work and political activism, to change society to make the world a better place for his children.

Samuel had little history of altruistic work until he became a father. Unable to have children of their own, Samuel and his wife decided to adopt twin boys with cerebral palsy. The experience of being a father to handicapped children changed Samuel's life. He is highly involved as a volunteer with organizations that his sons participate in, and he

donates to charities that benefit handicapped children. He volunteers about ten hours per week total at a number of charities, including his church, his sons' school, the local governmental council for handicapped children, a daycare center for handicapped children, and the United Cerebral Palsy foundation. He also donates money to these organizations.

At the time of the interview, Samuel and his wife were starting a daycare center for handicapped children, one with appropriate educational and medical facilities. Samuel devoted much of his time to starting the center, and his wife quit her job a year before the interview to work on the center full-time. They are opening the center as a business, but in talking of the business they speak only of the need in the community for the service, not of any profit they might make. Indeed, both Samuel and his wife have invested considerable time and a large amount of their own money in the business, and are uncertain yet whether they will even receive the financing and approval necessary to even open the center, let alone make a profit.

Redemption stories:

Three altruistic men viewed their life history of altruism in terms of a redemption story, contrasting the immoral and unhappy lives they led as young, single men with their moral, happy, and productive lives in the present. Marriage and children were one of the catalysts of their change of behavior, but did not by themselves cause the change. Each of the men went through a moral and psychological crisis, which resulted in a decision to change his ways and make a fresh start.

The three men described different types of crises and catalysts for change, but the experience of crisis and resolution is a common theme, as is the fact that the decision to change the moral focus of their lives was in some way connected with the decision to marry and start a family. One man, Howard, went from being an alcoholic and heavy drug user to being a morally straight and active member of the community. He was married at the time of his drug use, but his wife left him as a result, which encouraged him to change. For him, the catalyst was a born-again religious experience. A second man, Robert, was a heroin addict and drug smuggler as a young man, but decided to leave his dangerous and criminal life. After years of trying he managed to quit drugs and return to a legal way of making a living, married and had children, and became involved in community service. The third man with a redemption story, Thomas, who is also classified as a black activist, changed from a selfish focus on money to a commitment to altruism after having an insight into what he saw as the shallowness and meaninglessness of his own life.

The first man, Robert, had both positive and negative influences in his childhood. His mother was extremely abusive, but his father divorced her when Robert was eight, and he was raised by his father and grandparents, who treated him well. Robert also benefited from the influence of the director of the local Boy's Club, who Robert remembers fondly as "an honest, sincere, and caring guy – a real sweetheart." At the age of eighteen, Robert was drafted and sent to Vietnam, where he was involved in heavy fighting. He became addicted to heroin during his tour of service, and continued to use and deal drugs after he returned to the United States. He fled the country out of fear of prosecution, and spent seven years as a drug runner in Central America.

Robert eventually decided to stop working as a drug smuggler, primarily because the job had become more dangerous and he was afraid he would not survive much longer. He returned to the United States and tried to start a new life by getting married, but married a woman who turned out to become an even heavier drug user than he was. He eventually divorced her, stopped using drugs, and remarried, this time to a woman who had no connection with the drug world. In marrying her, he stated, he was trying to make "a new beginning" and "a new birth," "breaking the cycle of what I had come from, meager beginnings and the troubled past."

With marriage and children Robert did manage to get his own life in order, and he began to feel a desire to "pay back" society for some of the good things he had received. He followed the example of the Boy's Club director who had mentored him as a teenager, taking the lead in a number of charitable projects, including a recycling program, a charity golf tournament, and extensive volunteering and charitable giving through his church.

Robert's first project was starting a recycling program at his place of work, a factory that manufactures soft drink cans and packaging for food products. In the past, the factory had disposed of its excess raw materials and waste products by dumping them into a landfill. Robert initiated a program to recycle the extra metal, wood, and paper instead of dumping it, a program that saved money for the factory and was better for the environment. He also arranged for local schoolchildren to tour the factory and recycling facility, and at the end of the tour showed them how they could recycle things at home. Robert won awards from the company and the city government for his work.

After the recycling program was established, Robert started a second project, an annual golf tournament that raised money for a children's medical charity. Robert takes charge of the tournament each year, a responsibility that he estimates takes about two full weeks of work over the course of the year. The golf tournament has been a success, and at the time of the interview he was making plans to raise even more money by expanding the event to include a tennis tournament. Robert also volunteers with his church and serves in a leadership position in his labor union, and he gives money to his church and the United Way.

Robert's motives for volunteering and charitable giving are a desire to "give back" for the good things he has received and a concern for the welfare of the next generation. "If you don't do anything but take," he reflected, "you don't grow, you're just stagnant. You're not a full person. You can buy all the toys you want, but there's no fullness in your life with all taking and no giving. You've got to pay back the community or pay back to somebody." He also sees the recycling program as a way of protecting the environment for his own children and for all the people of the future generations. "You know, they've got to have something left," he stated. "I've enjoyed the outdoors, and I want them to enjoy it." He added that his consciousness of the environment comes from being part of "the hippie generation. We all abused ourselves," he joked, "but we took care of Mother Earth."

A second man, Howard, sees his life as a narrative of redemption from drinking and drug abuse to moral responsibility and happiness, caused by his conversion to born-again Christianity. Unlike Robert, Howard came from a happy family, and did not have the traumatic experience of military service in Vietnam. Howard's problem was alcohol

and drug use. He started drinking socially in high school, and by the time he went to college he was in the habit of drinking ten or more drinks each night. He also smoked marijuana and used methamphetamine. He failed out of college due to his drug use and worked at a succession of jobs. He got married, but did not stop using alcohol and drugs, managing instead to conceal the extent of his drinking and drug use from his wife.

Howard managed to quit drugs and alcohol after going through a course of inpatient treatment and enrolled in Alcoholics Anonymous, but he eventually relapsed. His wife left him because of his addictions, but this only caused him to become an even heavier abuser. During this time, however, Howard converted to born-again Christianity, and he credits his conversion experience for his eventual success in quitting drugs and alcohol. The conversion experience was an immediate and profound one, that Howard remembers clearly. He was working for his father's appliance repair business at the time, and one of his clients began reading to him from the Bible and talking to him about salvation. As Howard recalls, that day "I came to the knowledge that Christ died for me through the reading of the scriptures, in a man's house." He walked in the door of his client's house "an unsaved man," and walked out "saved," which was "the most significant thing that has happened to me in my entire life." He continued to use drugs and alcohol for a while, but the seeds for change were planted. He contacted his wife and asked her to take him back, and she insisted that he reenter treatment, which he did. This time, he was able to give up drugs and alcohol for good.

Howard decided to go into teaching, not for altruistic reasons, but because he enjoyed children, thought he would like coaching sports, and wanted to have the summers off. Also, some of his relatives were teachers, so he had an idea of what the

career was like. Once he got his degree, he discovered he had great ability in reaching troubled children, in large part because of his own experiences as an adolescent and young adult. He also discovered that he enjoyed helping troubled children, and became deeply devoted to the altruistic aspects of his work.

Howard's first teaching job was on an Indian reservation, where alcoholism, drug addiction, and family problems were common. As the football coach, the children looked up to him, and he was good at encouraging students to continue with school. After a few years, he moved to a different state and began teaching at a school for extremely delinquent children, ones who had been expelled from every other school. While most teachers find these children to be unmanageable, Howard finds his work meaningful and satisfying. Because of his own background, he can "separate behavior from a kid. "Just because a kid punches a teacher in the mouth, or tells the teacher to f--- off, doesn't make the kid a bad kid. He just did something bad; he made a bad decision. I'm forever believing in these kids, trusting them again, and giving them another chance." While forgiving, Howard also believes in discipline, and stresses that everything in the classroom "has to be done on my terms."

As Howard was a stubborn student, even before he started using alcohol and drugs, he understands that children need to be motivated to finish school. He feels that his children are "the brightest kids in the district," the most talented, and the most passionate, but also the ones who need the most help. "If a kid hates school," he stated, it means "I haven't figured out the magical thing to say, the magical place to take him." Once he finds this, "instantly they'd love school and they're going to do as best they can so they'll be better students." So "if a kid comes in, doesn't like school, I don't care, I try to say, I

know you don't like school, I didn't like school, but you need school, this is why you need it." He argues that they will need a high school degree later in life, when they want to get into a university, or when they want to work for a factory. "Each kid's different, you have to treat him different. I like that."

Pleasers to mature altruists:

Five women in the sample fit the profile of "pleasers" who matured into true altruists. These women all grew up in abusive or neglectful homes, and learned early in life that the way to be accepted and loved as a human being was to help, please, and care for others. The gendered nature of this social role seems to explain why all of the people in this category are women. It also explains the different nature of their altruistic development. Whereas the men in the generative fathers and redemption narratives categories went from selfishness to helping, these women helped others throughout their adult lives. Their development came in the nature of their helping behaviors and the motivations behind them, not in the mere fact of helping itself. As young adults, many of these women became involved in abusive romantic relationships, caring for and helping men who did not treat them well in return. As they matured, they learned to avoid these relationships and seek healthier ones. They also directed their helping impulses less towards their romantic partners and more towards other individuals, through volunteer work, altruistic paid work, and charitable giving. As they became more secure and self-confident, the motivations of their charitable work changed as well. As young women, they volunteered so that others would love, accept, and praise them. As mature altruists,

they volunteer less for self-oriented motives of seeking praise and acceptance, and more for other-oriented motives of true generosity.

A number of women stated that they felt it was expected of them to take a helping role, just because they were female. They viewed this role as having both positive and negative connotations. As one woman put it, “my feeling is that every woman is here to create, that's part of the job that we have. Even if the husband gives the sperm, we are the ones that care for the children, and that gives a woman that feeling of purpose in life.” While caring and creating have value, this woman and others recognize that caring can be taken to far. “I picked up along the way that it was wrong to think of myself first, but I've learned that that's not necessarily so. I mean, it's not sinful; it's not wrong to think about yourself. There's a happy balance there. I don't like self-centered people. But I think you have to take care of yourself in order to be any good to anybody else.”

One former pleaser, Janice, grew up in an extremely difficult family situation. Her brother was an epileptic who required constant attention and care. Her parents were alcoholics, and as Janice grew older she found that much of the burden of her brother’s care was pushed off on her, as her parents were often too drunk to look after him. Her parents also neglected her and focused almost exclusively on her brother’s needs. Janice’s childhood experiences caused her to feel that she had little value as a person, and that only through helping and taking care of others could she gain approval and acceptance.

Unlike many of the “pleasers” in the sample, Janice has a happy and loving marriage, not an abusive one. Her low self-esteem was expressed more in her relations with people outside of the family. She put on social events for friends and neighbors, and

engaged in volunteer work, all to gain “self-esteem” and “a reward” by being known as the “super-cook,” the “super-mom,” and the “great organizer.” She did volunteer work “to try to identify who I was, to say, ‘this is Janice, she is the most giving person, she is so dynamic, she can do this and this and this.’ But I never was happy with who that was, because I was trying to please everybody else” and do “whatever was expected of me.”

Janice went through therapy and confronted how her volunteering and helping were motivated by her own feelings of insecurity. After therapy, she continued to do volunteer work, but for different reasons. Now, “when I give to somebody, it’s out of love, it’s not out of trying to get something back.” This has decreased the quantity of her giving, but improved the quality, as she acts with “more sincerity” and “more understanding,” and without the “phony” quality that characterized her earlier volunteering.

Denise followed a similar course in her life, from helping to gain approval and acceptance to helping out of truly charitable, other-directed motives. Her parents were cold, unaffectionate people, and she often fought with them as a teenager. She married at the age of nineteen, “mainly to get away from home,” and had a son. After ten years of marriage, she left her husband because of his frequent affairs, and she entered psychotherapy to resolve many of the issues she had about her parents. Ultimately, she concluded that she had always felt that her parents never really cared for her, but she decided that they did love her after all, and were just unable to express their love effectively.

Denise had been working in as a special education teacher, but she got so much out of therapy that she decided to become a therapist herself. She returned to school to

get a Master's degree in Social Work, and worked as a social worker in a hospital. She remarried and had a second child. As she went through therapy, and reconciled with her memory of her parents, the character of her helping changed. "Maybe when I first started out," she reflected, "I wanted to get approval and helping." Now, "I like people and I just find it an adventure every day. I meet strangers and I hear about their lives. I hate the word 'help,' and I always want to think of it as teaching as opposed to helping, because I don't want to think like Ms. Goodie-two-shoes coming along." Throughout the interview, Denise avoids the word "help," correcting herself when she begins to say it, as she associates the word with the approval-seeking behavior she engaged in as a young woman. Instead, she describes her work as "teaching," "giving warmth," and "giving love," and emphasizes the joy she gets from her work and the feeling of love and connection she experiences with the people she works with.

Joanna, described above as an example of an adult convert, can also be described as a woman who made the transition from pleasure to mature altruist. Joanna's early life was difficult, as her mother was abusive and her father was an alcoholic. As a result, she stated, "my secure feelings weren't intact, and I always felt like I had to do acts to get approval. I always sought support and confirmation from people." After her born-again experience, "I realized that God loved me, no matter what I was and no matter what I did, and that made me look at myself in a whole different light." She changed her approval-seeking behavior and stood up for herself more in her personal relationships. She continued to do volunteer work, but thinks her work became more truly generous, as she was no longer motivated as much by the desire to be liked and accepted.

The life course development of non-altruistic people:

While most highly altruistic respondents reported that their commitment to altruism developed during their lives, most non-altruistic respondents reported a stable lack of commitment to altruism. Of the thirty-one respondents who demonstrated little or no altruistic activity, twenty were consistently non-altruistic throughout their lives, doing almost no volunteering or charitable giving regardless of their life circumstances. Six currently non-altruistic respondents volunteered with children's sports, leisure, and school programs when their own children were involved, but stopped volunteering when their children grew older.

Only five respondents initiated a commitment to altruism and later discontinued it. Their reasons for ceasing altruistic activity fall into two categories, poor health and personal distress. One elderly woman in the interview sample had volunteered throughout her life, but had to discontinue her volunteer work because of serious health problems. She also had a limited income, and was unable to donate any more than a tiny amount of money to charity. One man stated that he used to volunteer and contribute money to charity, but had stopped all this activity in recent years after losing his job. He stated that he suffered from depression, and was also concerned that he drank too much, making it seem likely that he also suffers from alcoholism. The loss of his job meant that he no longer had enough money to contribute to charity, and his alcoholism and depression had caused him to withdraw from nearly all social activities, including volunteering.

Three of the five respondents who decreased their altruistic commitments were people who decided to stop helping after their efforts to help caused them personal distress. Two members of this category are women who considered health care careers

and did some volunteering as teenagers and young adults, but stopped because being around ill and dying people was too traumatic for them. They concluded from this experience that they were not cut out for volunteering, and did not attempt to help others again. The third member of this category is a police officer who tried to help individuals in the neighborhood where she patrolled. She received little support from her fellow officers and found the work to be emotionally draining, as the people who she tried to help had problems too extensive for her to solve. She also felt resentful when some people took advantage of her good nature, using the money that she gave them for necessities to buy drugs and alcohol instead. She eventually gave up trying to help people, and went back to just doing her duty as a police officer.

An additional finding on altruism and the life course relates experience of childhood abuse. Many of the highly altruistic people in the redemption narratives and pleasure to mature altruist categories had abusive childhoods. After a difficult period in young adult life, they overcame the effects of the abuse and became highly successful adults; at this point, their history of abuse acted as an incentive to help others. This does not happen with all abused people, however. There are seven respondents in the sample for whom for whom an abusive childhood did not lead to redemption and altruism. Three of the seven people with abusive childhoods never fully recovered from the abuse, failed to achieve productive or happy lives for themselves, and did not do any altruistic work either. The other four managed to achieve some happiness and stability for themselves, but did not become committed to helping others. Similarly, one recovered alcoholic has a typical redemption story, except that his redemption did not lead him to become

altruistic. He instead has become a devoted family man, being a good husband and father but not taking on any commitments outside of the family.

Conclusion:

The stories above indicate the similarities and differences among highly altruistic individuals in the interview sub-sample, and also show how they differ from the least altruistic people. Nearly all of the altruistic people developed their altruistic motivations and behaviors in adulthood, and became increasingly committed to altruistic work over time. By contrast, the majority of the non-altruistic people were stable in their lack of commitment to altruistic behavior during adulthood. There were three exceptions to this stasis: people who volunteered only when their own children were involved in activities, people who had to scale back a commitment to altruism for health reasons, and people who began a career of altruism but were discouraged by the personal distress they felt at others' suffering.

Gender had a strong effect on the course of life development of altruism, with three of the seven categories being specifically gendered: generative parents and redemption narratives were male stories, while the category of pleaser to mature altruist consisted entirely of women. Religion was also very important. Not only was adult convert the largest single category of altruist, but religion also played an important role in the lives of many respondents who were placed in other categories. The power of religion in motivating a lifelong commitment to altruism lies both in ideals and in institutional factors, and is discussed in detail in the conclusion to this dissertation.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

This study tested the relative predictive power of seven theories of altruism, and examined how altruistic behaviors vary by gender and through the life course. In regards to the general theories, all seven proposed causal factors predicted altruistic behavior to some degree. Both individual characteristics and contextual factors correlated with altruism, and characteristics that develop during adulthood were much stronger predictors of altruism than those developed in childhood.

The study found that altruistic behavior and its correlates vary by gender. Men and women do roughly equal amounts of altruistic activity, but men's higher incomes enable them to give more money to charity, while women's lower work hours enable them to do more volunteering. Women score higher on most measures of motivation to do altruistic work, while men score higher on most measures of ability to do altruistic work and are involved in more recruitment networks. These differences tend to balance out, so that men and women do roughly equal amounts of altruistic work overall.

The life course development of altruism is complex, and individuals follow a number of different pathways through the life course in regards to their altruistic behavior. Family transitions such as marriage, childbearing, and children leaving the household all affect altruistic behavior, as does retirement from the labor force. The effect of life course events is much greater for men than for women. Seven general patterns were detected in the life course development of the highly altruistic people in the sub-sample: altruistic from an early age (two respondents); gradual adult development of altruism (four); adult converts (seven); activists (three); generative fathers (two); redemption stories (three), and pleaser to mature altruist (five). Gender was an important

factor in three of the seven categories, as the generative parents and "redemption stories" categories were all male, and the pleasers to mature altruists are all female. The remaining four categories (altruistic from an early age, gradual adult development, adult converts, and activists) did not seem to embody specific gender roles.

A single theory of altruism?

Five of the seven proposed causes were found to have a strong relationship with altruism, and the remaining two, family of origin factors and empathy, had some relationship with altruistic behaviors. Trust and membership in social networks also correlated with measures of helping others. Is there a common element among all these factors?

One answer lies in the fact that all of the correlates with altruism measure the extent to which individuals make little distinction between the self and the other. Altruistic individuals tend not to think of themselves as isolated individuals, or as connected only to members of their own families. Instead, they see their lives as interconnected with others' in circles of friendship, community, society, religious community, and nation, and even see themselves as members of the family or community constituting the entire human race.

The theme of identity of self and other is present in all of the factors that correlate with altruism. Some altruistic people first learn to identify with others in childhood, from parental influence and example and from religious teaching. A strong sense of empathy helps to blur the distinction between self and other, as it leads people to feel others' sufferings as if they were one's own.

Religion is especially powerful in breaking down the walls between self and other, and it does so in several ways. Christianity and other religions teach people to love their neighbor as themselves, and even to love and forgive their enemies. Religion teaches individuals to think of all fellow believers or all humanity as members of the same group, and thus fundamentally equivalent to oneself: members of God's chosen people, expressions of the same intrinsic "Buddha nature," or as part of the same "body of Christ." Finally, religion enforces this message of self-other unity through symbols and ritual. As believers meet in groups to pray, meditate, sing, worship, and share meals, they gain a feeling of emotional well-being from the unity with others, and this feeling is reified into symbols and symbolic places.

Like religion, generalized reciprocity blurs the distinction between self and other in more than one way. The social exchanges that go with generalized reciprocity emphasize the connections between the individual and the group, and perceiving the good things in life as gifts from others encourages people to view their own happiness as dependent upon others' happiness and actions.

Moral universalism is almost a direct measure of the identity of self and other, as it measures how widely an individual draws the boundaries of his or her moral community. Altruistic role identity is also closely related to this concept, as it measures the extent to which a person incorporates service to others into his or her own sense of self. Generativity expresses how an awareness of one's own mortality encourages a person to identify their selves with the legacy they will leave behind them after death, in part expressed through helping others. The title of one book on generativity, *Outliving the*

Self (Kotre 1984), describes how generative motivation breaks down the self/other distinction.

Finally, many of the contingent factors, such as trust and membership in social networks, also encourage the identification of self with other. Feelings of trust encourage one to see others as good, similar to oneself, deserving of help, and likely to reciprocate if one breaks down the self/other distinction on their behalf. Involvement in social networks may also reflect a feeling of self/other unity. The correlation between membership in social networks and altruistic behavior is typically interpreted to indicate that people with wide social networks have a greater probability of being asked to volunteer or give to charity. It may also be the case that social network membership encourages people to think of themselves as members of a community, not as isolated individuals, and in this way also increases their desire to help others.

The importance of religion:

This study found that religion was the most powerful of all the causal variables in predicting altruistic behaviors, a finding which merits further exploration in future studies. One reason for the powerful nature of religion lies in its ability to blur the distinction between self and other, as discussed above. Another reason may lie in the fact that religion incorporates or overlaps with the other six causal variables, and also has a strong relationship to trust.

Religion is closely integrated into the institution of the family, and parents who teach their children prosocial values generally do so in the context of religious institutions. Religion helps develop empathy, as religious instruction uses stories and

concepts which teach compassion for others. Religion motivates general reciprocity by teaching that the good things one receives in life are blessings from God, so that one has an obligation to reciprocate for good fortune through service to other people.

Religion teaches moral universalism, as it encourages individuals to love their enemies, and to treat all human beings as neighbors or family. Religion provides strong role models to help in generating altruistic role identity. From the founders of religions, to the saints and bodhisattvas of history, to contemporary heroes and role models, religion offers hundreds of role models for those contemplating an altruistic career. Religion facilitates generativity in that houses of worship are places in which generations interact, so that older people can teach and assist younger people.

Religion can encourage trust in others, by teaching that all other people are God's creation and therefore trustworthy, and also by teaching that God or karma watch over the world, rewarding good behavior and punishing violations of trust. Religion also helps develop social networks, as people make connections with other individuals through their church community.

Finally, by establishing a belief that the universe is just, good, and orderly, religion helps promote altruism in other ways. The metaphysical claims of religion also help individuals manage the personal distress caused by empathy. Christians and Muslims believe that the sufferings and injustices of this world will be compensated in an afterlife, and Hindus and Buddhists believe that an infinite future of rebirths make redemption from suffering and injustice possible. Even Orthodox Judaism, which lacks a conception of the afterlife, finds hope in the identification of the individual with the chosen people of Israel, and God's promise that the chosen people will eventually be

rewarded for their faith. Religious claims about the justice of the world also motivate good deeds by promising a reward in the next world for good deeds undertaken in this life.

Only nationalism and communism can compete with religion as an ideology and institution to motivate self-sacrifice on behalf of a group, and the similarities between nationalism, communism, and religion illuminate what aspects of religion are particularly powerful in motivating altruistic behavior. Like religion, nationalism encourages the identification of the self with a larger group, and the subordination of one's personal welfare to the group as a whole. Most nationalisms are based on ethnicity, a type of fictive kinship, and, like religion, use family metaphors and concepts to inspire unity and self-sacrifice. Many nationalist movements teach that the nation's innate superiority guarantees an inevitable victory over its enemies, giving adherents a sense of comfort and certainty similar to that provided by religion. Finally, nationalist movements use emotionally charged rituals, symbols, and symbolic places to reinforce the sense of unity with the group.

Like religion, communism encourages the complete identification of the self with a larger group. Communism does not use family language and metaphors, but it does have a strong sense of the inevitability of victory in the class struggle in an eschatological future. Like nationalist movements, communist movements use rituals, symbols, and symbolic places to forge unity. Of course, there are many dissimilarities between nationalist and communist movements and religion, but the similarities help to indicate how religion is such a powerful motivator of altruistic behavior.

Gender and altruism:

The relationship between gender and altruism has seen little research in the past, and makes an important subject for future work. Current research on gender and morality asserts that women value an ethic of care, while men value an ethic of justice (Gilligan 1982), but has done little to explore how this ethic of care is expressed in actual behaviors. In contrast to the extensive work on care for children and aging and sick family members, there has been little exploration of how gender and caring relate to charitable work.

This study found that women did score higher on most measures of motivation to do altruistic work, while men scored higher on measures of socioeconomic class and membership in social networks. It also found that men tend to give more money to charity, while women do more volunteer work. However, the study found relatively little difference in overall levels of altruistic behavior, or on the extent to which different variables correlated with altruistic behavior. There is some evidence that men and women volunteer with and give money to different types of altruistic institutions, but these differences are also modest.

These relatively small gender differences form a striking contrast to the gender segregation of altruistic behavior that existed fifty years ago. Before the women's movement and the large scale entry of women into the full-time labor force, men's and women's altruistic activity took place in two separate worlds. Men volunteered through fraternal organizations, many of which were connected closely with the business world, while women volunteered through their own groups, helping others in the traditionally feminine spheres of health, child well-being, and the family, and through moral reform

movements such as the temperance movement. Only in the religious sphere did men and women volunteer with the same organizations, and even then volunteering was gender segregated, as men and women took on different volunteer roles within their churches and synagogues.

Today, altruistic behavior takes place in an almost gender-neutral context. Volunteering is no longer primarily seen as a career choice for upper middle class and upper class women, for whom paid work would not be socially acceptable. As women can now find power, prestige, leadership, and a satisfying calling through paid work, they are no longer limited to full-time volunteer careers, and no longer choose this path in large numbers. As women's work lives have come to resemble men's, their volunteering commitment has been scaled back, while men have increased their participation in volunteering. The decline of men's participation in traditional fraternal organizations has received much comment, but the expansion in men's volunteering in other areas has received little attention. As with so many other aspects of the relationship between gender and altruistic behavior, the change in volunteering patterns over the last five decades and its relationship to changes in other gender roles and behaviors needs further study.

Altruism through the life course:

The life course development of altruism is complex, as individuals follow a number of different pathways in developing as altruists. Not only are there multiple pathways to the same goal, there are also multiple goals. The highly altruistic people in the interview sub-sample were similar only in their overall commitment to helping others. They varied as to whether they helped others through volunteer work, paid altruistic

work, or charitable giving, and they also varied in the type of organizations, charities, and employers to which they devoted their efforts. All of this variation makes tracing the life development of altruism difficult. While an understanding of the life course development of altruism will be difficult to attain, the value of the goal justifies the work involved. Some suggestions for the study of the life course development of altruism are offered below.

Implications for future research:

Possibilities for future research on altruism based on the findings of this dissertation can be divided into two categories. First, further research should be pursued in regards to many of the causal and contingent factors identified by this study, using better methods and measures. Second, further study of how the development of altruism differs by gender and through the life course is needed. This second line of research is a higher priority; research into the individual correlates of altruism will advance an already large body of research on these topics, but research into the gender and life course development of altruism is needed merely to establish a basic understanding.

Further research on specific causal factors:

1. Family of origin factors: The contention of many developmental psychologists that authoritative parenting motivates adult altruism was only weakly supported by these data, and the theory that parental modeling of generosity motivates adult altruism was not supported at all. Few other studies of real-life altruistic behaviors using random samples and survey data have found a relationship between parents' actions and children's

altruism. One exception is Hodgkinson's (1995) analysis of data collected in a 1992 Independent Sector survey. Unlike MIDUS, which asked respondents to rate their parents' generosity on a one to four scale, the Independent Sector survey asked respondents if they remembered parents acting to help others. Having respondents recall specific actions may be a more effective measurement of parental modeling of generosity than having respondents assign a numerical rating, and may explain why Hodgkinson found a relationship where other studies did not. On the other hand, both surveys suffer from their use of retrospective data; perhaps the Independent Sector respondents who engaged in helping activities as adults were simply more likely to remember their parents doing the same.

The only study of parent-adult child effects not to use retrospective data is that of Mustillo, Wilson, and Lynch (2004), who examined mother and daughter respondents to the National Longitudinal Survey of Labor Market Experience. They found a small positive effect of parental volunteering on child volunteering, even when other factors were controlled, but only during early adulthood; as the daughters grew older, the effect of maternal modeling of generosity disappeared. Their findings have limited generalizability, as only women were studied, only a non-representative sub-sample of the survey had measures of volunteering for both mothers and daughters, and the measures they used for volunteering were crude. However, this dissertation provided additional support for their findings, as the tests of interaction terms demonstrated that parental influences had an especially strong effect on the altruistic activities of young, single men and women (Tables 4.18 and 4.19). If future parent-child panel studies

included good measurements of helping behaviors and their causes a better assessment of the true effect of parental modeling of generosity would be possible.

2. Empathy: Psychological research on altruism predicted a strong role for empathy, but the MIDUS data showed little relation between self-reports of empathy and altruistic behaviors. Evidence from the interview data indicates that empathy does have an effect on helping behaviors, but that this effect works both ways. For some respondents, feelings of empathy were transformed into sympathy and a desire to help people in need, while for others, feelings of empathy were experienced as internal distress, causing respondents to avoid others' suffering in the future. Psychologists have done experimental research into what aspects of a situation induce sympathy or personal distress, but have not researched how this response varies according to the characteristics of the individual.

One key difference seems to lie in cognitive strategies. Many of the highly altruistic respondents described the extensive mental strategies they had developed to cope with the difficulties inherent in helping suffering people. Some of the less altruistic people described early attempts at helping others, which they cut short when they discovered that seeing others suffer was too distressing for them. Future research could help discover how and why individuals react to suffering with either coping or avoidance strategies, and could explore how organizations that use volunteers could assist people in coping.

3. Religion: Religion was one of the most important factors in motivating altruism, and future research should focus on the role of religious values and institutions in motivating helping behaviors. The current study was limited by the crude measures of

religiosity in the survey measure, although the detailed information on religion taken during the interviews helped compensate for networks. Any future study of altruism should include detailed questions on religious beliefs, practices, and networks.

4. General reciprocity: The current study showed that the elements of general reciprocity – happiness, perception of blessing or good fortune, and obligation – each correlated with altruism, but the study did not establish a clear link among the three elements. Future research on altruism should include questions on feelings of "blessedness" or "good fortune" in addition to happiness, and "obligation to give back" in addition to moral obligation in general.

5. Moral universalism: The measure of moral universalism derived from the MIDUS questions about obligations was an effective one, and correlated with altruistic behaviors. However, future research would benefit from asking more specific questions about how respondents define the community of individuals to whom they owe obligations, and how strongly they feel obligated to close as opposed to distant others.

6. Altruistic role identity: The current study offered strong support for the theory of altruistic role identity. As Piliavin and her colleagues have already researched role identity in depth, little new research seems to be needed. However, an alternative explanation exists for the increasing commitment to altruistic behavior over time: that helping others brings psychological rewards, or, as Wuthnow (1985) describes it, a "helper high," and that these rewards encourage individuals to continue and increase their commitment to helping others.

The comments of the highly altruistic interview respondents who fit into the category of gradual adult development of altruism category offer some support for

Wuthnow's theory of the "helper high." Having committed to paid jobs in helping professions for reasons unrelated to altruism, these respondents found they received emotional rewards from helping others. These emotional rewards motivated them to expand their commitment to helping others within the context of their paid work, and also motivated them to pursue helping activities through volunteer work and charitable giving. Other interview respondents also commented on the joy and pleasure they received from their altruistic work. Future studies could measure and compare how altruistic role identity and the emotional rewards of helping encourage helping behaviors.

7. Generativity: Although the generativity measure used in the MIDUS survey was derived directly from existing scales of generativity, the scale is flawed. The questions that make up the scale measure respondents' perception of themselves as helpful, generous people, but do not measure respondents' perception of their own mortality or their concern about the generation to follow. Thus, while the scale could be a measure of generativity, it could also be interpreted as a measurement of altruistic role identity, or of respondents' general orientation towards helpfulness. A better measurement of generativity would be one that specifically linked the supposed causes of generativity, awareness of mortality and concern about the well-being of the next generation, with the motivation to help. Respondents in the interview study rarely mentioned these two themes, casting some doubt on the theory of generativity, but more specific measures or questions in a future study could better answer whether mortality and a concern for the next generation actually are a reason for the increase in altruistic activity that occurs in middle adulthood.

Further research on gender and the life-course development of altruism:

While recent years have seen a tremendous volume of research on the relationship between gender and caregiving to family members, there has been very little written about the relationship between gender and helping behaviors outside of the family. Empirical research has confirmed that women are more empathic and caring than men, on average, but little has been done on how gender differences affect the amount and type of altruistic action individuals engage in. There has also been little research on how the entry of women into the labor force has changed the gendered character of volunteer work. The relationships among biological sex differences, gender roles, and gendered social structures to altruistic behavior are largely unexplored, and merit extensive research in the future.

The life course development of altruism is even less known. Some sociologists have examined the correlations between family and work transitions and volunteering (Oesterle, Johnson, and Mortimer 2004; Sundeen 1990; Taniguchi 2006; Tiehen 2000), and some psychologists have examined helping behaviors from the perspective of generativity (Erikson, 1980 [1959]; Kotre, 1984; McAdams, 1993; McAdams and de St. Aubin, 1992, 1998). Much of the sociological research uses cross-sectional or two-stage panel data, which analyzes the average effects of life transitions on groups of people and fails to capture the variation among individuals. Much psychological research uses life history interviews, a method which does capture the nuances of individual choice and contingency, but generally uses small and non-random samples, making difficult to generalize findings to the population.

The designers of the MIDUS study combined both methods, using survey research with a large sample, and life history interviews with a small but representative sub-sample. This dissertation has benefited greatly from the advantages inherent in this design, and future research will benefit from data from the second wave of the MIDUS panel study. Data collection on this wave was completed in 2005, and the results should be released this year. The panel data will make it possible to examine individual changes in altruistic behavior that accompany life events such as marriage, childbearing, children leaving the home, and retirement from full-time work. It will also be possible to see which variables measured in 1995 predict altruistic activity in 2005. Of particular interest will be volunteering and charitable giving among individuals who have retired from full-time work between 1995 and 2005. The aging of the large baby boom cohort makes the understanding of the predictors of altruistic behavior of retirees timely and relevant to policy makers, and the MIDUS data set is a particularly useful one with which to answer this question.

Implications for policy:

Institutions interested in recruiting donors and volunteers, and institutions interested in promoting philanthropy and service in general, can draw a number of conclusions from this study. First, the finding that altruistic motivation and behavior develops primarily in the adult part of the life course is an encouraging one. If altruism was fully formed in childhood, then institutions would be able to do little to motivate or encourage philanthropy among adults. As it turns out, altruism develops primarily during

the adult part of the life course, meaning that programs to encourage volunteering and charitable giving among adults have the potential to succeed.

Second, the finding that both social context and individual characteristics influence altruistic behaviors implies that an initial investment in the altruistic development of an individual may be repaid many times over as that person grows older. As Piliavin and others have discovered, people tend to continue and increase their altruistic behaviors over time. Thus, organizations that inspire people to give time or money benefit not only themselves, but society in general, as they encourage people to adopt philanthropic habits that will likely continue through the life course. A particularly promising development is the promotion of service work among high school and college students, with the result that a large proportion of the current generation of young people is involved in volunteer work. If these young people, like earlier cohorts, continue and increase their involvement in altruistic activity over time, the rate of participation in altruistic behaviors in the population as a whole will continue to increase as they and the generations that follow grow older. The aging of the "long civic generation" or the "greatest generation" has been much lamented by academics and popular writers, but the arrival of the new civic generation has received less attention.

The great importance of religion in motivating altruistic action is significant from a research standpoint, but may not be as important for policy, as policymakers, foundations, and charities have always known that religious institutions and individuals constitute their greatest and most reliable source of support. However, future research that focuses specifically on the types of religious beliefs, institutions, and behaviors that

best promote volunteering and charitable giving could be of great practical use, as this is an issue that has not yet been researched in much depth.

In addition to these general findings, there are some specific ones that organizations using volunteers may find useful. The weak correlation between empathy and altruistic behavior found in this study calls into question the commonplace use of empathy-generating stories in fundraising and volunteer recruitment literature. Furthermore, organizations who employ volunteers in emotionally distressing situations should recognize the fact that empathy plays a dual role, motivating people to begin volunteering out of sympathy, but also leading them to stop volunteering due to feelings of personal distress. The interview data indicate that people who make a lasting commitment to altruism develop cognitive strategies to manage feelings of personal distress, and if these cognitive strategies were better understood, volunteer managers could incorporate them into the training given to new volunteers. Not all volunteers would need this, but those working with severely ill people, very elderly people, and victims of rape, torture, child abuse, and other trauma, could benefit from some assistance in how to manage their feelings of personal distress. An extensive literature already exists for social service professionals to manage feelings of personal distress (for a summary, see Stamm, 1999), and until further research is done specific to the volunteer experience this literature could be adapted for use by volunteers.

In addition to using empathy to recruit volunteers and solicit donations, charities could use themes of generalized reciprocity and moral universalism. An appeal based on generalized reciprocity would refer to potential volunteers' and donors' sense of well-being, and include testimonials from current volunteers about the emotional rewards that

come with a feeling of being able to give back to society. Where appropriate, combining this with religious language would be particularly effective. Charities could also use concepts of moral universalism, pointing out the common humanity shared by their supporters and their clients.

The strong correlation between altruistic role identity and altruistic behaviors is a useful finding for charities. To maximize the effectiveness of their resources in soliciting donations and recruiting volunteers, they should focus on increasing the efforts of those individuals already involved in charitable work, either with their own organization or with others. For those seeking to recruit retired volunteers, the first place to look would be people with a past history of altruistic work, either as volunteers, paid employees in altruistic professions, or charitable donors.

Finally, this study replicated the findings of other studies in discovering that trust and social networks have a strong relationship with altruistic activity. This finding supports the current practice of many non-profits of using current donors and volunteers to recruit new ones, as word-of-mouth recruiting practices encourage trust in the institution and take advantage of existing social networks. The findings of this study suggest that scarce resources are better invested in this kind of volunteer recruitment and fundraising than in less personal methods, such as advertising for volunteers and sending direct mail solicitations for donations.

Conclusion:

Much social science theory is based on the assumption of human egoism: that the individual is the unit of analysis, that individuals are predominantly self-centered, and

that collective action and mutual assistance can only be explained through reference to individual, self-centered goals. While these statements are not proven facts, social science theory often takes these statements as fact and uses human egoism as a founding assumption on which to build and test theories. Often, however, the line between fact and assumption becomes blurred, and social scientists act as if they believe that people truly are selfish, rational, individual actors. Even when the distinction between assumptions and fact is successfully maintained, social science suffers from an imbalance, as the majority of research works from the assumption of human egoism and very little assumes the opposite. Selfishness is regarded as normal and unexceptional, while altruism is treated as a rare and unusual occurrence that requires special explanation.

There is some evidence that human beings, having evolved as social animals, are intrinsically altruistic (Sober and Wilson, 1998). Some biologists dispute this conclusion, however, and it is unlikely that this debate will be resolved within biology anytime soon. However, the question of egoism versus altruism can be viewed not as an empirical debate but a question of perspective; the same behaviors can look very different depending on which perspective one adopts. In *The Art of Happiness* (1998), the psychiatrist Howard. C. Cutler and the Dalai Lama use a newborn baby as an example of the importance of perspective. If one assumes that human beings are intrinsically egoistic, an observation of a newborn baby would confirm this view, as a baby's only concern is food and safety, and its only instincts are to suckle to feed herself and to cry when abandoned or in danger. If one assumes human altruism, however, a newborn's behaviors look quite different. A baby responds immediately to human touch and contact, bringing joy to her parents and to others through her response. Even the instinct to suckle can be

seen as altruistic, as it brings emotional pleasure to the mother and relieves the pressure of milk on the mother's breast. The same dichotomy exists with other human actions and behaviors. The perspective one takes, egoism or altruism, largely determines the findings one obtains.

The dominance of the egoism assumption in current thought is striking not only for its strength but for its recency. Within the history of religious and philosophical thought there has always been a strong orientation towards altruism and group identity being the true nature of humankind. The unity of self and other is a primary concept of all religious systems that propose to give meaning and happiness to life. In Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, the unity of self and other is conceived in a family metaphor, with all human beings sharing a common identity and family relation as the children of a creator God. In Hinduism, all humans are thought to partake of a common soul which also links them with God. In Buddhism, human beings are thought to be linked through the philosophical doctrine of dependent-arising, and through the fact that all humans share an intrinsic Buddha-nature.

Classical sociological theory also recognized altruism and other-orientation more than current thought. Durkheim argued against individualist analyses of human nature, asserting that human beings are essentially social and are able to achieve individual happiness only within the context of a group. Marx went even further, as he described people a "species-being," with individuals currently living in a state of alienation from their true nature and one another due to the divisions created by class society. Marx thought human happiness was only possible when the overthrow of class relations returned us to our true, collective nature.

The idea that altruism is a fundamental characteristic of human nature also receives some support from the findings of this dissertation. Nearly all of the things considered good or desirable by human beings were found to correlate with altruistic behavior: wealth, income, health, education, happiness, piety, trust, morality, religiosity, friendship, and family. Altruistic people find more joy and meaning in their lives than selfish people. If altruism actually is intrinsic to human nature, it would hardly be surprising that altruistic behavior correlates with happiness, well-being, morality, and a sense that life has meaning. It also helps to explain why the life stories of highly altruistic people show growth and development in adulthood, while the adult development of non-altruistic people seems stunted.

The history of sociology and psychology have seen extensive research into crime, deviance, aggression, mental illness, and other negative aspects of human behavior, while the study of altruism and other positive behaviors has only just begun. As sociology has always assumed that human behavior is intrinsically social, sociologists are perhaps ahead of other social scientists in their study of the altruistic aspects of human nature. Even within sociology, however, cooperation and collective action are often explained through reference to individual self-interest. It is time for sociology to break away from the automatic assumption of human egoism, and treat altruism as an equally real phenomenon.

Works Cited:

Atchley, R. C. 1989. "A Continuity Theory of Normal Aging." *The Gerontologist* 29, 183-190.

Batson, C. Daniel. 1991. *The Altruism Question: Toward a Social-Psychological Answer*. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Batson, C. D., Bolen, M. H., Cross, J. A., and Neuringer-Benefiel, H. E. 1986. "Where is the Altruism in the Altruistic Personality?" *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 50(1), 212-220.

Batson, C. D., Duncan, B. D., Ackerman, P., Buckley, T., and Birch, K. 1981. "Is Empathic Emotion a Source of Altruistic Motivation?" *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 40, 290-302.

Batson, C. Daniel, Ahmad, Nadia, and Tsang, Jo-Ann (2002). "Four Motives for Community Involvement." *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 58, No. 3, 429-445.

Becker, Penny Edgell, and Pawan H. Dhingra. 2001. "Religious Involvement and Volunteering: Implications for Civil Society." *Sociology of Religion* 62(3), 315-335.

Blau, Peter. 1964. *Exchange and Power in Social Life*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Bloom, Leslie Rebecca, and Deborah Kilgore. 2003. "The Volunteer Citizen After Welfare Reform in the United States: An Ethnographic Study of Volunteerism In Action." V*oluntas: International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Organizations 14(4)*, 431-454.

Breen, Richard. 1996. *Regression Models: Censored, Sample Selected, or Truncated Data*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.

Bstan-'dzin Rgya-mtsho (His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama), and Howard C. Cutler. 1998. *The Art of Happiness: A Handbook for Living*. New York: Riverhead Books.

Bureau of Labor Statistics. 2004. "Volunteering in the United States," a supplement to the September 2004 *Current Population Survey*. Washington, DC: United States Department of Labor. Available at http://www.bls.gov/news.release/volun.toc.htm.

Callero, Peter L. 1985. "Role-Identity Salience." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 48:203-214.

Callero, Peter L., Judith A. Howard, and Jane A. Piliavin. 1987. "Helping Behavior as Role Behavior: Disclosing Social Structure and History in the Analysis of Prosocial Action." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 50(3), 247-256.

Caro, Francis G., and Scott A. Bass. 1995. “Increasing Volunteering Among Older People.” In *Older and Active: How Americans Over 55 Are Contributing to Society*, ed. S. Bass, 71-96. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Caro, Francis G., and Scott A. Bass. 1997. “Receptivity to Volunteering in the Immediate Post-Retirement Period.” *Journal of Applied Gerontology* 16:427-42.

Chambre, Susan M. 1984. “Is Volunteering a Substitute for Role Loss in Old Age? An Empirical Test of Activity Theory.” *The Gerontologist* 24, 292-8.

Chambre, Susan M. 1987. *Good Deeds in Old Age: Volunteering by the New Leisure Class*. Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath and Company.

Chambre, Susan M. 1993. “Volunteerism By Elders: Past Trends and Future Prospects.” *The Gerontologist* 33, 221-8.

Charng, Hong-Wen, Jane Allyn Piliavin, and Peter L. Callero. 1988. “Role Identity and Reasoned Action in the Prediction of Repeated Behavior.” *Social Psychology Quarterly* 51:303-317.

Chinman, Matthew J., and Abraham Wandersman. 1999. “The Benefits and Costs of Volunteering in Community Organizations: Review and Practical Implications.” *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 28(1), 46-64.

Chodorow, Nancy. 1978. *The Reproduction of Mothering.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Chodorow, Nancy. 1989. *Feminism and Psychoanalytic Theory.* New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press.

Choi, Lona H. 2003. “Factors Affecting Volunteerism Among Older Adults.” *Journal of Applied Gerontology*, 22(2), 179-196.

Clary, M., and Snyder. 1991. “A Functional Analysis of Altruism and Prosocial Behavior: The Case of Volunteerism.” *Review of Personality and Social Psychology*, 12, 119-148.

Clary, M., Snyder, et al. 1998. “Understanding and Assessing the Motivations of Volunteers: A Functional Approach.” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74, 1516-30.

Cnaan, Ram A., and Goldberg-Glen, R. S. 1991. “Measuring Motivation to Volunteer in Human Services.” *Journal of Applied Behavioral Sciences*, 27, 269-284.

Cnaan, Ram A., Femida Handy, and Margaret Wadsworth. 1996. “Defining Who is a Volunteer: Conceptual and Empirical Considerations.” *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 25(3), 364-383.

Collins, Randall, and Neal Hickman. 1991. “Altruism and Culture as Social Products.” *Voluntas* 2(2), 1-15.

Colby, Anne, and Damon, William. 1992. *Some Do Care: Contemporary Lives of Moral Commitment.* New York: Free Press.

Colby, Anne, Lorrie Sippola, and Erin Phelps. 2001. “Social Responsibility and Paid Work in Contemporary American Life.” In Alice S. Rossi, ed., *Caring and Doing for Others: Social Responsibility in the Domains of Work, Family, and Community,* 463-504. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Daniels, Arlene Kaplan. 1988. *Invisible Careers: Women Civic Leaders from the Volunteer World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

De Waal, Frans. 1996. *Good-Natured: The Origins of Right and Wrong in Humans and Other Animals.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Einolf, Christopher J. 2006. “The Empathy-Altruism Hypothesis in the Real World.” Paper to be presented at the American Sociological Association annual meeting, 2006.

Elder, Glen H., Jr., Monica Kirkpatrick Johnson, and Robert Crosnoe. 2004. “The Emergence and Development of Life Course Theory. In Jeylan T. Mortimer and Michael J. Shanahan, eds., *Handbook of the Life Course*, pp. 3-22. New York: Springer.

Eisenberg, Nancy. 2002. “Empathy-Related Emotional Responses, Altruism, and Their Socialization.” In Richard J. Davidson and Anne Harrington, eds., *Visions of Compassion: Western Scientists and Tibetan Buddhists Examine Human Nature*, pp. 131-164. New York: Oxford University Press.

Eisenberg, Nancy, Janusz Reykowski, and Ervin Staub, eds. 1989. *Social and Moral Values: Individual and Societal Perspectives.* Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Eisenberg, Nancy, and Paul H. Mussen. 1989. *The Roots of Prosocial Behavior in Children.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Eisenberg, Nancy, and R. A. Fabes. 1998. “Prosocial development.” In William Damon and Nancy Eisenberg, eds., *Handbook of Child Psychology, Vol. 3: Social, Emotional, and Personality Development*, 701-778. New York: Wiley.

Eliasoph, Nina. 1996. “Making a Fragile Public: A Talk-Centered Study of Citizenship and Power. *Sociological Theory* 14(3), 262-289.

Eliasoph, Nina. 1998. *Avoiding Politics: How Americans Produce Apathy in Everyday Life.* Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Erikson, Erik. 1980 [1959]. *Identity and the Life Cycle.* New York: Norton.

Fausto-Sterling, Anne. 1985. *Myths of Gender: Biological Theories about Women and Men.* New York: Basic Books.

Fischer, Lucy Rose, and Kay Banister Schaffer. 1993. *Older Volunteers: A Guide to Research and Practice*. Newbury Park, California: Sage.

Fisher, Berenice. 1990. "Alice in the Human Services: A Feminist Analysis of Women in the Caring Professions." In Abel, Emily K., and Margaret K. Nelson, eds., *Circles of Care: Work and Identity in Women's Lives*. Albany: State University of New York Press, pp. 108-131.

Freeman, Richard B. 1997. "Working for Nothing: The Supply of Volunteer Labor." *Journal of Labor Economics* 15(1), S140-S165.

Freedman, Marc. 1994. *Seniors In National and Community Service: A Report Prepared for The Commonwealth Fund's Americans Over 55 At Work Program.* Philadelphia: Public/Private Ventures.

Freedman, Marc. 1999. *Prime Time: How Baby Boomers Will Revolutionize Retirement and Transform America.* New York: Public Affairs.

Gallagher, S. 1994. *Older People Giving Care: Helping People and Community.* Westport, CT: Auburn House.

Gerstel, Naomi. 2000. "The Third Shift: Gender and Care Work Outside the Home." *Qualitative Sociology* 23, 467-483.

Gilligan, Carol. 1982. *In a Different Voice*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Gintis, Herbert, Samuel Bowles, Robert Boyd, and Ernst Fehr. 2003. "Explaining Altruistic Behavior in Humans." *Evolution and Human Behavior* 24 (3), 153-172.

Godbout, Jacques T., with Alain Caille. 1998. *The World of the Gift.* Translated by David Winkler. Montreal, Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Goss, Kristin A. 1999. "Volunteering and the Long Civic Generation." *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 28(4), 378-415.

Gouldner, Alvin W. 1960. "The Norm of Reciprocity: A Preliminary Statement." *American Sociological Review* 25, 161-178.

Haidt, Jonathan. 2001. "The Emotional Dog and Its Rational Tail: A Social Intuitionist Approach to Moral Judgment." *Psychological Review 108*, 814-834.

Haidt, Jonathan. 2003. “The Moral Emotions.” In R. J. Davidson, K. R. Scherer, & H. H. Goldsmith, eds., *Handbook of Affective Sciences*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 852-870.

Harlow, Robert E., and Nancy Cantor. 1996. “Still Participating After All These Years: A Study of Life Task Participation in Later Life.” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 71:1235-49.

Harvard School of Public Health. 2003. “Reinventing Aging: Baby Boomers and Civic Engagement.” Paper presented at the Conference on Baby Boomers and Retirement: Impact on Civic Engagement, 2003. Available on-line at http://www.aarp.org/research/reference/boomers/aresearch-import-873.html.

Healy, Kieran. 2004. “Altruism as an Organizational Problem: The Case of Organ Procurement.” *American Sociological Review* 69 (3), 387-404.

Healy, Kieran. 2000. “Embedded Altruism: Blood Collection Regimes and the European Union’s Donor Population. *American Journal of Sociology* 105 (6), 1633-1657.

Heinz, Walter R. 2004. “From Work Trajectories to Negotiated Careers: The Contingent Work Life Course.” In Jeylan T. Mortimer and Michael J. Shanahan, eds., *Handbook of the Life Course*, pp. 185-204. New York: Springer.

Herzog, A., R. Kahn, and J. Morgan. 1989. “Age Differences in Productive Activity.” *Journal of Gerontology* 44(4):S129-S138.

Herzog A., and J. Morgan. 1993. “Formal Volunteer Work Among Older Americans.” In *Achieving a Productive Aging Society*, ed. S. Bass, F. Caro, Y. Chen, 119-142. Westport, CT: Auburn House.

Hodgkinson, Virginia A. 1995. “Key Factors Influencing Caring, Involvement, and Community.” In Paul Schervish, et al, eds., *Care and Community in Modern Society: Passing On the Tradition of Service to Future Generations*, 21-50. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Hodgkinson, Virginia A., et al. 1992. *Giving and Volunteering in the United States*. Washington, DC: Independent Sector.

Hodgkinson, Virginia A., and Anne Painter. 2003. “Third Sector Research in International Perspective: The Role of ISTR.” *Voluntas: International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Organizations 14(1)*, 1-14.

Hoge, Dean R. 1995. “Explanations for Current Levels of Religious Giving.” In Robert E. Fogal and Dwight F. Burlingame, eds., *New Directions for Philanthropic Fundraising* 7, 51-70.

Hook, Jennifer L. 2004. "Reconsidering the Division of Household Labor: Incorporating Volunteer Work and Informal Support." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 66, 101-117.

Independent Sector. 1996. *Giving and Volunteering in the United States: Findings from a National Survey*. Washington, DC: Independent Sector.

Independent Sector. 2003. *Experience at Work: Volunteering and Giving Among Americans Fifty and Over.* Washington, DC: Independent Sector.

Janoski, Thomas, Mark Musick, and John Wilson. 1998. "Being Volunteered? The Impact of Social Participation and Pro-social Attitudes on Volunteering." *Sociological Forum* 13(3), 495-519.

Jennings, M. Kent. 1987. "Residues of a Movement: The Aging of the American Protest Generation." *American Political Science Review* 81(2), 367-382.

Johnson, Christopher. 2003. *Infrastructure of Volunteer Agencies: Capacity to Absorb Boomer Volunteers.* Paper presented at the Conference on Baby Boomers and Retirement: Impact on Civic Engagement; available on-line at http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/chc/reinventingaging/Report.pdf.

Kaminer, Wendy. *Women Volunteering: The Pleasure, Pain, and Politics of Unpaid Work from 1830 to the Present*. Garden City, New York: Anchor Press, 1984.

Kinkade, Jean E., et al. 1996. "Older Adults as a Community Resource: Results from the National Survey of Self-Care and Aging." *Gerontologist* 36(4):474-82.

Kleyman, Paul. 2003. "Study Shows How Older-Volunteer Force in U.S. Could Double." *Aging Today* 24(1).

Knoke, David, and Randall Thompson. 1977. "Voluntary Association Membership Trends and the Family Life Cycle." *Social Forces* 56(1), 48-65.

Knox, Trevor M. 1999. "The Volunteer's Folly and Socio-Economic Man: Some Thoughts on Altruism, Rationality, and Community." *Journal of Socio-Economics* 28, 475-492.

Kohlberg, Lawrence. 1981. *Essays on Moral Development.* San Francisco: Harper and Row.

Komter, Aafke E. 2005. *Social Solidarity and the Gift.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kotre, J. 1984. *Outliving the Self: Generativity and the Interpretation of Lives*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Kulik, Liat. 2002. "Perceived Effects of Voluntarism on Marital Life in Late Adulthood." *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, 29 (2), 35-51.

Ladd, Everett C. 1999. *The Ladd Report.* New York: Free Press.

Lapsley, Daniel K. 1996. *Moral Psychology*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

Lee, Lichang, Jane Allyn Piliavin, and Vaughn R. A. Call. 1999. "Giving Time, Blood, and Money: Differences and Similarities." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 62 (3), 276-290.

Malinowski, Bronislaw. 1922. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. London: Routledge.

Mansbridge, Jane, ed. 1990. *Beyond Self Interest*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Markham, William T., and Charles M. Bonjean. 1995. "Community Orientations of Higher-Status Women Volunteers." *Social Forces* 73(4), 1553-1571.

Mauss, Marcel. 1990 [1950]. *The Gift.* Translated by W. D. Halls. London: Routledge.

McAdam, Doug. 1988. *Freedom Summer*. New York: Oxford University Press.

McAdams, D.P., and de St. Aubin, E. 1992. "A Theory of Generativity and its Assessment through Self-Report, Behavioral Acts, and Narrative Themes in Autobiography." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 62, 1003-1015

McAdams, Dan. 1993. *Stories We Live By: Personal Myths and the Making of the Self.* New York: William Morrow and Company.

McAdams, Dan, Ann Diamond, Ed de St. Aubin, and Elizabeth Mansfield. 1997. "Stories of Commitment: The Psychosocial Construction of Generative Lives." *Journal of Personality and Social* Psychology 72(3), 678-694.

McAdams, Dan, and Ed de St. Aubin, eds. 1998. *Generativity and Adult Development: How and Why We Care for the Next Generation*. Washington, DC : American Psychological Association.

McCarthy, Kathleen D., ed. 1990. *Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy, and Power*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

Moen, Phyllis. 2003. "Midcourse: Reconfiguring Careers and Community Service for a New Life Stage." *Contemporary Gerontology* 9(3), 87-94.

Moen, Phyllis. 2004. "Midcourse: Navigating Retirement and a New Life Stage." In Jeylan T. Mortimer and Michael J. Shanahan, eds., *Handbook of the Life Course*, pp. 269-294. New York: Springer.

Moen, Phyllis, D. Dempster-McClain, and R. M. Williams, Jr. 1992. "Successful Aging: A Life-Course Perspective on Women's Multiple Roles and Health." *American Journal of Sociology* 97, 1612-1638.

Moen, Phyllis, and V. Fields. 2002. "Midcourse in the United States: Does Unpaid Community Participation Replace Paid Work?" *Ageing International* 27(3), 21-48.

Monroe, Kristen Renwick. 1996. *The Heart of Altruism: Perceptions of a Common Humanity*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Mount, Joan. "Why Donors Give." In Ott, J. Steven, ed. 2001. *The Nature of the Nonprofit Sector*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview, 331-7.

Musick, M. A., Herzog, A., & House, J. S. (1999). "Volunteering and Mortality Among Older Adults: Findings from a National Sample." *Journals of Gerontology Series B-Psychological Sciences & Social Sciences, 54B*(3), S173-S180.

Musick, Marc A., John Wilson, and William B. Bynum, Jr. 2000. "Race and Formal Volunteering: The Differential Effects of Class and Religion." *Social Forces* 78(4), 1539-1570.

Mutchler, Jan E., Jeffrey A. Burr, and Francis G. Caro. 2003. "From Paid Worker to Volunteer: Leaving the Paid Workforce and Volunteering in Later Life." *Social Forces,* 81(4): 1267-1293.

Mustillo, Sarah, John Wilson, and Scott M. Lynch. 2004. "Legacy Volunteering: A Test of Two Theories of Intergenerational Transmission." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 66, 530-541.

Nadler, Arie. 2002. "Inter-Group Helping Relations as Power Relations: Maintaining or Challenging Social Dominance Between Groups Through Helping." *Journal of Social Issues* 58(3), 487-502.

Neugarten, B. L., R. Havighurst, and S. Tobin. 1968. "Personality and Patterns of Aging." In B. Neugarten, ed., *Middle Age and Aging*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Nock, Steven L. 1998. *Marriage in Men's Lives.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Oesterle, Sabrina, Monica Kirkpatrick Johnson, and Jeylan T. Mortimer. 2004. "Volunteerism During the Transition to Adulthood: A Life Course Perspective." *Social Forces* 82(3), 1123-1149.

Okun, Morris A., and Schultz, Amy. 2003. "Age and Motives for Volunteering: Testing Hypotheses Derived from Socioemotional Selectivity Theory." *Psychology and Aging*, 18(2), 231-9.

Okun, Morris A., Barr, A., and Herzog, A. R. 1998. "Motivation to Volunteer in Older Adults: A Test of Competing Measurement Models." *Psychology and Aging* 13, 608-21.

Oliner, Samuel, and Pearl Oliner. 1988. *The Altruistic Personality*. New York: Free Press.

Oman, D., Thoresen, C. E., & McMahon, K. 1999. "Volunteerism and Mortality among the Community-Dwelling Elderly. *Journal of Health Psychology, 4*(3), 301-316.

Omoto, Allen M., Mark Snyder, and Steven C. Martino. 2000. "Volunteerism and the Life Course: Investigating Age-Related Agendas for Volunteer Action." *Basic and Applied Social Psychology* 22(3), 181-197.

Ostrander, Susan A. 1984. *Women of the Upper Class*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Ostrower, Francie. 1995. *Why the Wealthy Give: The Culture of Elite Philanthropy*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Panas, J. 1984. *Megagifts: Who Gives Them, Who Gets Them?* Chicago: Pluribus Press.

Park, Jerry Z., and Christian Smith. 2000. "'To Whom Much Has Been Given…': Religious Capital and Community Voluntarism Among Churchgoing Protestants." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 39(3), 272-286.

Pearce, J. L. 1993. *Volunteers: The Organizational Behavior of Unpaid Workers*. London: Routledge.

Penner et. al. 1995. "Measuring the Prosocial Personality." In J. Butcher and C. D. Spielburger, eds., *Advances in Personality Assessment*, Vol. 10. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1995.

Penner, L. A., and Finkelstein, M. A. 1998. "Dispositional and Structural Determinants of Volunteerism." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74*, 525-37.

Penner, Luis A. 2002. "Dispositional and Organizational Influences on Sustained Volunteerism: An Interactionist Perspective." *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 58, No. 3, 447-67.

Perry, James L., and Michael C. Katula. 2001. "Does Service Affect Citizenship?" *Administration and Society* 33(3), 330-365.

Peterson, Bill E. 1998. "Case Studies of Midlife Generativity: Analyzing Motivation and Realization." In Dan McAdams and Ed de St. Aubin, eds., *Generativity and Adult Development: How and Why We Care for the Next Generation*, 101-132. Washington, DC : American Psychological Association.

Piliavin, Jane Allyn. 1989. “The Development of Motives, Self-Identities, and Values Tied to Blood Donation: A Polish-American Comparison Study.” In Eisenberg, Nancy, Janusz Reykowski, and Ervin Staub, eds., *Social and Moral Values: Individual and Societal Perspectives.* Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Piliavin, Jane Allyn, and Peter L. Callero. 1991. *Giving Blood: The Development of an Altruistic Identity*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Piliavin, Jane Allyn, and Hong-Wen Charng. 1990. “Altruism: A Review of Recent Research.” *Annual Review of Sociology*, 16:27-65.

Prisuta, Robert. 2003. *Enhancing Volunteerism Among Aging Boomers.* Paper presented at the Conference on Baby Boomers and Retirement: Impact on Civic Engagement, 2003. Available on-line at http://www.aarp.org/research/reference/boomers/aresearch-import-873.html.

Prince, Russ Alan, and Karen Maru File. 1994. *The Seven Faces of Philanthropy: A New Approach to Cultivating Major Donors.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1994.

Pushkar, Dolores, Myrna Reis, and Melinda Morros. 2002. “Motivation, Personality, and Well-Being in Older Volunteers.” *International Journal of Aging and Human Development* 55(2), 141-162.

Putnam, Robert. 2000. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community.* New York: Simon and Schuster.

Reed, Paul B., and Selbee, L. Kevin. 2000. “Distinguishing Characteristics of Active Volunteers in Canada.” *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 29(4), 571-92.

Reverby, Susan M. 1990. “The Duty or Right to Care? Nursing and Womanhood in Historical Perspective.” In Abel, Emily K., and Margaret K. Nelson, eds., *Circles of Care: Work and Identity in Women’s Lives*. Albany: State University of New York Press, pp. 132-149.

Rhoads, Stephen E. 2004. *Taking Sex Differences Seriously*. San Francisco: Encounter Books.

Rooney, Patrick M., Kathryn S. Steinberg, and Paul G. Schervish. 2001. “A Methodological Comparison of Giving Surveys: Indiana as a Test Case.” *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 30(3), 551-568.

Rooney, Patrick, Kathryn Steinberg, and Paul G. Schervish. 2005. “Methodology is Destiny: The Effect of Survey Prompts on Reported Levels of Giving and Volunteering.” *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 33(4), 628-654.

Rossi, Alice, ed. 1985. *Gender and the Life Course*. New York: Aldine.

Rossi, Alice S., ed. 2001. *Caring and Doing for Others: Social Responsibility in the Domains of Work, Family, and Community.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Rossi, Alice S., and Rossi, Peter H. 1990. *Of Human Bonding: Parent-Child Relations Across the Life-Course*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Rotolo, Thomas. 2000. "A Time to Join, A Time to Quit: The Influence of Life Cycle Transitions on Voluntary Association Memberships." *Social Forces* 78(3), 1133-1161.

Rotolo, Thomas, and John Wilson. 2004. " 'Whatever Happened to the Long Civic Generation?' Explaining Cohort Differences in Volunteerism." *Social Forces* 82(3), 1091-1121.

Schneider, John M. 1996. "Philanthropic Styles in the United States: Toward a Theory of Regional Differences. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 25(2), 190-210.

St. John, Craig, and Jesse Fuchs. 2002. "The Heartland Responds to Terror: Volunteering After the Bombing of the Murrah Federal Building." *Social Science Quarterly 83(2),* 398-415.

Schervish, Paul G. 1997. "Major Donors, Major Motives: The People and Purposes Behind Major Gifts." In Dwight F. Burlingame, Timothy L. Sieler, and Eugene R. Tempel, eds., *New Directions for Philanthropic Fundraising* 15:85-112.

Schervish, Paul G., and Mary A. O'Herlihy. 2002. "The Spiritual Secret of Wealth: The Inner Dynamics By Which Fortune Engenders Care." In Dwight F. Burlingame, ed., *New Directions for Philanthropic Fundraising* 35:23-40.

Schervish, Paul G., and John J. Havens. 2002. "The Boston Area Diary Study and the Moral Citizenship of Care." *Voluntas* 13(1), 47-71.

Setterstein, Richard A., Jr. 2004. "Age Structuring and the Rhythm of the Life Course." In Jeylan T. Mortimer and Michael J. Shanahan, eds., *Handbook of the Life Course*, pp. 81-102. New York: Springer.

Smith, Tom W. 2003. "Altruism in Contemporary America: A Report from the National Altruism Study." Chicago: National Opinion Research Center.

Sober, E., and Wilson, D. 1998. *Unto Others: The Evolution and Psychology of Unselfish Behavior*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Spain, Daphne. 2001. *How Women Saved the City*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Stamm, Beth H., ed. 1999. *Secondary Traumatic Stress: Self-Care Issues for Clinicians, Researchers, and Educators, 2nd Edition*. Lutherville, MD: Sidran Press.

Staub, Ervin. 1995. “How People Learn to Care.” In Paul G. Schervish, Virginia A. Hodgkinson, Margaret Gates, and Associates, *Care and Community in Modern Society: Passing on the Tradition of Service to Future Generations*, pp. 51-68. Washington, DC: Independent Sector.

Stephan, P. 1991. “Relationships among Market Work, Work Aspirations and Volunteering: The Case of Retired Women.” *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 20:225-36.

Sundeen, Richard A. 1990. “Family Life Course Status and Volunteer Behavior: Implications for the Single Parent.” *Sociological Perspectives* 33, 483-500.

Taniguchi, Hiromi. 2006. “Men’s and Women’s Volunteering: Gender Differences in the Effects of Employment and Family Characteristics.” *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 35(1), 83-101.

Thoits, Peggy A., and Lyndi N. Hewitt. 2001. “Volunteer Work and Well-Being.” *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 42:115-31.

Tiehen, Laura. 2000. “Has Working More Caused Married Women to Volunteer Less? Evidence From Time Diary Data, 1965 to 1993.” *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 29(4), 505-529.

Titmuss, Richard. 1971. *The Gift Relationship: From Human Blood to Social Policy.* New York: Vintage.

Toppe, Christopher M., Arthur D. Kirsch, and Jocabel Michel. 2001. *Giving and Volunteering in the United States: Findings From a National Survey.* Washington, DC: Independent Sector.

Tschirhart, Mary, et. al. 2001. “Stipended Volunteers: Their Goals, Experiences, Satisfactions, and Likelihood of Future Service.” *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 30(3), 442-453.

Udry, J. Richard, N. M. Morris, and J. Kavenock. 1995. “Androgen Effects on Women’s Gendered Behavior.” *Journal of Biosocial Science* 27, 359-368.

Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady. 1995. *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Wheeler, Judith A., Kevin M. Gorey, and Bernard Greenblatt. 1998. “The Beneficial Effects of Volunteering for Older Volunteers and the People They Serve: A Meta-Analysis.” *International Journal of Aging and Human Development* 47(1), 69-79.

Wilson, John, and Thomas Janowski. 1995. “The Contribution of Religion to Volunteer Work.” *Sociology of Religion* 56(2), 137-153.

Wilson, John, and Marc Musick. 1997. “Who Cares? Towards an Integrated Theory of Volunteer Work.” *American Sociological Review* 62(5), 694-713.

Wilson, John. 2000. “Volunteering.” *Annual Review of Sociology 26,* 215-240.

Wolpert, Julian. 1995. “Giving and Region: Generous and Stingy Communities.” In Robert E. Fogal and Dwight F. Burlingame, eds., *New Directions for Philanthropic Fundraising*, 7:11-30.

Wuthnow, Robert. 1985. *Learning to Care: Elementary Kindness in an Age of Indifference.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Wuthnow, Robert. 1991. *Acts of Compassion: Caring for Others and Helping Ourselves.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Table A.1. Volunteering (Logistic regression - full model)

	Ascriptive	Family	Empathy	Religious Denom.	Religious Attend.	Obs.	Happiness	Role ID	Gen'y	Continge
Male	**0.865***	**0.869***	0.913	0.935	0.972	1.002	0.981	1.046	1.008	0.920
Black	0.930	0.840	0.842	0.836	**0.692***	**0.637****	**0.629****	**0.572****	**0.553*****	**0.560****
Asian	0.876	0.863	0.862	1.013	0.950	0.855	0.865	0.868	0.967	0.628
Native American	0.956	0.936	0.915	0.872	0.916	1.035	1.004	1.248	1.173	0.887
Latino	**0.630***	**0.604***	**0.604***	**0.660^**	**0.599***	**0.584***	**0.571***	**0.473****	**0.448****	**0.543***
Age	**1.096*****	**1.090*****	**1.091*****	**1.090*****	**1.104*****	**1.092*****	**1.097*****	**1.094*****	**1.092*****	**1.079****
Age squared	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999****
Chores		1.010	1.004	1.015	0.999	0.982	0.978	0.966	0.954	0.982
Rules		**1.159****	**1.159****	**1.168****	**1.177****	**1.160****	**1.163****	**1.154****	**1.132***	**1.155***
Family religiosity		**1.105***	**1.094***	**1.092^**	1.016	1.010	1.009	0.990	0.980	0.972
Intact family		1.022	1.028	1.029	0.960	0.955	0.935	0.951	0.962	0.851
Authoritative parenting		1.055	1.032	1.055	1.004	0.965	0.928	0.914	0.905	**0.836^**
Missing value on parenting		0.281	0.273	0.290	0.280	0.221	0.208	0.228	0.223	0.183
Empathy			**1.200***	**1.192***	**1.148^**	0.947	0.895	**0.785****	**0.704*****	**0.817***
Protestant				**1.356***	1.122	1.071	1.054	1.080	1.130	1.049
Catholic				1.118	0.886	0.844	0.837	0.886	0.940	0.921
Jewish				**1.892****	**1.708***	1.420	1.383	1.193	1.196	1.018
Jehovah's Witness/Mormon				**2.928*****	**1.553^**	**1.729^**	**1.740^**	**1.661^**	**1.744^**	**1.886^**
Other religion				0.845	0.747	0.806	0.794	0.746	0.759	0.738
Born-again				**1.369*****	0.968	0.968	0.993	0.909	0.909	0.903
Fundamentalist				**0.645*****	**0.437*****	**0.454*****	**0.450*****	**0.494*****	**0.503*****	**0.671****
Religious services attendance					**1.155*****	**1.150*****	**1.146*****	**1.131*****	**1.132*****	**1.105*****
Religious meeting attendance					**1.216*****	**1.214*****	**1.213*****	**1.187*****	**1.181*****	**1.143*****
Subjective religiosity					1.087	1.017	1.012	1.051	1.090	1.102
Family obligations						1.050	1.036	1.057	1.059	1.007
Friend obligations						0.969	0.972	0.948	0.943	0.969
Work obligations						1.031	1.024	1.029	1.013	**1.055^**
Civic obligations						**1.133*****	**1.119*****	**1.081****	**1.069***	1.038
Altruistic obligations						**1.116*****	**1.117*****	**1.099*****	**1.103*****	**1.102*****
Life satisfaction							**1.109***	**1.147****	**1.114***	1.010
Future life satisfaction							**1.064***	1.005	1.006	0.996
Financial satisfaction							1.007	0.996	0.995	0.974
High past volunteering								**2.691*****	**2.575*****	**2.455*****
High future volunteering								**2.086*****	**2.047*****	**2.007*****
Past helpfulness								0.972	**0.957***	**0.963^**
Future helpfulness								**1.143*****	**1.112*****	**1.087****
Generativity									**1.555*****	**1.272****
Community satisfaction										0.860
Contact with neighbors										**1.125****
Homeowner										**1.420****
Attendance at meetings										**1.118*****
Trust in local community										**1.271*****
Trust in others in general										**0.901****
Married or cohabiting										1.114
Any children										1.131
Any minor children										**1.949*****
In labor force										1.028
Total hours worked/week										**0.994^**
Health										1.051
Education										**1.426*****
Occupational prestige										**1.011****
Income										1.000
Wealth										**1.001****
% Correct	60.1	59.9	59.9	61.3	67.5	67.8	67.8	70.2	70.2	75.2
Cox & Snell R2	0.008	0.015	0.017	0.031	0.099	0.127	0.133	0.184	0.192	0.277
Nagelkerke R2	0.011	0.021	0.023	0.043	0.134	0.172	0.179	0.249	0.260	0.374

Table A.2. Church giving (Logistic regression - full model):

	Ascriptive	Family	Empathy	Religious Denom.	Religious Attend.	Obs.	Happiness	Role ID	Gen'y	Continge
Male	1.119	**1.144^**	**1.166***	**1.296*****	**1.658*****	**1.664*****	**1.614*****	**1.657*****	**1.638*****	**1.455*****
Black	1.216	0.965	0.966	0.932	**0.620***	**0.632***	**0.663***	**0.631***	**0.624***	**0.697^**
Asian	0.718	0.725	0.724	0.993	0.827	0.828	0.786	0.796	0.821	0.716
Native American	0.890	0.837	0.829	0.806	0.870	0.948	0.989	1.001	0.987	0.952
Latino	0.949	0.848	0.848	0.762	0.659	0.670	0.666	0.633	**0.626^**	0.714
Age	**1.058****	**1.045***	**1.045***	**1.054***	**1.089*****	**1.083*****	**1.084*****	**1.084****	**1.083****	1.030
Age squared	**0.9996^**	1.000	1.000	**.9996^**	**0.999****	**0.999****	**0.999****	**0.999****	**0.999****	1.000
Chores		0.991	0.988	0.992	0.926	0.916	0.913	0.912	0.909	0.926
Rules		**1.123***	**1.123***	**1.114***	**1.110^**	**1.107^**	**1.119^**	**1.123^**	**1.115^**	**1.137***
Family religiosity		**1.545*****	**1.539*****	**1.310*****	**1.121***	**1.121***	**1.109^**	**1.105^**	**1.101^**	**1.107^**
Intact family		1.099	1.102	1.162	0.994	0.988	0.961	0.972	0.976	0.904
Authoritative parenting		**1.154^**	**1.144^**	1.061	0.942	0.924	0.892	0.907	0.904	0.889
Missing value on parenting		0.180	0.178	**0.132^**	**0.063***	**0.063***	**0.066***	**0.064***	**0.063***	**0.053***
Empathy			1.073	0.973	**0.855^**	**0.791***	**0.787***	**0.751****	**0.725****	**0.826^**
Protestant				**4.699*****	**2.956*****	**2.873*****	**2.887*****	**2.936*****	**2.973*****	**2.873*****
Catholic				**6.940*****	**3.453*****	**3.387*****	**3.423*****	**3.586*****	**3.645*****	**3.79*****
Jewish				**5.512*****	**4.552*****	**4.209*****	**4.100*****	**3.897*****	**3.887*****	**3.040*****
Jehovah's Witness/Mormon				**7.661*****	**2.341***	**2.403***	**2.517***	**2.526***	**2.552***	**2.565*****
Other religion				**3.165*****	**2.376***	**2.452****	**2.614****	**2.613****	**2.625****	**2.928****
Born-again				**2.351*****	**1.236^**	**1.244^**	**1.294***	**1.254^**	**1.253^**	**1.314***
Fundamentalist				1.073	**0.577*****	**0.585*****	**0.583*****	**0.611*****	**0.615*****	**0.738***
Religious services attendance					**1.721*****	**1.708*****	**1.710*****	**1.698*****	**1.697*****	**1.661*****
Religious meeting attendance					**1.118****	**1.120****	**1.121****	**1.098***	**1.096***	**1.065^**
Subjective religiosity					**1.979*****	**1.935*****	**1.854*****	**1.872*****	**1.897*****	**2.104*****
Family obligations						1.025	1.021	1.023	1.023	0.970
Friend obligations						0.993	0.998	0.988	0.986	1.013
Work obligations						1.030	1.026	1.029	1.024	1.051
Civic obligations						**1.070***	**1.054^**	1.034	1.032	1.003
Altruistic obligations						1.005	1.005	0.991	0.992	1.004
Life satisfaction							**1.149***	**1.173****	**1.162****	1.076
Future life satisfaction							**0.932***	**0.893*****	**0.895*****	**0.890*****
Financial satisfaction							**1.083*****	**1.075****	**1.075****	1.020
High past volunteering								1.064	1.050	0.987
High future volunteering								**1.566*****	**1.552*****	**1.522*****
Past helpfulness								0.968	0.963	**0.962^**
Future helpfulness								**1.101*****	**1.092*****	**1.084****
Generativity									**1.147^**	1.028
Community satisfaction										0.914
Contact with neighbors										1.031
Homeowner										**1.668*****
Attendance at meetings										1.008
Trust in local community										**1.106***
Trust in others in general										**0.926^**
Married or cohabiting										**1.354****
Any children										1.079
Any minor children										**1.23^**
In labor force										1.006
Total hours worked/week										1.001
Health										1.038
Education										**1.290*****
Occupational prestige										1.006
Income										**1.000^**
Wealth										**1.001****
% Correct	57.1	60.1	60.2	64.6	80.2	80.5	81.2	81.2	81.4	81.5
Cox & Snell R2	0.022	0.061	0.061	0.135	0.331	0.334	0.340	0.347	0.347	0.372
Nagelkerke R2	0.030	0.081	0.081	0.180	0.442	0.446	0.454	0.463	0.464	0.497

Table A.3. Secular giving (Logistic regression - full model):

	Ascriptive	Family	Empathy	Religious Denom.	Religious Attend.	Obs.	Happiness	Role ID	Gen'y	Contingel
Male	**1.134^**	**1.144^**	**1.151^**	1.129	**1.154^**	**1.174***	1.133	**1.158^**	1.125	0.993
Black	**0.656****	**0.671***	**0.672***	0.776	**0.722***	**0.706***	**0.747^**	**0.721^**	**0.703***	0.839
Asian	1.433	1.392	1.393	1.306	1.285	1.170	1.125	1.171	1.275	0.957
Native American	0.847	0.876	0.873	0.817	0.833	0.968	1.032	1.086	1.036	1.196
Latino	**0.604***	**0.609***	**0.609***	**0.590***	**0.571***	**0.593***	**0.588***	**0.570***	**0.542****	**0.653^**
Age	**1.130*****	**1.130*****	**1.130*****	**1.129*****	**1.136*****	**1.130*****	**1.129*****	**1.135*****	**1.133*****	**1.098*****
Age squared	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****
Chores		**0.848****	**0.847****	**0.863****	**0.856****	**0.845****	**0.836*****	**0.833*****	**0.823*****	**0.842****
Rules		1.027	1.027	1.036	1.037	1.030	1.041	1.033	1.015	1.029
Family religiosity		1.018	1.017	1.030	1.004	0.997	0.985	0.982	0.973	0.953
Intact family		1.021	1.021	1.005	0.982	0.969	0.924	0.921	0.930	**0.823***
Authoritative parenting		0.943	0.940	0.997	0.978	0.955	0.918	0.937	0.929	0.920
Missing value on parenting		2.632	2.623	3.062	2.985	2.868	3.186	3.262	3.221	2.783
Empathy			1.021	1.032	1.015	0.901	0.893	**0.859^**	**0.783****	0.918
Protestant				1.163	1.087	1.041	1.033	1.045	1.087	1.080
Catholic				**1.274^**	1.171	1.144	1.137	1.181	1.242	**1.284^**
Jewish				**1.706***	**1.630***	1.401	1.324	1.249	1.251	0.944
Jehovah's Witness/Mormon				0.735	**0.574^**	0.635	0.642	0.625	0.645	0.750
Other religion				1.260	1.214	1.328	1.428	1.406	1.440	**1.567^**
Born-again				1.034	0.921	0.933	0.969	0.927	0.929	0.961
Fundamentalist				**0.500*****	**0.447*****	**0.468*****	**0.462*****	**0.481*****	**0.486*****	**0.641*****
Religious services attendance					**1.052*****	**1.043****	**1.040***	**1.029^**	**1.029^**	1.015
Religious meeting attendance					**1.043^**	1.040	1.045	1.029	1.022	1.002
Subjective religiosity					1.281	1.200	1.139	1.160	1.200	**1.335^**
Family obligations						**1.086****	**1.079*****	**1.089****	**1.092****	1.041
Friend obligations						**0.953***	**0.960***	**0.950***	**0.945****	0.978
Work obligations						**0.938***	**0.929****	**0.933****	**0.920****	**0.945***
Civic obligations						**1.178*****	**1.158*****	**1.138*****	**1.129*****	**1.078****
Altruistic obligations						**1.059****	**1.060****	**1.047***	**1.050***	**1.062****
Life satisfaction							**1.116***	**1.138****	**1.106***	1.016
Future life satisfaction							**0.951^**	**0.914****	**0.915****	**0.909*****
Financial satisfaction							**1.134*****	**1.129*****	**1.130*****	**1.060****
High past volunteering								1.221	1.172	1.095
High future volunteering								**1.589*****	**1.557*****	**1.504*****
Past helpfulness								**0.940*****	**0.927*****	**0.934*****
Future helpfulness								**1.102*****	**1.077*****	**1.061***
Generativity									**1.461*****	**1.212***
Community satisfaction										1.171
Contact with neighbors										0.992
Homeowner										**1.531*****
Attendance at meetings										**1.026****
Trust in local community										1.028
Trust in others in general										1.044
Married or cohabiting										1.075
Any children										0.871
Any minor children										1.047
In labor force										1.012
Total hours worked/week										0.998
Health										1.060
Education										**1.329*****
Occupational prestige										**1.012*****
Income										**1.000****
Wealth										**1.000***
% Correct	55.6	56.2	56.3	58.8	59.5	61.5	62.6	64.6	65.0	67.8
Cox & Snell R2	0.018	0.022	0.022	0.041	0.048	0.076	0.095	0.111	0.119	0.171
Nagelkerke R2	0.023	0.029	0.029	0.054	0.064	0.102	0.127	0.148	0.159	0.228

Appendix Table A.4 Volunteering (Tobit regression - full model)

	Ascriptive	Family	Empathy	Religious Denom.	Religious Attend.	Obs.	Happiness	Role ID
Male	**-2.30****	**-2.37****	**-1.61^**	-1.33	-0.69	-0.20	-0.50	0.25
Black	0.11	-0.91	-0.54	-0.65	-2.62	**-3.27^**	**-3.39^**	**-4.39***
Asian	-1.68	-1.49	-2.16	-0.90	-1.12	-1.78	-1.47	-1.91
Native Americar	-2.35	-2.21	-2.61	-3.71	-2.11	-1.48	-2.11	0.61
Latino	-4.23	-4.44	**-4.58^**	**-3.46**	**-4.80^**	**-5.21^**	**-5.59***	**-7.09****
Age	**0.717****	**0.63****	**0.63****	**0.62****	**0.66****	**0.49***	**0.53***	**0.42^**
Age squared	**-0.007****	**-0.006****	**-0.006****	**-0.006****	**-0.007****	**-0.006***	**-0.006***	0.00
Chores		0.67	0.54	0.65	0.44	0.29	0.19	-0.04
Rules		**1.58****	**1.55****	**1.614****	**1.54****	**1.41***	**1.42***	**1.28***
Family religiosity		0.58	0.46	0.40	-0.28	-0.30	-0.27	-0.52
Intact family		0.24	0.36	0.37	-0.55	-0.73	-0.98	-0.81
Authoritative parenting		1.52	1.26	1.48	0.87	0.37	-0.11	-0.08
Missing value on parenting		**-22.71^**	-20.39	-19.06	-18.91	-21.67	-22.45	-21.42
Empathy			**2.83****	**2.694****	**2.22***	0.18	-0.38	**-1.83***
Protestant				**4.41****	0.74	0.60	0.27	0.48
Catholic				1.73	-2.13	-2.30	-2.43	-1.58
Jewish				**7.83****	4.88^	3.33	3.14	0.43
Jehovah's Witness/Mormon				**14.12*****	3.98	**5.57^**	**5.49^**	3.94
Other religion				1.18	-1.55	-0.18	-0.29	-0.96
Born-again				**3.55****	-0.47	-0.68	-0.35	-1.20
Fundamentalist				**-5.19*****	**-9.52*****	**-8.65*****	**-8.66*****	**-7.10*****
Religious services attendance					**1.52*****	**1.47*****	**1.44*****	**1.20*****
Religious meeting attendance					**2.02*****	**1.95*****	**1.94*****	**1.47*****
Subjetive religiosity					0.92	0.50	0.36	1.06
Family obligations						0.40	0.23	0.46
Friend obligations						-0.13	-0.10	-0.42^
Work obligations						0.29	0.25	0.31
Civic obligations						**1.27*****	**1.19*****	**0.70****
Altruistic obligations						**1.08*****	**1.11*****	**0.84*****
Life satisfaction							**1.20***	**1.45****
Future life satisfaction							0.61^	-0.10
Financial satisfaction							-0.07	-0.19
High past volunteering								**9.46*****
High future volunteering								**8.71*****
Past helpfulness								-0.31
Future helpfulness								**1.63*****
Generativity								
Community satisfaction								
Contact with neighbors								
Homeowner								
Attendance at meetings								
Trust in local community								
Trust in others in general								
Married or cohabiting								
Any children								
Any minor children								
In labor force								
Total hours worked/week								
Health								
Education								
Occupational prestige								
Income								
Wealth								
Pseudo R2	0.001	0.003	0.004	0.007	0.024	0.031	0.032	0.052
2 Log likelihood	-7589.12	-7509.57	-7471.05	-7443.74	-7272.34	-7185.85	-7137.65	-6955.42

Gen'y	Comm'y	Trust	Family	Time/ health	SES	
-0.12	-0.74	-0.55	-1.03	-0.13	-0.41	Male
-4.64**	**-3.73***	**-3.58***	**-3.85***	**-3.48***	**-3.25^**	**Black**
-0.83	-2.51	-3.20	-3.12	-2.94	-4.23	Asian
0.00	-2.32	-2.95	-3.22	-2.80	-2.34	Native American
-7.71**	**-5.63***	**-5.74***	**-5.63***	**-5.18***	**-4.65^**	**Latino**
0.37^	0.19	0.19	0.14	0.35	0.30	Age
0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	Age squared
-0.17	-0.17	-0.27	-0.26	-0.24	-0.15	Chores
1.06^	**0.93^**	**1.04^**	**1.07***	**1.17***	**1.32***	**Rules**
-0.64	-0.53	-0.64	-0.62	-0.62	-0.74	Family religiosity
-0.69	-0.76	-0.85	-0.90	-0.79	-1.23	Intact family
-0.18	-0.43	-0.57	-0.64	-0.80	-0.77	Authoritative parenting
-21.71	-19.85	-20.85	-19.09	-20.16	-21.46^	Missing value on parenting
-3.01***	**-2.79*****	**-2.93*****	**-2.67****	**-2.65****	**-1.80***	**Empathy**
0.95	0.35	-0.01	-0.26	-0.11	0.01	Protestant
-0.90	-1.76	-1.64	-1.89	-1.71	-1.37	Catholic
0.46	-0.06	-0.07	0.01	0.49	-0.57	Jewish
4.31	**4.93^**	**4.70^**	4.22	**4.70^**	**5.28^**	**JW/Mormon**
-0.74	-1.19	-1.48	-1.05	-2.08	-1.84	Other religion
-1.11	-1.04	-1.10	-1.16	-1.26	-1.24	Born-again
-6.86***	**-6.06*****	**-5.78*****	**-5.76*****	**-5.86*****	**-4.63*****	**Fundamentalist**
1.19***	**1.15*****	**1.08*****	**1.06*****	**1.06*****	**1.00*****	**Religious services**
1.38***	**1.24*****	**1.21*****	**1.15*****	**1.14*****	**1.05*****	**Religious meetings**
1.59	1.81	1.64	1.45	1.59	1.79	Subjective religiosity
0.49	0.40	0.40	0.34	0.28	0.07	Family obligations
-0.48*	**-0.44***	-0.42^	-0.40^	-0.38^	-0.22	Friend obligations
0.15	0.29	0.29	0.28	0.33	0.46	Work obligations
0.58*	0.41	0.37	0.43^	0.40	0.27	Civic obligations
0.87***	**0.78*****	**0.73*****	**0.71*****	**0.70*****	**0.73*****	**Altruistic obligations**
1.13*	0.46	0.15	0.08	0.09	0.21	Life satisfaction
-0.11	-0.21	-0.19	-0.24	-0.16	-0.05	Future life satisfaction
-0.18	-0.22	-0.23	-0.20	-0.22	-0.38^	Financial satisfaction
8.94***	**7.82*****	**7.68*****	**7.84*****	**7.70*****	**7.51*****	**High past volunteering**
8.44***	**7.63*****	**7.54*****	**7.83*****	**7.81*****	**7.69*****	**High future volunteering**
-0.48*	**-0.44***	**-0.43***	**-0.43***	**-0.47***	**-0.42***	**Past helpfulness**
1.33***	**1.27*****	**1.24*****	**1.24*****	**1.22*****	**1.13*****	**Future helpfulness**
4.81***	**3.87*****	**3.53*****	**3.69*****	**3.87*****	**3.11*****	**Generativity**
	0.96	0.07	-0.07	-0.06	-0.40	Community satisfaction
	1.44***	**1.11*****	**1.01****	**0.90****	**1.03****	**Contact with neighbors**
	3.76***	**3.68*****	**2.53***	**2.76****	**2.34***	**Homeowner**
	0.90***	**0.86*****	**0.86*****	**0.84*****	**0.82*****	**Attendance at meetings**
		1.57***	**1.54*****	**1.54*****	**1.56*****	**Trust in local community**
		-0.26	-0.16	-0.16	-0.48	Trust in others in general
			1.67^	1.31	1.38	Married or cohabiting
			-0.81	-0.66	0.36	Any children
			4.84***	**4.52*****	**4.45*****	**Any minor children**
				-1.46	-1.64	In labor force
				-0.05^	**-0.06***	**Total hours worked/week**
				0.40	-0.15	Health
					2.19***	**Education**
					0.07*	**Occupational prestige**
					0.00	Income
					0.006*	**Wealth**
0.054	0.067	0.069	0.071	0.071	0.074	Pseudo R2
-6929.72	-6830.27	-6809.06	-6793.97	-6744.33	-6720.93	2 Log likelihood

Table A. 5. Church giving (Tobit regression - full model)

	Ascriptive	Family	Empathy	Religious Denom.	Religious Attend.	Obligations	Happiness	Role ID
Male	**27.34*** **	**26.80*** **	**28.17*** **	**40.41*** **	**52.95*** **	**51.45*** **	**45.83*** **	**47.33*** **
Black	0.88	-23.08	-16.48	**-33.86***	**-63.58*** **	**-56.24*** **	**-48.18** **	**-45.66** **
Asian	-52.64	-46.89	-44.29	-5.34	-10.40	-4.71	-10.36	-10.33
Native Am	-30.68	-26.57	-27.60	-42.11	-28.87	-15.21	-11.93	-7.88
Latino	8.31	-2.97	-3.63	2.51	-13.86	-10.14	-10.24	-11.81
Age	**8.21*** **	**7.18** **	**7.17** **	**8.27*** **	**10.54*** **	**9.81*** **	**9.07*** **	**9.37*** **
Age squar	**-0.063** **	**-0.057***	**-0.056***	**-0.070** **	**-0.099*** **	**-0.094*** **	**-0.093*** **	**-0.089*** **
Chores		-3.60	-3.72	-4.07	-7.60	-8.77	**-8.88^**	**-9.00^**
Rules		**12.49***	**12.12***	**10.09^**	**9.86^**	**9.14^**	**10.27***	**9.82***
Family religiosity		**47.10*** **	**47.29*** **	**31.44*** **	**16.79*** **	**16.26*** **	**14.34** **	**14.22** **
Intact family		12.66	13.75	18.32^	5.52	2.59	-2.45	-3.39
Authoritative parenting		24.47**	23.06*	12.44	0.30	-1.22	-6.70	-5.35
Missing value parent		**-225.27***	**-197.72^**	**-217.31^**	**-216.06^**	**-223.42^**	**-210.07^**	**-218.20^**
Empathy			4.68	-7.82	**-15.97***	**-25.49** **	**-27.65*** **	**-31.45*** **
Protestant				**174.36*** **	**116.12*** **	**111.33*** **	**111.70*** **	**113.52*** **
Catholic				**177.40*** **	**108.37*** **	**105.02*** **	**106.22*** **	**110.21*** **
Jewish				**189.98*** **	**148.92*** **	**138.74*** **	**133.32*** **	**129.96*** **
Jehovah's Witness/Mormon				**283.77*** **	**143.06*** **	**152.23*** **	**154.97*** **	**153.47*** **
Other religion				**115.83*** **	**73.21** **	**75.70** **	**85.93** **	**83.38** **
Born-again				**93.65*** **	**35.24*** **	**35.56*** **	**39.92*** **	**37.27*** **
Fundamentalist				**28.20** **	**-25.78***	**-21.04***	**-21.33***	**-17.62^**
Religious services attendance					**28.14*** **	**27.49*** **	**26.93*** **	**25.98*** **
Religious meeting attendance					**15.55*** **	**15.34*** **	**15.98*** **	**14.91*** **
Subjetive religiosity					**61.40*** **	**57.33*** **	**53.17*** **	**55.16*** **
Family obligations						**5.17^**	3.67	4.34
Friend obligations						-1.39	-0.40	-1.40
Work obligations						2.62	1.89	2.07
Civic obligations						**10.77*** **	**8.25*** **	**6.47** **
Altruistic obligations						-1.60	-1.88	-3.18^
Life satisfaction							**13.35*** **	**15.10*** **
Future life satisfaction							-3.72	**-7.56** **
Financial satisfaction							**14.25*** **	**13.57*** **
High past volunteering								**18.98^**
High future volunteering								**34.81*** **
Past helpfulness								**-4.94** **
Future helpfulness								**9.63*** **
Generativity								
Community satisfaction								
Contact with neighbors								
Homeowner								
Attendance at meetings								
Trust in local community								
Trust in others in general								
Married or cohabiting								
Any children								
Any minor children								
In labor force								
Total hours worked/week								
Health								
Education								
Occupational prestige								
Income								
Wealth								
Pseudo R2	0.003	0.008	0.009	0.023	0.052	0.054	0.058	0.060
2 Log likeli	-12227	-12051.2	-12013.6	-11835.6	-11443.5	-11372.6	-11273.2	-11194.9

Gen'y	Comm'y	Trust	Family	Time/ health	SES	
46.08* **	**44.59*** **	**44.92*** **	**38.11*** **	**36.60*** **	**30.05*** **	**Male**
-46.15 **	**-35.73* **	**-34.33* **	**-34.19* **	**-32.85* **	**-28.99^ **	**Black**
-8.63	-4.66	-6.23	-4.69	-2.13	-19.47	Asian
-9.09	-8.73	-10.15	-9.13	-7.44	3.61	Native American
-12.88	-3.13	-2.69	-3.93	-1.48	8.04	Latino
9.17* **	**6.50*** **	**6.40** **	**6.30** **	**6.78** **	**4.71* **	**Age**
-0.086* **	**-0.062** **	**-0.062*** **	**-0.055* **	**-0.060** **	**-0.04^ **	**Age squared**
**-9.48^ **	**-8.93^ **	**-9.06^ **	**-9.76^ **	**-10.02^ **	-7.82	Chores
**9.16^ **	**9.72^ **	**9.74^ **	**10.06* **	**10.63* **	**11.43* **	**Rules**
14.05 **	**14.33** **	**13.78** **	**14.76** **	**14.42** **	**12.78** **	**Family religiosity**
-3.04	-4.91	-5.17	-5.55	-4.40	-9.55	Intact family
-5.38	-5.93	-5.52	-6.13	-6.11	-4.90	Authoritative parenting
**-218.43^ **	**-223.93* **	**-228.00* **	**-212.04^ **	**-209.33^ **	**-216.08* **	**Missing value on parenting**
-34.48* **	**-34.78*** **	**-35.08*** **	**-32.06*** **	**-30.92*** **	**-18.40* **	**Empathy**
114.17* **	**105.43*** **	**104.63*** **	**102.19*** **	**101.98*** **	**103.15*** **	**Protestant**
111.51* **	**103.80*** **	**103.59*** **	**101.10*** **	**99.77*** **	**102.34*** **	**Catholic**
129.43* **	**119.86*** **	**119.35*** **	**117.40*** **	**118.64*** **	**98.28*** **	**Jewish**
153.54* **	**147.10*** **	**145.98*** **	**142.72*** **	**142.88*** **	**146.21*** **	**JW/Mormon**
82.92 **	**82.82** **	**82.48** **	**83.05** **	**73.55** **	**79.60** **	**Other religion**
37.44* **	**39.39*** **	**39.00*** **	**38.12*** **	**38.59*** **	**41.74*** **	**Born-again**
**-17.24^ **	**-15.94**	**-15.86**	**-15.28**	**-14.39**	**2.65**	**Fundamentalist**
26.06* **	**25.99*** **	**25.76*** **	**25.73*** **	**25.79*** **	**24.87*** **	**Religious services**
14.58* **	**14.58*** **	**14.46*** **	**13.98*** **	**13.60*** **	**12.45*** **	**Religious meetings**
56.44* **	**55.12*** **	**55.11*** **	**54.86*** **	**54.53*** **	**55.80*** **	**Subjective religiosity**
4.40	3.45	3.46	1.93	1.26	-1.83	Family obligations
-1.72	-1.40	-1.42	-0.98	-0.71	1.03	Friend obligations
1.54	1.80	1.93	2.02	1.77	3.39	Work obligations
6.34 **	**5.33* **	**5.323* **	**5.44* **	**5.17* **	3.50	Civic obligations
-3.01	-2.35	-2.49	-2.46	-2.32	-1.75	Altruistic obligations
14.57 **	**9.47* **	**9.13^ **	**7.03**	**5.18**	**7.27**	**Life satisfaction**
-7.85 **	**-7.71** **	**-7.96** **	**-8.28** **	**-8.86*** **	**-6.87* **	**Future life satisfaction**
13.51* **	**11.85*** **	**11.90*** **	**11.67*** **	**11.02*** **	**6.42** **	**Financial satisfaction**
18.41	16.57	15.93	16.17	13.96	12.12	High past volunteering
34.07* **	**33.46*** **	**33.05*** **	**34.57*** **	**35.26*** **	**31.48*** **	**High future volunteering**
-5.43 **	**-5.54** **	**-5.46** **	**-5.41** **	**-5.31** **	**-4.55* **	**Past helpfulness**
8.71* **	**8.59*** **	**8.42*** **	**8.62*** **	**8.23*** **	**7.20*** **	**Future helpfulness**
**13.24^ **	**13.52* **	**12.98^ **	**14.41* **	**13.32^ **	2.18	Generativity
	15.15	13.71	10.60	7.98	-1.40	Community satisfaction
	0.13	-0.66	-1.31	-1.03	0.58	Contact with neighbors
	58.82* **	**58.05*** **	**44.34*** **	**44.21*** **	**34.48*** **	**Homeowner**
	0.83	0.72	0.87	0.62	-0.07	Attendance at meetings
		4.94	4.71	**5.21^ **	**6.60* **	**Trust in local community**
		-3.12	-1.82	**-2.41**	**-6.79* **	**Trust in others in general**
			41.20* **	**40.54*** **	**32.18*** **	**Married or cohabiting**
			-6.34	-5.23	3.82	Any children
			18.54^	17.41	16.30	Any minor children
				-14.39	-17.47	In labor force
				0.24	0.17	Total hours worked/week
				**11.36* **	2.91	Health
					23.68* **	**Education**
					**0.62* **	**Occupational prestige**
					0.267* **	**Income**
					0.128* **	**Wealth**
0.060	0.062	0.062	0.064	0.064	0.069	Pseudo R2
-11184.6	-11145.5	-11120.8	-11107	-11050	-10991.9	2 Log likelihood

Appendix Table A.6. Secular giving (Tobit regression - full model)

	Ascriptive	Family	Empathy	Religious Denom.	Religious Attend.	Obligatic	Happiness	Role ID	Gen'y
Male	**11.09****	**10.84****	**11.81****	**10.68***	**11.90****	**12.86****	**10.30***	**10.97***	**9.156***
Black	**-29.16****	**-26.62****	**-23.47***	**-16.23^**	**-20.02***	**-19.21***	**-14.27**	**-14.66**	**-16.37^**
Asian	1.66	1.85	2.93	1.81	-0.99	-3.77	-2.91	-3.61	0.84
Native American	-23.65	-24.61	-25.28	-29.63	-25.41	-16.52	-14.03	-10.29	-12.66
Latino	-21.57	-21.81	-22.32	-20.74	-22.28	**-22.83^**	-24.13	**-27.31***	**-30.53***
Age	**6.28*****	**6.31*****	**6.23*****	**5.87*****	**6.09*****	**5.56*****	**4.97*****	**4.83*****	**4.61*****
Age squared	**-0.057*****	**-0.057****	**-0.056*****	**-0.052*****	**-0.055*****	**-0.053****	**-0.051*****	**-0.046****	**-0.043****
Chores		**-7.37***	**-7.54***	**-5.65^**	**-6.84***	**-7.59***	**-7.60***	**-7.54***	**-8.06****
Rules		-3.75	-3.79	-3.56	-2.93	-3.16	-2.18	-2.70	-3.72
Family religiosity		3.49	3.50	4.80^	4.24	4.18	3.03	2.62	2.36
Intact family		0.52	0.73	-1.13	-2.35	-3.45	-6.58	-6.58	-6.20
Authoritative parenting		-3.60	-4.09	-0.25	-1.26	-3.34	-6.96	-6.98	-7.27
Missing value on parenting		-5.27	14.49	20.21	35.12	26.98	30.12	32.93	33.31
Empathy			2.91	3.24	2.50	-5.76	-6.39	**-10.09***	**-15.14****
Protestant				8.91	-2.09	-4.22	-2.47	-1.46	0.21
Catholic				7.24	-5.75	-6.50	-3.57	-1.73	0.51
Jewish				**51.99*****	**41.81*****	**33.14*****	**32.47***	**29.54***	**29.10***
Jehovah's Witness/Mormon				-24.10	**-41.89***	**-36.56***	**-33.48^**	**-35.51***	**-33.72^**
Other religion				7.59	-2.05	1.34	8.01	8.04	8.67
Born-again				2.79	-3.39	-2.69	0.63	-1.14	-0.79
Fundamentalist				**-40.39*****	**-46.86*****	**-42.30****	**-41.94*****	**-39.73****	**-39.03****
Religious services attendance					**3.32*****	**2.73****	**2.43****	**1.90***	**1.92***
Religious meeting attendance					0.97	0.76	1.03	0.14	-0.31
Subjective religiosity					7.51	4.43	3.63	5.50	7.70
Family obligations						**5.23*****	**4.39****	**4.67****	**4.69****
Friend obligations						-3.02**	-2.21^	-2.83*	-3.07**
Work obligations						-1.72	-2.61^	-2.62^	-3.29*
Civic obligations						**8.34*****	**6.90*****	**5.98*****	**5.55*****
Altruistic obligations						**4.16*****	**4.09*****	**3.25****	**3.40****
Life satisfaction							**5.26***	**6.09***	**4.82^**
Future life satisfaction							**-1.44**	**-3.47***	**-3.49***
Financial satisfaction							**9.62*****	**9.35*****	**9.29*****
High past volunteering								**20.36****	**18.27****
High future volunteering								**16.780****	**15.50****
Past helpfulness								-1.13	**-1.88^**
Future helpfulness								**4.85*****	**3.49****
Generativity									**21.16*****
Community satisfaction									
Contact with neighbors									
Homeowner									
Attendance at meetings									
Trust in local community									
Trust in others in general									
Married or cohabiting									
Any children									
Any minor children									
In labor force									
Total hours worked/week									
Health									
Education									
Occupational prestige									
Income									
Wealth									
Pseudo R2	0.003	0.004	0.004	0.007	0.008	0.012	0.017	0.019	0.021
2 Log likelihood	-11179.7	-11086	-11064	-11029.4	-10977	-10879	-10758.9	-10703	-10686

Comm'y	Trust	Family	Time/ health	SES	
7.61^	6.35	4.46	4.75	0.20	Male
-10.46	-9.99	-9.71	-9.01	-6.52	Black
0.31	-1.28	-2.11	-0.34	-13.75	Asian
-14.01	-13.93	-13.89	-10.82	-1.93	Native American
-23.70^	**-25.43^**	**-25.38^**	**-24.51^**	-17.58	Latino
3.36**	**3.26****	**3.52****	**3.70****	1.78	Age
-0.032*	**-0.031***	**-0.032***	**-0.033***	-0.02	Age squared
-7.70*	**-7.41***	**-7.55***	**-7.30***	**-5.78^**	**Chores**
-4.00	-3.83	-3.72	-3.44	-2.56	Rules
2.80	2.58	2.81	2.65	1.40	Family religiosity
-6.36	-6.26	-6.40	-6.58	**-10.80***	**Intact family**
-7.57	-7.27	-7.74	-7.63	-5.99	Authoritative parenting
35.28	35.85	38.00	37.22	27.60	Missing value on parenting
-14.80**	**-13.83****	**-13.37****	**-13.30****	-3.39	Empathy
-3.10	-2.58	-2.70	-1.77	0.88	Protestant
-2.14	-1.62	-2.00	-1.26	3.00	Catholic
26.47*	**27.61***	**27.24***	**28.52***	**12.81**	**Jewish**
-31.93^	**-31.41^**	**-31.54^**	**-32.33^**	-27.59	JW/Mormon
9.99	10.28	10.63	6.23	11.53	Other religion
-0.18	-0.43	-0.64	-0.42	2.36	Born-again
-36.79***	**-34.04****	**-33.75****	**-33.73*****	**-20.05****	**Fundamentalist**
1.74*	**1.84***	**1.82***	**1.74***	1.01	Religious services
-0.54	-0.50	-0.63	-0.58	-1.31	Religious meetings
8.66	9.29	9.38	9.90	13.80	Subjective religiosity
4.05*	**4.16***	**3.84***	**3.34***	1.08	Family obligations
-2.71*	-2.65*	-2.51*	-2.22^	-0.79	Friend obligations
-3.08*	-2.91^	-2.83^	-2.77^	-1.50	Work obligations
5.06***	**4.66*****	**4.63*****	**4.36****	**2.94***	**Civic obligations**
3.50***	**3.41****	**3.38****	**3.49****	**3.75*****	**Altruistic obligations**
2.07	1.30	0.76	-0.17	1.24	Life satisfaction
-3.76*	**-4.21***	**-4.31****	**-4.72****	**-3.07^**	**Future life satisfaction**
8.31***	**8.29*****	**8.16*****	**7.79*****	**3.68****	**Financial satisfaction**
15.77*	**16.23***	**16.03***	**15.02***	**13.53***	**High past volunteering**
14.21**	**14.10****	**14.37****	**14.01****	**11.32***	**High future volunteering**
-1.90^	-1.77	-1.73	-1.66	-1.34	Past helpfulness
3.21*	**2.98***	**3.04***	**2.81***	**2.23^**	**Future helpfulness**
19.31***	**18.91*****	**19.26*****	**18.61*****	**9.36***	**Generativity**
14.38**	**13.55***	**13.12***	**11.63***	4.53	Community satisfaction
-0.59	0.15	0.09	0.20	1.33	Contact with neighbors
21.28***	**22.57*****	**19.77*****	**20.04*****	**9.91^**	**Homeowner**
2.17***	**2.16*****	**2.19*****	**2.07*****	**1.61*****	**Attendance at meetings**
	-2.26	-2.29	-2.08	-0.59	Trust in local community
	5.46**	**5.70****	**5.17****	1.98	Trust in others in general
		10.89*	**10.29***	0.51	Married or cohabiting
		-6.75	-6.61	1.57	Any children
		3.79	3.38	2.16	Any minor children
			0.42	-1.84	In labor force
			-0.02	-0.11	Total hours worked/week
			7.91**	1.79	Health
				13.50**	**Education**
				0.62***	**Occupational prestige**
				0.26***	**Income**
				0.11***	**Wealth**
0.023	0.023	0.023	0.023	0.033	Pseudo R2
-10643	-10623	-10621	-10579	-10472	2 Log likelihood

Table A.7 - Volunteering (Logistic regression - factor scale model)

	Ascriptive	Family	Empathy	Religion	Obligatio	Happines	Universal	Role ID	Gen'y	Trust	Comm'y	Family	SES	
Male	**0.867***	**0.870***	0.916	0.976	1.022	0.990	0.946	1.022	0.991	0.956	0.915	0.873	**0.824***	**Male**
Black	0.902	0.854	0.848	**0.608*****	**0.609****	**0.605****	**0.577*****	**0.516*****	**0.508*****	**0.536*****	**0.599****	**0.559*****	0.631	Black
Age	**1.010*****	**1.097*****	**1.098*****	**1.117*****	**1.111*****	**1.116*****	**1.103*****	**1.079*****	**1.075*****	**1.070****	**1.049***	**1.039^**	**1.014****	**Age**
Age squared	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999****	1.000	1.000	Age squared
Family (rules)		**1.139*****	**1.133*****	**1.099****	**1.079***	**1.077***	**1.064^**	1.061	1.044	1.056	1.060	1.061	**1.087***	**Family (rules)**
Empathy			1.103**	1.056	0.943	**0.924***	**0.930^**	**0.856*****	**0.818*****	**0.818*****	**0.806*****	**0.813*****	**0.865*****	**Empathy**
Religiosity				**1.748*****	**1.710*****	**1.696*****	**1.696*****	**1.625*****	**1.629*****	**1.624*****	**1.613*****	**1.581*****	**1.599*****	**Religiosity**
Total obligations					**1.482*****	**1.449*****	**1.472*****	**1.298*****	**1.261*****	**1.221*****	**1.199*****	**1.204*****	**1.216*****	**Total obligations**
Happiness						**1.165*****	**1.151*****	**1.132****	**1.105***	1.020	0.939	0.940	**0.919^**	**Happiness**
Moral universalism							**1.302*****	**1.276*****	**1.264*****	**1.212*****	**1.213*****	**1.238*****	**1.211*****	**Moral universalism**
Altruistic role identity								**1.670*****	**1.600*****	**1.565*****	**1.551*****	**1.579*****	**1.584*****	**Altruistic role identity**
Generativity									**1.245*****	**1.169*****	**1.177*****	**1.188*****	**1.120***	**Generativity**
Trust										**1.314*****	**1.260*****	**1.292*****	**1.207*****	**Trust**
Community integration											**1.351*****	**1.281*****	**1.227*****	**Community integration**
Married/cohabiting												1.097	0.986	Married/cohabiting
Any children												0.952	1.074	Any children
Minor children												**1.906*****	**1.925*****	**Minor children**
Socioeconomic status													**1.461*****	**Socioeconomic status**
% Correct	61.2	61.2	60.8	65.9	66.3	66.6	67.3	69.5	69.7	69.4	70.3	70.7	71.9	% Correct (base 61.2)
Cox & Snell R2	0.008	0.012	0.014	0.074	0.098	0.102	0.113	0.151	0.157	0.165	0.175	0.186	0.203	Cox & Snell R-squared
Nagelkerke R2	0.011	0.016	0.019	0.101	0.133	0.138	0.153	0.205	0.212	0.224	0.237	0.252	0.276	Nagelkerke R-squared

Table A.8 - Religious giving (Logistic regression - factor scale model)

	Ascriptive	Family	Empathy	Religion	Obligations	Happiness	Universal	Role ID	Gen'y	Trust	Comm'y	Family	SES	
Male	1.146*	1.153*	1.202	1.557***	1.598***	1.543***	1.520***	1.571***	1.561***	1.540***	1.480***	1.388***	1.317***	**Male**
Black	1.066	0.996	0.990	0.453***	0.460***	0.451***	0.443***	0.426***	0.424***	0.434***	0.488***	0.501***	0.565**	**Black**
Age	1.064***	1.061**	1.061**	1.106***	1.101***	1.106***	1.102***	1.090***	1.089***	1.087***	1.062**	1.057*	1.030	Age
Age squared	0.9996*	0.9996*	0.9996*	0.999***	0.999***	0.999***	0.999***	0.999***	0.999***	0.999***	0.999*	0.9995^	1.000	Age squared
Family (rules)		1.179***	1.173***	1.099*	1.091*	1.088*	1.084*	1.084*	1.080^	1.084*	1.090*	1.092*	1.125**	**Family (rules)**
Empathy			1.082*	0.974	0.914*	0.894**	0.897*	0.870***	0.862***	0.863***	0.849***	0.860***	0.920^	**Empathy**
Religiosity				5.125***	4.978***	4.932***	4.915***	4.833***	4.835***	4.818***	4.805***	4.740***	4.859***	**Religiosity**
Total obligations					1.238***	1.202***	1.206***	1.143**	1.137**	1.124*	1.103*	1.099*	1.101*	**Total obligations**
Happiness						1.197***	1.191***	1.182***	1.176***	1.142**	1.045	1.010	0.989	Happiness
Moral universalism							1.100*	1.087^	1.085^	1.068	1.066	1.075	1.045	Moral universalism
Altruistic role identity								1.224***	1.208***	1.196***	1.177***	1.186***	1.181***	**Altruistic role identity**
Generativity									1.046	1.021	1.026	1.040	0.979	Generativity
Trust										1.105*	1.055	1.077	1.005	Trust
Community integration											1.391***	1.307***	1.248***	**Community integration**
Married/cohabiting												1.524***	1.379***	**Married/cohabiting**
Any children												0.959	1.085	Any children
Minor children												1.223^	1.230^	**Minor children**
Socioeconomic status													1.481***	**Socioeconomic status**
% Correct	56.4	57.0	57.6	77.0	76.7	77.1	77.0	77.4	77.4	77.4	78.0	78.2	78.4	% Correct (base 55.2)
Cox & Snell R2	0.018	0.024	0.026	0.261	0.266	0.269	0.270	0.274	0.275	0.275	0.285	0.290	0.304	Cox & Snell R-squared
Nagelkerke R2	0.024	0.033	0.034	0.349	0.355	0.360	0.362	0.367	0.367	0.369	0.381	0.388	0.407	Nagelkerke R-squared

Table A.9 - Secular giving (Logistic regression - factor scale model)

	Ascriptive	Family	Empathy	Religion	Obligations	Happiness	Universal	Role ID	Gen'y	Trust	Comm'y	Family	SES	
Male	**1.155***	**1.153***	**1.164***	**1.175***	**1.219****	**1.172***	**1.125***	**1.158***	**1.131^**	1.093	1.057	1.009	0.916	Male
Black	**0.605*****	**0.617*****	**0.616*****	**0.591*****	**0.597*****	**0.590*****	**0.567*****	**0.549*****	**0.544*****	**0.576*****	**0.635****	**0.653****	0.802	Black
Age	**1.125*****	**1.126*****	**1.127*****	**1.128*****	**1.124*****	**1.131*****	**1.119*****	**1.110*****	**1.106*****	**1.102*****	**1.082*****	**1.101*****	**1.064****	**Age**
Age squared	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999*****	**0.999****	**Age squared**
Family (rules)		0.955	0.954	0.950	**0.934***	**0.928***	**0.917***	**0.915***	**0.902****	**0.910****	**0.912****	**0.913***	0.941	Family (rules)
Empathy			1.018	1.012	**0.928***	**0.903****	**0.908***	**0.883*****	**0.851*****	**0.852*****	**0.843*****	**0.845*****	0.933	Empathy
Religiosity				**1.075***	1.050	1.037	1.033	1.008	1.005	1.000	0.991	0.992	0.992	Religiosity
Total obligations					**1.340*****	**1.301*****	**1.316*****	**1.255*****	**1.227*****	**1.185*****	**1.166*****	**1.169*****	**1.178*****	**Total obligations**
Happiness						**1.230*****	**1.217*****	**1.209*****	**1.183*****	**1.088***	1.012	0.996	0.964	Happiness
Moral universalism							**1.262*****	**1.250*****	**1.241*****	**1.188*****	**1.185*****	**1.174*****	**1.132****	**Moral universalism**
Altruistic role identity								**1.203*****	**1.142*****	**1.109***	**1.097***	**1.100***	**1.095***	**Altruistic role identity**
Generativity									**1.201*****	**1.126****	**1.131****	**1.137****	**1.041**	**Generativity**
Trust										**1.336*****	**1.287*****	**1.288*****	**1.156*****	**Trust**
Community integration											**1.300*****	**1.286*****	**1.212*****	**Community integration**
Married/cohabiting												**1.265****	1.082	Married/cohabiting
Any children												**0.680****	0.830	Any children
Minor children												1.074	1.076	Minor children
Socioeconomic status													**1.882*****	**Socioeconomic status**
% Correct	55.9	55.4	55.6	55.6	58.2	58.9	59.8	60.3	62.1	63.0	63.4	63.5	67.3	% Correct (base 54.7)
Cox & Snell R2	0.016	0.017	0.017	0.018	0.034	0.043	0.053	0.059	0.065	0.077	0.087	0.091	0.148	Cox & Snell R2
Nagelkerke R2	0.021	0.022	0.022	0.024	0.046	0.057	0.071	0.079	0.086	0.104	0.117	0.122	0.198	Nagelkerke R2

Table A.10 Volunteering (Tobit regression - factor scale model)

	Ascriptive	Family	Empathy	Religion	Obligations	Happiness	Universal	Role ID	Gen'y	Trust	Communit	Family	SES	
Male	**-2.32****	**-2.26****	-1.39	-0.64	-0.12	-0.44	-0.91	0.08	-0.26	-0.74	-1.02	**-1.47^**	-0.76	Male
Black	**0.13**	**-0.41**	**-0.56**	**-4.05***	**-3.97***	**-3.91***	**-4.28***	**-5.26****	**-5.38*****	**-4.03***	**-3.63***	**-4.00***	**-2.92^**	**Black**
Age	**0.73****	**0.66****	**0.67****	**0.77*****	**0.68****	**0.70****	**0.55***	0.23	0.18	-0.03	-0.05	-0.12	-0.05	Age
Age squared	**-0.007****	**-0.007****	**-0.007****	**-0.008*****	**-0.008*****	**-0.008*****	**-0.007****	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	Age squared
Family (rules)		**1.748*****	**1.64*****	**1.20****	**0.99***	**0.98***	**0.85***	**0.79^**	0.60	0.66	0.74^	0.77^	1.04**	Family (rules)
Empathy			**1.63*****	**1.06***	-0.22	-0.42	-0.34	**-1.28****	**-1.79*****	**-1.94*****	**-1.93*****	**-1.82*****	**-1.33****	**Empathy**
Religiosity				**6.03*****	**5.75*****	**5.65*****	**5.63*****	**4.70*****	**4.68*****	**4.58*****	**4.56*****	**4.36*****	**4.32*****	**Religiosity**
Total obligations					**4.46*****	**4.22*****	**4.38*****	**2.68*****	**2.32*****	**2.08*****	**1.81*****	**1.83*****	**1.856*****	**Total obligations**
Happiness						**1.48*****	**1.33****	**1.05***	**0.75^**	-0.26	-0.82^	-0.88^	-0.93^	Happiness
Moral universalism							**2.93*****	**2.52*****	**2.41*****	**2.31*****	**1.95*****	**2.07*****	**1.83*****	**Moral universalism**
Altruistic role identity								**6.43*****	**5.74*****	**5.58*****	**5.39*****	**5.51*****	**5.36*****	**Altruistic role identity**
Generativity									**2.52*****	**2.50*****	**1.97*****	**2.04*****	**1.68*****	**Generativity**
Trust										**3.11*****	**2.31*****	**2.21*****	**2.05*****	**Trust**
Community integration											**2.74*****	**2.49*****	**1.80*****	**Community integration**
Married/cohabiting												**1.64^**	0.44	Married/cohabiting
Any children												-0.98	0.08	Any children
Minor children												**5.26*****	**4.93*****	**Minor children**
In labor force													-1.00	In labor force
Total work hours													**-0.08****	**Total work hours**
Socioeconomic status													**2.95*****	**Socioeconomic status**
Pseudo R2	0.001	0.002	0.003	0.019	0.025	0.0254	0.028	0.043	0.045	0.048	0.049	0.051	0.052	
Log Likelihood	-7590.503	-7533.855	-7527.202	-7410.444	-7363.65	-7356.02	-7334.392	-7225.491	-7210.749	-7189.241	-7176.761	-7160.495	-7103.677	

Table A.11 Religious giving (Tobit regression - factor scale model)

	Ascriptive	Family	Empathy	Religion	Obligations	Happiness	Universal	Role ID	Gen'y	Trust	Communit	Family	SES	
Male	**27.23*** **	**26.45*** **	**30.64*** **	**46.85*** **	**49.27*** **	**43.49*** **	**41.02*** **	**43.70*** **	**43.15*** **	**42.00*** **	**37.47*** **	**30.01*** **	**21.41** **	**Male**
Black	2.01	-3.92	-4.77	**-70.64*** **	**-68.53*** **	**-67.94*** **	**-69.94*** **	**-73.12*** **	**-73.46*** **	**-71.58*** **	**-61.43*** **	**-59.01*** **	**-43.65** **	**Black**
Age	**8.36*** **	**8.12*** **	**8.22*** **	**10.91*** **	**10.39*** **	**10.89*** **	**10.35*** **	**9.38*** **	**9.31*** **	**9.14*** **	**7.21*** **	**6.74** **	**4.77**	**Age**
Age squar	**-0.06** **	**-0.06** **	**-0.06** **	**-0.10*** **	**-.10*** **	**-0.10*** **	**-0.10*** **	**-0.09*** **	**-0.09*** **	**-.09*** **	**-0.07*** **	**-0.06** **	**-0.04^**	**Age squared**
Family (rules)		**17.81*** **	**17.29*** **	**9.09***	**8.02***	**7.46***	**7.01^**	**6.91^**	**6.58^**	**7.05^**	**7.57***	**7.77***	**10.38** **	**Family (rules)**
Empathy			**8.04^**	-2.79	**-9.80***	**-13.42*** **	**-12.96*** **	**-16.08*** **	**-16.89*** **	**-16.87*** **	**-18.24*** **	**-16.52*** **	**-8.54***	**Empathy**
Religiosity				**109.75*** **	**108.09*** **	**106.41*** **	**106.23*** **	**103.46*** **	**103.40*** **	**103.25*** **	**102.63*** **	**101.38*** **	**100.99*** **	**Religiosity**
Total obligations					**23.92*** **	**19.38*** **	**20.02*** **	**14.54*** **	**14.00*** **	**12.88** **	**10.84** **	**10.24***	**9.73***	**Total obligations**
Happiness						**28.11*** **	**27.46*** **	**26.64*** **	**26.12*** **	**23.30*** **	**14.75*** **	**10.95***	**8.56***	**Happiness**
Moral universalism							**12.92*** **	**11.61** **	**11.44** **	**9.93***	**9.58***	**10.28** **	**6.96^**	**Moral universalism**
Altruistic role identity								**20.28*** **	**19.07*** **	**18.16*** **	**17.20*** **	**18.16*** **	**16.96*** **	**Altruistic role identity**
Generativity									4.13	1.94	2.65	3.67	-3.20	Generativity
Trust										**9.41***	4.62	6.63	-2.02	Trust
Community integration											**31.32*** **	**24.39*** **	**18.05*** **	**Community integration**
Married/cohabiting												**50.37*** **	**37.81*** **	**Married/cohabiting**
Any children												-7.66	4.96	Any children
Minor children												15.57	15.54	Minor children
In labor force													-20.88	In labor force
Total work hours													0.27	Total work hours
Socioeconomic status													**44.69*** **	**Socioeconomic status**
Pseudo R2	0.003	0.003	0.004	0.044	0.045	0.047	0.047	0.049	0.049	0.049	0.051	0.053	0.058	
Log Likelih	-12228.3	-12141.5	-12139.7	-11653	-11635	-11608.2	-11602.6	-11589.3	-11588.8	-11586.2	-11560.8	-11541.2	-11418.7	

Table A.12 Secular giving (Tobit regression - factor scale model)

	Ascriptive	Family	Empathy	Religion	Obligations	Happiness	Universal	Role ID	Gen'y	Trust	Community	Family	SES	
Male	**10.96****	**10.32***	**11.23****	**11.56****	**13.70****	**10.81***	**8.44^**	**10.25***	**8.55***	6.94	5.14	2.46	-1.46	Male
Black	**-29.32****	**-26.28****	**-26.42****	**-28.10****	**-26.01****	**-25.73****	**-27.81****	**-29.97*****	**-30.81*****	**-27.58****	**-21.88***	**-20.53***	-7.33	Black
Age	**6.31*****	**6.49*****	**6.51*****	**6.59*****	**6.25*****	**6.57*****	**5.94*****	**5.22*****	**5.03*****	**4.82*****	**3.84*****	**4.36*****	1.97	Age
Age squared	**-0.06*****	**-0.06*****	**-0.06*****	**-0.06*****	**-0.06*****	**-0.06*****	**-0.06*****	**-0.05*****	**-0.05*****	**-.04*****	**-0.04****	**-0.04*****	-0.02	Age squared
Family (rules)		**-5.72****	**-5.82****	**-6.03****	**-7.07*****	**-7.30*****	**-7.82*****	**-7.92*****	**-8.75*****	**-8.31*****	**-8.32*****	**-8.23*****	**-5.38****	**Family (rules)**
Empathy			**1.70**	**1.44**	**-4.40^**	**-6.26****	**-5.75***	**-7.90*****	**-10.26*****	**-10.16*****	**-10.68*****	**-10.38*****	-3.01	Empathy
Religiosity				2.95	1.43	0.44	0.21	-1.66	-1.74	-2.04	-2.51	-2.68	-2.25	Religiosity
Total obligations					**19.56*****	**17.15*****	**17.88*****	**14.07*****	**12.54*****	**10.75*****	**9.94*****	**9.90*****	**9.44*****	**Total obligations**
Happiness						**14.97*****	**13.97*****	**13.39*****	**12.01*****	**7.73*****	3.58	2.38	0.75	Happiness
Moral universalism							**13.51*****	**12.72*****	**12.16*****	**9.91*****	**9.72*****	**9.51*****	**6.19****	**Moral universalism**
Altruistic role identity								**13.89*****	**10.49*****	**8.98*****	**8.34*****	**8.54*****	**7.33****	**Altruistic role identity**
Generativity									**11.67*****	**8.29*****	**8.49*****	**8.82*****	2.53	Generativity
Trust										**14.25*****	**12.17*****	**12.48*****	**4.98***	**Trust**
Community integration											**14.56*****	**13.20*****	**7.91****	**Community integration**
Married/cohabiting												**15.94****	3.05	Married/cohabiting
Any children												**-13.81^**	0.46	Any children
Minor children												3.28	2.14	Minor children
In labor force													-2.65	In labor force
Total work hours													-0.12	Total work hours
Socioeconomic status													**40.46*****	**Socioeconomic status**
Pseudo R2	0.003	0.003	0.003	0.003	0.006	0.008	0.010	0.011	0.012	0.014	0.015	0.016	0.030	
Log Likelihood	-11181.35	-11118.81	-11118.5	-11118	-11083.2	-11059.2	-11041.5	-11024	-11012	-10994.9	-10978.257	-10973	-10762	