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Who is My Neighbor?
The Effect of Community Racial In-Group Representation and Residential Isolation on Volunteering

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Abstract

Are individuals who live in diverse communities less likely to volunteer than individuals who live in homogenous communities? While a growing body of literature explores the relationship between diversity and trust, we know less about how community diversity affects volunteering. Drawing on more than a decade of responses to the Current Population Survey (CPS) about individual volunteering behavior matched with county-level Census data, this paper explores how community diversity moderates the relationship between individual race and volunteering behavior—both the likelihood of volunteering and the intensity of volunteer activity. We find that for all races, the likelihood of volunteering is significantly associated with both county-level in-group representation and residential isolation, but the patterns of significance and direction of effect vary across racial groups. While non-white minorities are *more* likely to volunteer where in-group representation and residential isolation are greater, volunteering activity among white respondents is *less* likely in these contexts. Context matters significantly for volunteering behavior, but the effect of context varies across racial groups.

Introduction

By 2044, the United States will be a majority minority nation—as demographers estimate that the number of non-Hispanic whites will dip below fifty percent. While diversity is associated with many positive cultural benefits and can foster creativity and economic growth, diversity also challenges "social solidarity and inhibit(s) social capital" (Putnam, 2007, p. 138). Research conducted in a variety of national and international contexts finds that community heterogeneity dampens volunteerism and other forms of civic participation (Alesina and Ferrera 1999; Anderson and Milligan 2011; Oliver 1999; Putnam 2007; Rotolo 2000; Rotolo and Wilson 2011; Rotolo and Wilson 2014; Uslaner and Brown 2005). Diverse communities are less likely to form shared norms, values and expectations that reinforce participation. The social connections that that lead to invitations to participate are also weaker in diverse communities.

Other studies offer a more nuanced perspective about how community racial characteristics might influence volunteering. Drawing upon a diverse range of theoretical perspectives, an emerging body of research suggests that the effect of community level diversity differs across racial groups, depending upon the individual's membership in a dominant racial group (Dasgupta 2004; Rudman et al. 2002). For example, in a study of social capital, Stolle et al. (2008) find that community diversity has a larger negative effect on trust of white residents than on minority residents (Stolle et al. 2008).

In this paper, we unpack the relationship between community diversity and volunteering by addressing two research questions: (1) how do different dimensions of community diversity affect volunteering, and (2) how do different dimensions of community diversity moderate the relationship between individual race and volunteering? Grounding our perspective in extant literature, we focus on two measures of community diversity—residential isolation and in-group

representation. This article commences with a review of the relevant theoretical and empirical literature pertaining to these two research questions.

How Diversity affects Volunteering

Growing evidence suggests that community characteristics, particularly diversity, play an important role in shaping individual volunteering. Scholars have investigated how multiple dimensions of community-level diversity can condition civic engagement, including income and educational levels, industrial structure and age diversity, and especially community racial and ethnic heterogeneity (Alesina and Ferrara 1999; Anderson and Milligan 2011; Oliver 1999; Putnam 2007; Rotolo 2000; Rotolo and Wilson 2011, 2014; Uslaner and Brown 2005). To explain the significance of these effects, three theories offer competing perspectives on the relationship between community diversity and volunteering—in-group/out-group theory, constrict theory, and social contact theory. Underpinning each of these theories is a recognition of "diversity" as a more complex concept than the relative size of minority populations.

In-group/Out-group Theory. In sociological theories, an "in-group" is a social group with which an individual identifies his or herself as being a member. An "out-group" is another group with which the individual does not self-identify as being a member. Important to in/out-group behaviors are individual desires for high self-esteem. One of the ways individuals acquire self-esteem is by evaluating the groups they are members of more favorably relative to other groups. If strong enough, this in-group favoritism can generate discrimination against those in the out-group (Brewer 1999; Gaertner et al. 1997). However, another factor works against this disposition—people's tendency to favor groups valued by mainstream culture over marginalized groups. This can lead members of low-status groups to have out-group bias, meaning that they

evaluate other groups and members of other groups more favorably than their own group (Rudman et al. 2002; Dasgupta 2004).

The most widely used explanation of this phenomenon is that people prefer to associate with similar others and have a propensity to do so, otherwise known as the principle of homophily (McPherson et al. 2001; Rotolo 2000). People's preference to associate with similar others contributes to a range of behaviors, such as socializing and volunteering, leading people in more homogeneous communities to be more outgoing and active in their community. When a community is heterogeneous, however, civic engagement is more likely to generate associations with dissimilar others, thereby reducing individuals' willingness to engage with each other.

There is some empirical evidence that in-group/out-group theory predicts volunteering behaviors. People who are more collectivist (i.e. those who identify with an inclusive in-group) tend to volunteer to help members of the in-group (see Batson, Ahmad and Tsang 2002), while those who are more individualistic will help people from other groups (Glaser-Segura and Anghel 2002). People with collectivist and individualistic tendencies differ not in their propensity to volunteer, but in the target of their volunteerism (Finkelstein 2010). Research on volunteering and sexual orientation points out that early volunteer efforts to help those with AIDS or HIV emerged from within the gay community itself (Chambre 1991; Gamson, 1989). Homosexuals volunteer more in AIDS relief when their identification with others with the same sexual orientation was high, while heterosexuals with strong identification with other heterosexuals were less likely to volunteer for AIDS relief (Simon, Stürmer, and Steffens 2000). These findings suggest that individuals will be more likely to volunteer for organizations that benefit their in-group (Alesina and La Ferrara 1999). Although the relationship between voluntary participation and in-group/out-group racial status is understudied, in-group

identification (and tendencies towards favoritism) might also link racial identity to volunteering behaviors.

Constrict Theory. A second approach to theorizing on community context and voluntary participation comes from constrict theory and is based on the argument that community ethnic diversity inhibits the trust that individuals of all races have in both their in-group and any out-groups, causing people to "hunker down" and limit contact with others (Putnam 2007). With evidence from 41 American communities, Putnam (2007) shows that ethnic diversity is associated with less intra- and inter-racial trust and diminished participation in a range of activities, such as giving and volunteering. Constrict theory is best understood in relationship to racial threat theory, which states that increased diversity fosters contention over limited resources, promotes out-group distrust, and strengthens in-group solidarity (Blumer 1954; Bowyer 2009; Giles and Evans 1985; Putnam 2007; Rocha and Espino 2009). Constrict theory predicts that individuals faced with increased diversity will pull back from both their in-group and the out-groups, while racial threat theory predicts that increased diversity will lead to greater solidarity with one's own in-group and less contact with out-groups.

In a review of the research literature, Van der Meer and Tolsma (2014) evaluate the evidence for these expectations and highlight two critical findings. First, they find strong support for the claims of constrict theory that increased community diversity leads to decreased social cohesion—at least based on forms of social participation that are spatially bound to the community. Second, they find that this relationship tends to be particularly strong in studies conducted in the United States and often results in decreased community involvement. This could be due to institutionalized patterns of racism, particularly in the southern region of the U.S., that have lingered since the time of slavery (Acharya, Blackwell, and Sen 2016; O'Connell

2012). However, support for constrict theory is also found outside of the U.S. For example, one study of associational membership in Canada finds that people living in communities with a low proportion of non-white minorities are more likely to be an association member (Andersen and Milligan 2011).

Social Contact Theory. A third approach to theorizing on the role of social context in shaping voluntary participation comes from social contact theory. This perspective posits that diversity fosters inter-ethnic tolerance and social solidarity through the mechanism of increased cross-ethnic contact (Allport, 1954; Putnam 2007). The logic behind this argument is that the absence of direct contact between members of different groups allows stereotypes and prejudice toward one or more groups to survive without any chance to witness disconfirming evidence (Rocha and Espino 2009). When members of different groups have repeated contact with each other, they can recognize the similarities between themselves and the members of other groups and adjust their attitudes accordingly. Social contact and constrict theories both focus on trust as the key to linking diversity and participatory behaviors, implying that trust is critical in explaining volunteering (Uslaner and Brown 2005; Glanville, Paxton, and Wang 2015). Social contact theory predicts that local diversity will enhance trust (of the out-group) while racial threat theory predicts that it will diminish trust (of the out-group).

Some scholars have found support for social contact theory, either defining diversity in terms of race or in other dimensions. Many of these studies focus on the influence of diversity on trust. Stolle, Soroka, and Johnston (2008) and Uslaner and Brown (2005) study the effect of ethnic diversity and income inequality on trust, and find that both types of diversity are negatively associated with trust among survey respondents, ceteris paribus. Other studies find diminished generalized trust to be associated with ethnic and linguistic diversity either among all

residents (Andersen and Paskeviciute 2006; Lancee and Pronkers 2008) or among immigrants (Leigh 2006). Uslaner and Brown (2005) use two stage least squares regression to infer that high levels of income inequality at the state level lead to less trust, and, in turn, less trust leads to lower rates of volunteering. Interestingly, Stolle et al. (2008) find that the strength of the relationship between diversity and decreased trust is diminished among individuals with personal ties and interactions with neighbors in diverse census tracts.

Other work, however, has gone a step farther to unpack how greater diversity affects participatory behaviors. Savelkoul et al. (2015) find that a larger percentage of minorities in a community fosters contact across groups, which tends to decrease people's perceptions of ethnic threat. In turn, this increases their involvement in bridging organizations, or organizations that build relationships across groups. These findings are in line with prior studies on the topic (Schlueter and Wagner 2008; Schneider 2008), which also consider racial threat as an important driver in the relationship between involvement and diversity.

Critical to drawing implications from social contact and social constrict research, is the measurement of diversity and a consideration of the appropriate level of observation. Rocha and Espino (2009) argue that many studies often overlook the spatial implications of race. Many cities or Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (U.S. Census) are diverse, but consist of far more homogenous neighborhoods. If this is the case then the implicit assumption by some researchers that diversity will mean more interracial contact in these cities is unlikely to hold. To assess this, Rocha and Espino (2009) use a dissimilarity index as a measure of ethnic diversity, and find that segregation increases the degree to which whites express anti-Latino policy preferences in diverse cities, lending support to social contact theory.

Interaction between Individual Race and Community Diversity

Our review of the literature provides strong evidence that individual race and community diversity affect volunteering behavior. However, it is also plausible that individual racial identity may interact with community diversity in influencing volunteering and other participatory behaviors—that is, the effect of community on one's volunteering might vary depending on the individual's race. Ethnic community theory helps to explain why we anticipate this interaction to be relevant for our analysis. Ethnic community theory is a social identity theory, or a theory about how group membership can affects individual's self-image and esteem based on how that individual rates his or her group relative to other groups (Tajfel 1972; Tajfel and Turner 1986). According to ethnic community theory, minorities who identify with, or are conscious of, their ethnic group will be more likely to participate, particularly in activism, because they see participation as a means to advance their ethnic community (Guterbock and London 1983; London and Hearn 1977; Olsen 1970). Ethnic concentration leads to higher participation among minorities because contact and association among co-ethnics serves to build common interest in political participation (Lipset, Lazarsfeld, Barton, and Linz 1954). Fieldhouse and Cutts (2010) extend the idea of ethnic community theory to say that we would expect minorities living in areas with a greater ethnic density to be more likely to participate in their communities, presumably because a sense of ethnic community is more likely to emerge in these contexts (Schlichting et al. 1998). A community's diversity and the density of the minority population can have differential effects on the participation of individuals of different ethnicities in the community.

Several studies indicate that various racial or ethnic groups respond differently to community diversity—at least in terms of participation—and participation is strongly related to

one's majority or minority position in the community. Portney and Berry (1997) find that minority residents are more likely to participate in neighborhood associations than are white residents when Blacks are a majority of community residents. Similarly, Oliver (2001) finds that an increase in the proportion of whites in the community increases turnout and involvement in organizations for whites, but decreases turnout and organizational involvement for Blacks. Fieldhouse and Cutts (2008a) find that the voter registration rates of Muslims are higher in predominantly Muslim communities in the United Kingdom.

Several studies that consider differential effects of diversity on people of different races or ethnicities do so as a methodological approach to understanding diversity. A few studies (notably, Fieldhouse and Cutts 2008a; 2010) disaggregate the effect of diversity based on theoretical reasons—in this case, ethnic community theory. We follow the lead of Fieldhouse and Cutts (2008a; 2010) and hypothesize that ethnic community theory, or social identity theory more broadly, predicts increased participation among minorities in more diverse communities, particularly those that are more segregated. For whites, however, we use racial threat theory to predict that the presence of increased diversity will dampen participatory behaviors among whites because of the tendency to withdraw participation from the community.

To summarize this literature, there are several different theories that help to explain how community diversity can affect individual volunteering. While much of the empirical evidence indicates that community-level factors matter for trust and cohesion, the evidence is less clear about how community diversity affects behavioral participatory outcomes, such as volunteering. Sometimes the results of the empirical studies are confusing or conflict, presumably because of differences in study design, methodology and operationalization of concepts. For the purposes of our study, we consider the main take-away points from this literature to be that community

diversity matters, but that we also need to consider membership within a dominant group and the relative residential isolation of groups within the community. Furthermore, there is reason to expect that the effect of community diversity on volunteering behaviors might differ across individuals of different races with identity theory predicting greater involvement from minorities and racial threat theory predicting lower involvement among whites in diverse communities. To guide our analysis, we offer the following hypotheses:

H1a: Individuals are *less* likely to volunteer where community-level racial residential isolation is greater.

Additionally, based on in-group/out-group theory, we also predict that:

H1b: Individuals are *more* likely to volunteer where their community-level in-group representation is greater.

Our final two hypotheses emerge from the literature that shows that community diversity affects whites and minorities in different ways. Thus,

H2a: Residential isolation and in-group representation will be *positively* associated with volunteering behaviors among *non-white minorities*.

H2b: Residential isolation and in-group representation will be *negatively* associated with volunteering behaviors among *white respondents*.

We summarize these hypotheses in Figure 1.

[Figure 1]

Methodology

We test our hypotheses using the monthly Current Population Survey (CPS), which is a nationally representative survey of individual work and employment status, social life, and household economics, with topical supplementary questionnaires included every month (U.S. Census Bureau 2015). The CPS is implemented using a multistage, stratified sample of approximately 50,000 households, including all household members over 15 years old. Thus, in any given month, the CPS data include responses from about 150,000 individuals. Every September since 2002, the CPS has included a supplemental questionnaire about the incidence and intensity of volunteering. These questions are generally asked of about 90,000 individuals in the CPS sample. We use a pooled dataset of the 2002 through 2015 CPS September data. Using the county geocodes available in the publicly released CPS data, we merge individual responses with data on community characteristics from additional other sources. First, from the U.S. year 2000 and 2010 decennial census data published by the Census Bureau, we include the population demographic characteristics and percent living in poverty (described below) for each respondents' county. The 2000 census data was matched with years 2002-2009 of our data and the 2010 census data was matched with years 2010 and above. Second, to operationalize community diversity, we use the University of Michigan's Population Studies Center measure of racial residential segregation (also described below). Our final sample includes 469,971 survey respondents.

Dependent Variables

We operationalize voluntary participation with two measures of self-reported volunteer activity: propensity to *volunteer* and *hours volunteered.* The first variable, *volunteer*, is a dichotomous indicator equal to one if the survey respondent reported doing any volunteer work—unpaid work through or for an organization—during the previous year.[1] The second variable, *hours volunteered*, is a count of the total number of hours an individual has volunteered to all organizations in the previous year. This variable has a within-sample range of 1 to 4,000 and is measured only for those respondents who reported volunteering (i.e. those with a *volunteer* value equal to one).

Independent Variables

Individual Level. Next, we operationalize self-identified *race* by creating a four-category indicator including white, Black, Asian, and American Indian, limiting our sample only to those respondents identifying as one race (i.e. white-only). Empirical research on individual race and volunteering is mixed. Some studies indicate that racial minorities are less likely to volunteer than whites (Foster-Bey 2008; Musick & Wilson 2008, Musick, Wilson & Bynum 2000); while Alesina and Ferrarra (1999) find that after controlling for individual and contextual characteristics, Blacks are *more* likely to volunteer than whites. Eighty percent of the respondents are white, 12% are Black, 6.9% are Asian, and less than 1% of respondents are American Indian.

[1] We exclude from our sample all volunteering activity that the respondent indicated was required by a school or court and all volunteering for professional or labor organizations. .

Community Level. The community level variables we include are measured by pairing the geographic identifiers in the publicly available CPS files to county-level data. We operationalize our concepts of *in-group representation* and racial *residential isolation* by matching an individual respondent's county of residence across these data sources. First, *in-group representation* is equal to the percent of a county's population that is the same self-identified race as the respondent. This operationalization reflects our theoretical concept of in-group status as the relative size of a respondent's self-identified membership, in their county of residence. A larger value for this variable indicates that a larger proportion of a county identifies as a member of the same racial group as the respondent—that the individual is a member of a proportionately larger group. Being a member of a proportionately larger population presents a respondent with greater opportunities to develop homophilous ties and associations with more similar community members (McPherson et al. 2001; Rotolo 2000), with the possible effect of fostering within group favoritism (Rudman et al. 2002; Dasgupta 2004). This variable theoretically ranges from 0 to 1, with a within-sample range of 0 to .98. A value of "1" indicates 100% of the county population identifies as the same race as the respondent. The data for this measure come from the U.S. Census Bureau county-level population estimates.

Second, we include an index of *racial isolation* that represents the degree of within-county residential segregation. While both in-group and isolation measures reflect dimensions of diversity, *in-group status* represents the relative size of one's racial group within a community and the *residential isolation index* represents the relative residential isolation of different racial groups within a county. The arguments of social contact and racial threat theories rely on the likelihood of interracial contact to shape attitudes and behavior, suggesting the need to account for the degree of racial segregation. A community may be diverse, but highly segregated, thereby

limiting opportunities for interactions across groups. Our measure of isolation comes from the University of Michigan's Population Studies Center, Racial Residential Segregation Measurement Project. Similar to arguments and findings of Rocha and Espino (2009), this concept is an inverse segregation measure. Each respondent is matched to a race-specific county-level isolation index, which represents the percentage of a given racial group within a geographic unit (e.g. census tract) that lives in neighborhoods populated only by other members of the same group (Farley 2016). A greater value of this measure indicates relatively greater residential clustering of a respondent's self-identified racial group within a county—that the respondent's racial group resides in clusters isolated from other racial groups. For example, a racial isolation index value of 1 for a given racial group would indicate that every member of that group resided in a neighborhood populated only by members of the same group. This measure has a within sample range of .025 to .998.

Control Variables

Finally, we include a host of individual and county level control measures that previous research has identified as determinants of volunteering behavior. Table 1 provides summary statistics for all variables.

Individual Level. Individual resources enable people to volunteer or facilitate an interest in volunteering (Wilson, 2012). At the individual level, we control for age, gender (female), education level (a dichotomous indicator equal to one if the respondent has a bachelors degree or higher), homeownership (a dichotomous indicator equal to one if the respondent owns their place of residence), marital status (equal to one if a respondent is married), number of children under

the age of 18 living in the household, whether a respondent is unemployed, a binary indicator of whether a respondent is a US citizen, and a categorical measure of occupation.

Community Level. Many dimensions of social context influence volunteering behavior in addition to the group-level measures described above. Most volunteering is local and geographic place provides organizational opportunities, as well as the institutional norms that support voluntary behavior (Wilson, 2012). Thus, we include in each model a grand-mean centered measure of *poverty percent*, reflecting relative resource deprivation or need within a county. Next, we include *county population*, logged, to account for any systematic differences across communities of different sizes. Lastly, we include a dummy variable equal to one for all *former Confederate state.* While the first two controls may be standard controls in other place based studies of volunteerism, we control for former confederate state status because historical legacies may have lasting effects on contemporary racial attitudes, patterns of human and economic development, and levels of trust and social capital, which can influence volunteering behavior (Acharya, Blackwell, and Sen 2016; O'Connell, 2012).

Model Specification

Theoretical explanatory factors are similar for both volunteering propensity and volunteering intensity, but these outcomes may be the result of distinct data generating processes (i.e. decision-making processes). Individuals initially decide whether to volunteer at all, this is one's *propensity to volunteer*, and subsequently decide how many hours to volunteer, and this is *volunteering intensity*. To represent our theoretical model of volunteering activity, we thus model participation in two stages, using a Heckman selection model. We assume volunteering intensity,

y_i, is a function of a vector of individual level variables, $\mathbf{x}_i\beta^1$, county level variables $\mathbf{w_{jt}}\beta^2$, and an error term u_{ijt}, and further that volunteering intensity is only observable for individuals who with a propensity to volunteer greater than zero with some error, such that $\mathbf{z}_i\gamma + \epsilon_{ijt} > 0$. Because it is likely that similar unobserved factors are involved in both the decision to participate and the determination of volunteering intensity, meaning the error terms of these two equations will be correlated, $\text{corr}(u_{jt}, \epsilon_{ijt}) \neq 0$, estimated these two models separately will yield biased coefficients (Heckman, 1979). Therefore, an unbiased empirical model of volunteering intensity, y_i, will account for the conditionality of the observable volunteering intensity.[2]

Results and Findings

To evaluate our hypotheses we first estimate conditional models of volunteering propensity and intensity as linear functions of the variables discussed above, the results of which are show in Table 2. The first pair of columns in Table 2 report results from models estimated with neither of our key independent variables included, the second pair of columns include *racial in-group status,* the third pair of columns include *residential isolation*, and the last pair of columns report the results from models including both in-group status and residential isolation. A number of notable findings stand out from these results. First, survey respondents who self-identify as racial minorities are significantly less likely to volunteer, in comparison to white respondents. This is evident in the negative coefficient estimates for indicators of respondent race in each of the first stage selection models. The difference, however, in volunteering intensity between minority respondents and white respondents is less clear, as the coefficients are

[2] We include year fixed effects in every model reported, to account for unobserved or idiosyncratic differences across annual surveys. As additional controls used for identification of the first stage models, we include each respondent's occupation as a 10 category factor variable, an dichotomous variable equal to one if the respondent is a homeowner, and a dichotomous variable equal to one if the respondent is a US citizen.

consistent neither in direction nor significance in the second stage of estimation. Similarly, both in-group status and residential isolation are estimated to attenuate individuals' propensity to volunteer, but the effects on volunteering intensity are insignificant when each is modeled independently. When the effects of in-group status and residential isolation are both accounted for in the empirical model (the last pair of columns), the effects of both variables are significant and positive. These results suggest that respondents are *less* likely to volunteer in counties with greater residential segregation or in counties in which their self-identified racial group accounts for a greater proportion of the population. However, in the same context, respondents' who do elect to volunteer do so with *greater* intensity.

In our first hypothesis, we expect community-level racial residential isolation to be negatively associated with individual level volunteering behavior---that individuals will volunteer less in counties with greater racial residential segregation. Examining the results in Table 2 offers some support for this expectation. Respondents residing in counties with greater residential isolation, where they are more likely to live in neighborhoods inhabited by others in their racial group, are *less* likely to volunteer overall. This is supportive of our hypothesis 1a. We also expect community-level in-group representation to be positively related to individual-level volunteering behaviors, this is our hypothesis 1b. The results in Table 2 offer less clear evidence for this expectation. Respondents residing in counties with greater in-group representation are less likely to volunteer overall.

To evaluate our second set of hypotheses, it is necessary to model the conditionality of these effects across racial groups. To do this, we report in Table 3 the results from models that include a series of multiplicative interaction terms. First, the results again consistently suggest that, all else being equal, minority respondents are less likely to volunteer that white respondents,

but the differences in volunteering intensity are less clear. These results further suggest that in contexts of greater residential isolation or in-group status, respondents are less likely to volunteer overall, but those who do volunteer are likely to do so with greater intensity. The implications of these results, however, are difficult to interpret given the number of interactions included in these models (Brambor, Clark and Golder, 2005), so we turn to a graphical representation of the results, in Figures 2 through 4.

First, Figure 2 represents the estimated marginal effects of residential isolation or in-group status for each racial group in our model, as indicated. These estimates are produced for both stages of the volunteering model, with the effects on propensity to volunteer shown in the top subfigure and the effects on volunteering intensity shown in the bottom subfigure. The horizontal axes in this figure differentiate estimates by racial group and the vertical axes represent the magnitude (and significance) of the estimated conditional effect. The effect of a one unit change (a move from 0 to 1) in either residential isolation or in-group status is represented here with the 95% confidence interval on the point estimate, the magnitude of this effect is shown on the vertical axis.[3] Each estimated effect is statistically significant from zero if the confidence interval does not overlap with the line at 0 on the vertical axis; where confidence intervals cross this line the effect is not significant.

Looking first at the top subfigure in Figure 2, it is evident that the effects of both residential isolation and in-group status on volunteering propensity are negative only for white

[3] These conditional predictions are made using the "margins" suite of commands in Stata 12 using estimates from the regression results reported in the rightmost columnspair of columns of Table 2. In each scenario, key independent variables are held constant at their sample mean, or vary as indicated in each figure. All control variables are similarly held constant at their sample means, but inferences do not change if their values are allowed to vary as observed.

respondents. Among minority respondents, the effects of these context variables are generally positive and significant.[4] Not only are the effects of these contextual factors on volunteering propensity significant and positive among minorities, the effects among this subpopulation are significantly greater than the effects among white respondents. In our second set of hypotheses, we expect that the effect of residential isolation and in-group representation, respectively, will vary across minority and non-minority groups. In other words, we expect that the size of these effects will be significantly different across groups. More specifically, we expect the effects of either context variable to *increase* volunteering behaviors among minorities (H2a) and to *decrease* volunteering behaviors among non-minorities (H2b). These expectations are strongly supported by the top subfigure in Figure 2. The effects of these variables on propensity for volunteering are negative and significant among white respondents, and are positive or insignificant among Black and Asian respondents. The effects of these contexts on individuals' propensity to volunteer are significantly greater among minorities; this is strong support for Hypotheses 2a and 2b.

Turning now at the bottom subfigure of Figure 2, the estimated marginal effects of in-group representation and residential isolation on volunteering intensity are reported. Interestingly, the effects of both residential isolation and in-group status are significant and positive among all groups (with the exception of isolation and Asian respondents, which are insignificant). Next, because the confidence intervals for each point estimate of the effect of residential isolation overlap across all racial groups, the effects are not significantly different across these groups. More simply, residential isolation has about the same effect on volunteering

[4] For clarity of presentation, we omit predictions for American Indians from these figures. Because we have calculated maximal marginal effects, the estimates are beyond the observed variation within the sample of American Indians. The substantive inferences for this group are similar to those for Black and Asian groups.

intensity for all groups. However, the estimated effects of in-group representation do vary across racial groups, and are significantly greater among Black and Asian respondents than among white respondents. Greater residential isolation promotes more intense volunteering among all groups, but this effect is significantly *greater* among minorities. This offers additional support for Hypothesis 2a.

To gain a better understanding of the substantive implications of these effects, we turn now to Figures 3 and 4, which represent predicted values of each dependent variable, volunteering propensity and intensity, across the range of either in-group representation or residential isolation. Reflecting the separate interactions with self-identified race categories, these figures also demonstrate the difference in effects across racial groups. Each horizontal axis represents the theoretical range of either independent variable, as indicated. Each pair of lines depicted in each figure represents 95% confidence intervals for predictions of participation under defined conditions based on a two-tailed hypothesis test. In these figures, we can statistical significance in two ways. First, the significance of the horizontal axis variable can be inferred if, for any value of the vertical axis, the confidence intervals for a single conditional scenario (pair of confidence intervals) do not overlap. In other words, the effect of the horizontal axis variable is significant if the confidence interval for a conditional scenario increases or decreases along the horizontal axis to have no overlapping vertical axis values. Second, the significance of the variable distinguishing each scenario pair of lines is inferred where the unique sets of confidence intervals do not overlap. In other words, for any value of the horizontal axis, if the unique sets of confidence intervals defined by the legend in each figure do not overlap, the variable indicated in the legend can be interpreted as having a significant effect, at that specific value of the horizontal axis variable.

From these results, a few general findings can be drawn. First, diversity context clearly matters, and it matters differently for minorities in comparison to white respondents. Figure 3 indicates that both racial residential isolation and racial in-group representation significantly *diminish* the predicted probability of volunteering among Whites, but these variables significantly *increase* the probability of volunteering among Black respondents. Under these scenarios, the effects on volunteering propensity among Asian respondents are not significant. Second, in Figure 4, it can be inferred that while residential isolation and in-group representation may significantly *increase* volunteering intensity among Whites, these effects are not significant for minority groups. Overall, Black and Asian respondents are *more* likely to volunteer where they are more residentially segregated and where they have greater in-group representation, but these context variables have little if any significant effect on volunteering intensity. White respondents, however, are more likely to volunteer where they are *less* segregated and where they have *less* in-group representation, but these context variables increase volunteering intensity. To summarize, both diversity context variables are significantly associated with greater volunteering intensity for *all races*. These results support both of our initial hypotheses (H1a and H1b), as well as our second set of expectations (H2a and H2b).

Discussion

Understanding the impact of diversity on various forms of civic behavior is a key question for both scholars and policy makers, given the increasing diversity within the United States and countries across the globe. Our study contributes to a growing body of empirical research that explores the relationships between diversity, trust, civic participation, and

volunteering. To summarize our findings, our results suggest: 1) Consistent with some existing research, minorities are less likely to volunteer than whites, but minority volunteers volunteer with greater intensity than white volunteers. 2) Residential segregation and in-group status reduce the likelihood that an individual volunteers, but increase the number of hours volunteered, when it is assumed that all individuals are similarly affected by context. However, we have argued that minorities are differently impacted by contexts of diversity than whites, and we find support for this. 3) The effect of race on volunteering behavior varies across community context, specifically community-level measures of diversity. This finding is consistent with other studies that find that the effect of diversity on participation depends not only on one's own racial identity but also on the racial composition of the community (Fieldhouse and Cutts 2008a, 2008b, 2010; Marschall and Stolle 2004; Oliver 2001; Portney and Berry 1999; Putnam 2007).

Our study offers three unique contributions that improve our conceptual understanding of the complex relationships between community race and volunteering. Our results indicate that the effect of race and diversity on volunteering varies with how volunteering is operationalized, how diversity is operationalized, and with an individual's own race. First, we find that race, isolation, and in-group representation have different effects on two different volunteering behaviors—the decision to volunteer and the number of hours volunteered. While many existing empirical analyses of the relationship between diversity and participation use diverse measures of participation (i.e. volunteering, joining associations, participating in meetings, helping neighbors, etc.), few studies look at the intensity of these activities. Our results highlight the importance of considering both participatory behaviors and the intensity or frequency of such behaviors because diversity can affect participation and intensity in different ways. These differences suggest that while the likelihood of volunteering varied by race, once volunteers are

in the door, racial context has a weaker effect on the intensity of volunteering behaviors and is consistent across racial groups. Social theories of the effects of diversity on participation may be more applicable to entry into participation rather than the intensity or duration of participation, suggesting the importance of race in shaping the pathways to volunteering. Our findings point to the need for scholars to advance theories on the determinants of the intensity of civic behaviors—drivers that seem to be less related to race and community diversity.

Our second contribution is that we operationalize community diversity in two ways and find that in-group representation and residential isolation have similar effects on the likelihood of volunteering, but the relationships differ across racial groups. For example, Asians and Blacks living in counties with higher levels of residential isolation are more likely to volunteer than their peers living in more integrated neighborhoods are. However, Blacks living in counties where a higher proportion of residents are of the same racial group are more likely to volunteer than are their peers living in counties with lower levels of in-group representation. While the reasons for these differences are not entirely clear from our existing data, we suspect that the drivers of volunteering behavior are different across majority and minority groups.

Social identity theory, particularly ethnic community theory, may be more applicable to explaining minorities' entry into volunteering. While theories of homophily suggest that individuals of all races are more likely to associate when living in homogeneous communities, social identity theory suggests that in-group membership may be particularly valuable for racial minorities. Social identity theory posits that people derive emotional value from membership in a group (such as a racial group) and that their self-image and self-esteem can be linked to group membership—an image that is based on how positively the person rates his or her group compared to other groups (Tajfel 1972; Tajfel and Turner 1986). Minorities who identify with,

or are conscious of, their ethnic group will be more likely to participate, particularly in activism, because they see participation as a means to advance their ethnic community, which is the basic explanation of ethnic community theory (Guterbock and London 1983; London and Hearn 1977; Olsen 1970). Ethnic concentration leads to higher participation among minorities because contact and association among co-ethnics serves to build common interest in political participation (Lipset, Lazarsfeld, Barton, and Linz 1954). Fieldhouse and Cutts (2010) extend the idea of ethnic community theory to say that we would expect minorities living in areas with a greater ethnic density to be more likely to participate in their communities, presumably because a sense of ethnic community is more likely to emerge in these contexts (Schlichting et al. 1998).

In contrast, our findings suggest that social contact or social conflict theories explain majority volunteering. Whites in more integrated neighborhoods are more likely to volunteer than are whites in segregated neighborhoods and whites in places in which they are a minority (or a member of an out-group) are more likely to volunteer. On the surface, this does seem to support social contact's proposition that greater contact with others in the community promote trust and a willingness to work together (Rocha and Espino 2009; Savelkoul et al. 2015). Although this seems like a reasonable explanation, we would question why social contact theory explains volunteering behavior among whites and not minorities. To address that question, we return to racial threat theory. Racial threat theory posits that as the size of the minority position increases, majority whites feel greater threat and seek to maintain their privileged position through civic participation (Blumer 1954; Bowyer 2009; Giles and Evans 1985; Putnam 2007; Rocha and Espino 2009).

Our findings shed some light on the circumstances when different social theories of participation might be more applicable in a context of diversity. To truly tease out the conditions

supporting each theory, future research will need to include variables that capture the essence of each theory (such as in Savelkoul et al. 2015) *and* information about the context of diversity and the form of volunteering. Regarding the context of diversity, it is important to recognize that there are multiple historical and contemporary reasons for the spatial distribution of races, including institutionalized racism, white flight, patterns of immigration and internal migration, and economic development (Acharya, Blackwell, and Sen 2016; Crowder 2000; Dawkins 2004; O'Connell 2012; Frey 1979). Residential segregation could also represent lifestyle choices. For example, individuals who are more comfortable living in diverse settings may be pre-disposed to volunteering behaviors. Understanding the historical, economic, social and cultural causes of diversity and segregation can help scholars to deepen our theorizing about how diversity affects volunteering.

Next, the form of volunteering might also be an important consideration. Some volunteering is more self-orientated, such as volunteering for a professional association, while other volunteering activities are directed at beneficiaries outside of one's household and circle of friends, such as volunteering at a homeless shelter. These distinctions could be important in teasing out whether volunteering is in-group benefitting or other serving. This may help to tease out whether racial effects are driven by threat, contact or racial identity. Some authors argue that diverse societies might foster different kinds of social capital and different kinds of participation than more homogenous communities (Hooghe 2007). For example, in an in-depth qualitative study in one California community, Chavez (2005) find that the Mexican community members were active in creating social capital and building community, but that their channels for doing so were different than the long-time white residents of the community. Thus, it is might be easy to miss the ways that diversity affects participation and social capital in our research studies

without a broad range of measures to capture different dimensions of these concepts. Not all volunteering activities are the same in terms of motives to participate and the desired outcomes and beneficiaries of the activity. Future research can explore how race and diversity affect volunteering for a wide range of organizations.

Conclusion

As nations across the globe become more diverse, the effect of residential patterns of settlement on the likelihood that residents will engage in their communities and the effect of intensity of their engagement hold increasing importance for local communities. Volunteering behavior is by political and institutional contexts (Kesler and Bloemraad 2010) and so national policies regarding volunteerism may continue to influence these relationships. While many social theories of participation, such as in-group/out-group theory, constrict theory, and social contact theory, are helpful in explaining how different measures of community diversity affects volunteering among individuals of different races, we need more research to help us truly understand the complicated relationships between community diversity, race, and various forms of community participation.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	*SD*	*Min*	*Max*
Dependent Variables:				
Volunteer (1=yes)	0.25	0.43	0.00	1.00
Hours volunteered	34.70	143.95	0.00	4000.00
Independent Variables:				
Respondent Race (%)				
White	80.23			
Black	12.15			
Asian	6.90			
American Indian	0.73			
County Racial Characteristics:				
Residential isolation (segregation)	0.34	0.22	0.03	1.00
R's racial in-group as percent of pop	0.63	0.26	0.00	0.98
Control Variables:				
Individual-Level				
Age	45.30	18.36	15.00	85.00
Female (1=yes)	0.53	0.50	0.00	1.00
Bachelors (1=yes)	0.19	0.39	0.00	1.00
Homeowner (1=yes)	0.69	0.46	0.00	1.00
US citizen (1=yes)	0.90	0.30	0.00	1.00
Married (1=yes)	0.52	0.50	0.00	1.00
Num. of children in household	0.51	0.96	0.00	11.00
Unemployed (1=yes)	0.04	0.20	0.00	1.00
Occupation (%)				
Management	9.28			
Professional	13.24			
Service	10.45			
Sales	10.45			
Office support	7.98			
Farming & forestry	0.34			
Construction & extraction	3.33			
Maintenance & repair	1.91			
Production	2.99			
Transportation	3.28			
Armed forces	0.02			
County-Level				
Poverty, grant mean centered	0.03	5.66	-11.08	28.72
Population, logged	13.46	1.13	10.18	16.12
Former confederate state (1=yes)	0.23	0.42	0.00	1.00
Total Observations	*469,971*			

Table 2: Effect of Respondent Race and County Racial Characteristics on Individual Volunteering

	Model (1)	Model (2)	Model (3)	Model (4)	Model (5)	Model (6)	Model (7)	Model (8)
	Selection Model	**Second Stage**	**Selection Model**	**Second Stage**	**Selection Model**	**Second Stage**	**Selection Model**	**Second Stage**
	R is Volunteer, Yes/No	*Total Hours R Volunteered*	*R is Volunteer, Yes/No*	*Total Hours R Volunteered*	*R is Volunteer, Yes/No*	*Total Hours R Volunteered*	*R is Volunteer, Yes/No*	*Total Hours R Volunteered*
R's Racial In-Group Percent of Pop			-0.030*	10.738			-0.166***	34.394***
			(0.015)	(6.350)			(0.022)	(8.385)
Residential Isolation (Segregation)					-0.089***	9.766	-0.193***	33.506***
					(0.015)	(6.080)	(0.022)	(6.543)
Black	-0.161***	15.532***	-0.174***	20.414***	-0.142***	13.101***	-0.192***	22.906***
	(0.007)	(2.977)	(0.011)	(4.555)	(0.007)	(3.472)	(0.009)	(5.060)
Asian	-0.273***	-24.806***	-0.289***	-19.136***	-0.234***	-29.356***	-0.272***	-22.155***
	(0.008)	(3.723)	(0.011)	(5.274)	(0.010)	(5.198)	(0.014)	(4.500)
American Indian	-0.171***	16.219	-0.191***	23.570*	-0.120***	10.098	-0.171***	19.019
	(0.023)	(13.333)	(0.031)	(11.364)	(0.026)	(12.793)	(0.027)	(13.595)
Individual-Level Controls:								
Age of R	-0.002***	1.849***	-0.002***	1.842***	-0.002***	1.853***	-0.002***	1.849***
	(0.000)	(0.050)	(0.000)	(0.058)	(0.000)	(0.053)	(0.000)	(0.057)
R is Female	0.194***	-2.515	0.194***	-2.507	0.193***	-2.547	0.194***	-2.715
	(0.005)	(1.609)	(0.005)	(1.647)	(0.004)	(1.745)	(0.004)	(1.844)
Bachelors Degree	0.262***	4.614**	0.261***	4.681*	0.262***	4.553*	0.260***	4.599*
	(0.005)	(1.579)	(0.006)	(2.378)	(0.005)	(2.123)	(0.005)	(2.161)
Married	0.144***	1.316	0.144***	1.395	0.145***	1.24	0.145***	1.02
	(0.005)	(2.196)	(0.004)	(1.745)	(0.005)	(1.865)	(0.004)	(1.953)
Num. of Children in House	0.133***	3.934***	0.134***	3.882***	0.133***	3.913***	0.134***	3.696***
	(0.002)	(0.752)	(0.002)	(0.805)	(0.002)	(0.829)	(0.003)	(0.853)
R is Unemployed	0.070***	25.587***	0.071***	25.680***	0.071***	25.522***	0.072***	25.447***
	(0.011)	(3.813)	(0.011)	(3.892)	(0.009)	(4.375)	(0.011)	(4.359)
R Owns Home	0.249***		0.250***		0.248***		0.250***	
	(0.005)		(0.005)		(0.005)		(0.004)	

US Citizen	0.460***		0.461***		0.455***		0.455***	
	(0.010)		(0.009)		(0.010)		(0.010)	
County-Level Controls:								
Poverty Pct, County	-0.010***	0.125	-0.010***	0.2	-0.009***	0.047	-0.009***	0.082
	(0.000)	(0.167)	(0.000)	(0.176)	(0.000)	(0.180)	(0.000)	(0.159)
County Population, Log	-0.060***	2.956***	-0.061***	3.640***	-0.055***	2.459***	-0.061***	3.519***
	(0.002)	(0.878)	(0.002)	(0.802)	(0.002)	(0.715)	(0.002)	(0.790)
Former Confederate State	-0.073***	0.879	-0.073***	0.991	-0.069***	0.437	-0.064***	-0.179
	(0.005)	(1.654)	(0.006)	(1.708)	(0.005)	(2.044)	(0.006)	(1.884)
Constant	-0.672***	-26.537*	-0.628***	-43.006**	-0.699***	-22.200*	-0.482***	-65.619***
	(0.033)	(11.678)	(0.039)	(15.050)	(0.031)	(10.999)	(0.041)	(16.113)
Lambda	38.912***		38.794***		38.656***		37.624***	
	(3.986)		(4.817)		(4.158)		(3.897)	
Occupation Fixed Effects	Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes	
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	470,600		469,971		470,600		469,971	

Note: Sample includes responses to the 2002-2015 annual CPS September survey. Occupation and year fixed effects included as indicated, with coefficients not reported here. Coefficients obtained with a two step Heckman selection model, bootstrap standard errors in parentheses. * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001, for a two-tailed hypothesis test.

Table 3: Effect of County Racial Characteristics on Individual Volunteering Across Respondent Race

	Model (9)	Model (10)	Model (11)	Model (12)	Model (13)	Model (14)
	Selection Model *R is Volunteer, Yes/No*	**Second Stage** *Total Hours R Volunteered*	**Selection Model** *R is Volunteer, Yes/No*	**Second Stage** *Total Hours R Volunteered*	**Selection Model** *R is Volunteer, Yes/No*	**Second Stage** *Total Hours R Volunteered*
R's Racial In-Group Percent of Pop	-0.119***	27.839***	-0.134***	32.462***	-0.163***	29.111***
	(0.023)	(7.043)	(0.020)	(6.322)	(0.023)	(8.749)
Residential Isolation (Segregation)	-0.267***	44.600***	-0.372***	50.765***	-0.395***	47.601***
	(0.020)	(8.127)	(0.026)	(6.854)	(0.018)	(8.952)
Black	-0.065***	-1.739	-0.386***	47.343***	-0.637***	16.814
	(0.016)	(7.172)	(0.019)	(8.475)	(0.042)	(18.020)
Asian	-0.136***	-41.302***	-0.512***	6.057	-0.629***	-26.591
	(0.018)	(6.686)	(0.039)	(12.775)	(0.175)	(61.206)
American Indian	0.001	17.624	-1.081***	-141.684***	-0.674	-260.548*
	(0.029)	(11.958)	(0.138)	(26.001)	(0.398)	(127.276)
Black ×R's Racial In-Group Percent of Pop	-0.331***	71.119**			0.393***	47.084
	(0.039)	(22.485)			(0.065)	(26.269)
Asian × R's Racial In-Group Percent of Pop	-0.420***	57.261*			0.143	40.312
	(0.060)	(24.674)			(0.211)	(76.817)
American Indian × R's Racial In-Group Percent of Pop	-1.734***	-233.778***			-0.736	210.673
	(0.233)	(66.853)			(0.673)	(197.629)
Black × Residential Isolation			0.481***	-55.723***	0.746***	-23.007
			(0.037)	(14.362)	(0.050)	(23.955)
Asian × Residential Isolation			0.458***	-50.073**	0.575**	-16.512
			(0.055)	(17.379)	(0.190)	(66.743)
American Indian × Residential Isolation			1.190***	166.893***	0.763	289.804*
			(0.158)	(31.768)	(0.419)	(135.954)

Individual-Level Controls:						
Age of R	-0.002***	1.844***	-0.002***	1.844***	-0.002***	1.844***
	(0.000)	(0.054)	(0.000)	(0.055)	(0.000)	(0.053)
R is Female	0.194***	-2.639	0.194***	-2.721	0.194***	-2.687
	(0.006)	(1.838)	(0.004)	(1.728)	(0.004)	(1.907)
Bachelors Degree	0.261***	4.577*	0.261***	4.559*	0.260***	4.529*
	(0.005)	(1.994)	(0.006)	(2.056)	(0.005)	(1.781)
Married	0.144***	1.268	0.143***	1.247	0.143***	1.243
	(0.005)	(2.150)	(0.004)	(1.868)	(0.005)	(1.785)
Num. of Children in Household	0.134***	3.780***	0.134***	3.725***	0.134***	3.752***
	(0.003)	(0.906)	(0.002)	(0.831)	(0.002)	(0.968)
R is Unemployed	0.071***	25.631***	0.071***	25.476***	0.072***	25.557***
	(0.009)	(4.197)	(0.011)	(5.043)	(0.010)	(4.633)
R Owns Home	0.250***		0.250***		0.250***	
	(0.006)		(0.004)		(0.005)	
US Citizen	0.454***		0.452***		0.452***	
	(0.008)		(0.009)		(0.007)	
County-Level Controls:						
Poverty Pct, County, Grand mean centered	-0.007***	-0.107	-0.006***	-0.161	-0.006***	-0.145
	(0.000)	(0.196)	(0.000)	(0.189)	(0.000)	(0.192)
County Population, logged	-0.056***	2.549**	-0.050***	2.352**	-0.050***	2.442*
	(0.002)	(0.964)	(0.002)	(0.802)	(0.003)	(1.001)
Former Confederate State	-0.062***	-0.291	-0.062***	-0.194	-0.062***	-0.227
	(0.005)	(2.116)	(0.004)	(1.776)	(0.005)	(1.724)
Constant	-0.561***	-51.833**	-0.591***	-53.919***	-0.569***	-51.894**
	(0.044)	(18.387)	(0.041)	(12.216)	(0.049)	(16.452)
Lambda		38.102***		37.746***		37.837***
		(3.330)		(4.442)		(4.322)
Occupation Fixed Effects	Yes		Yes		Yes	
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	469,971		469,971		469,971	

Note: Sample includes responses to the 2002-2015 annual CPS September survey. Occupation and year fixed effects included as indicated, with coefficients not reported here. Coefficients obtained with a two step Heckman selection model, bootstrap standard errors in parentheses. * $p<0.05$, ** $p<0.01$, *** $p<0.001$, for a two-tailed hypothesis test.

Figure 1: Conceptual Model of Diversity and Volunteering

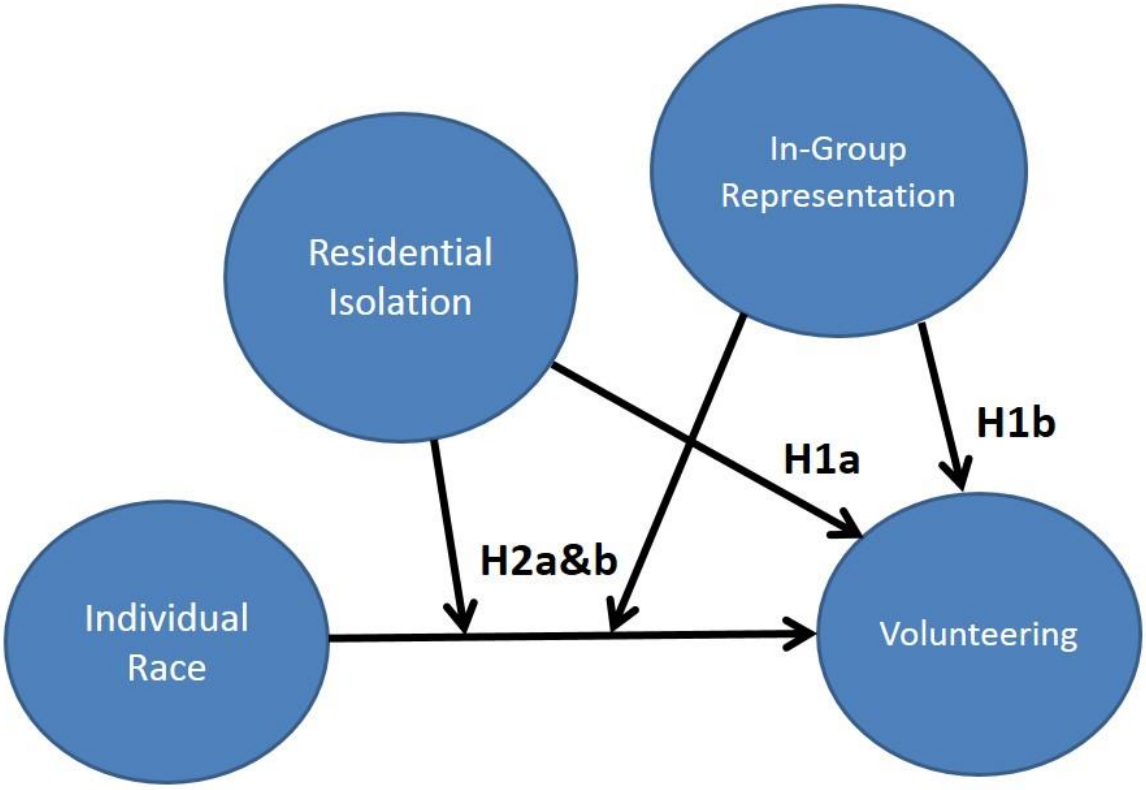
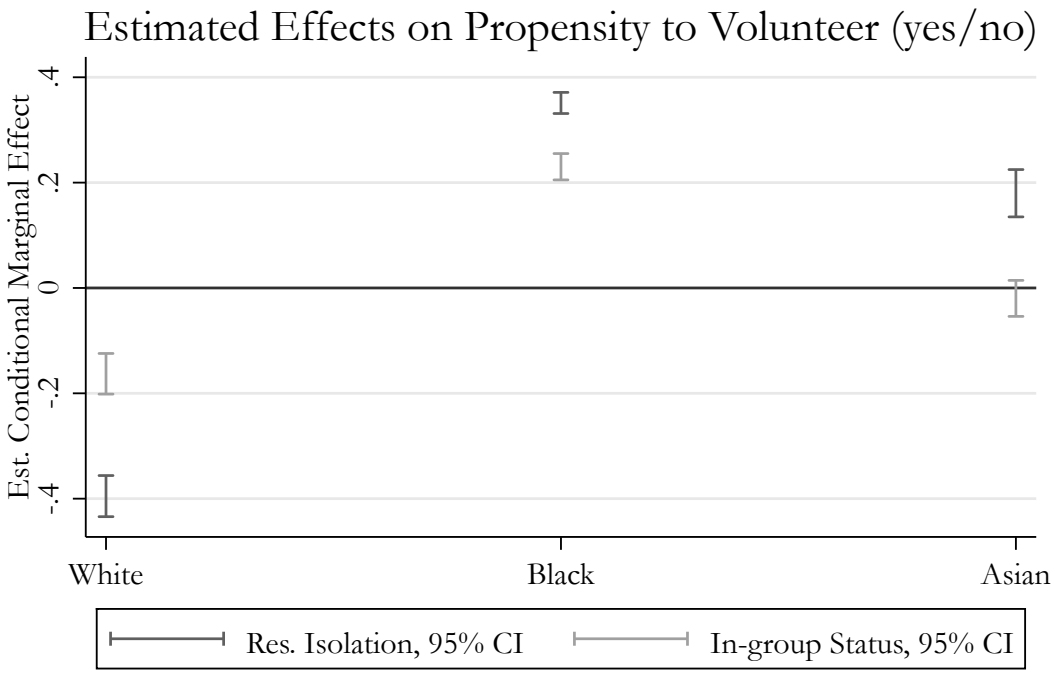


Figure 2: Marginal Effects on Volunteering Behaviors



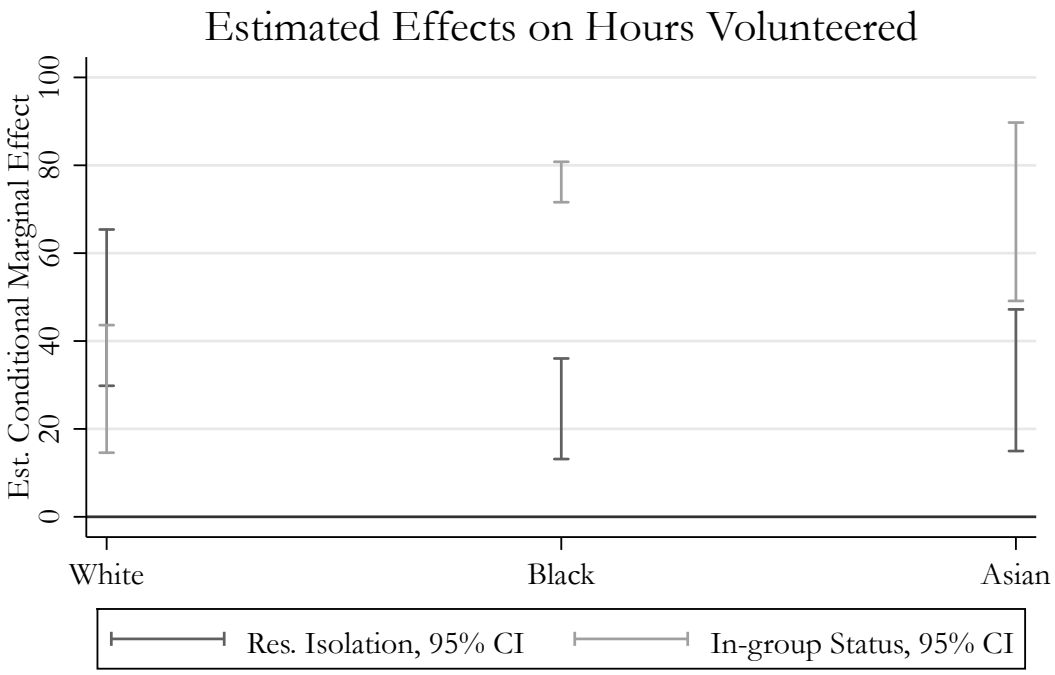
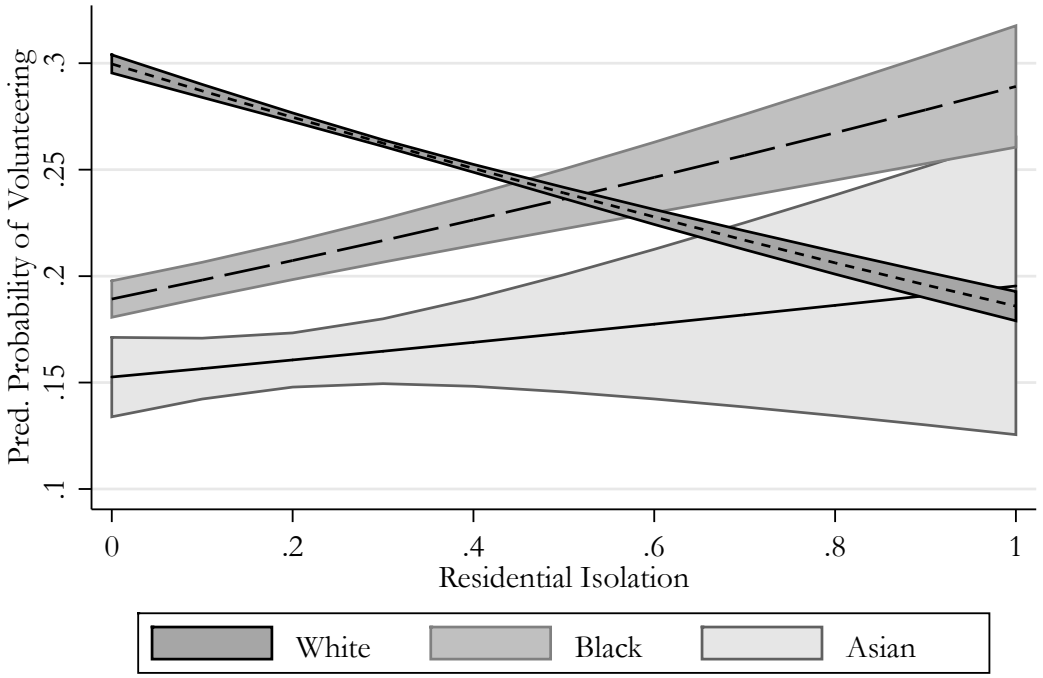


Figure 3: Context and Propensity for Volunteering



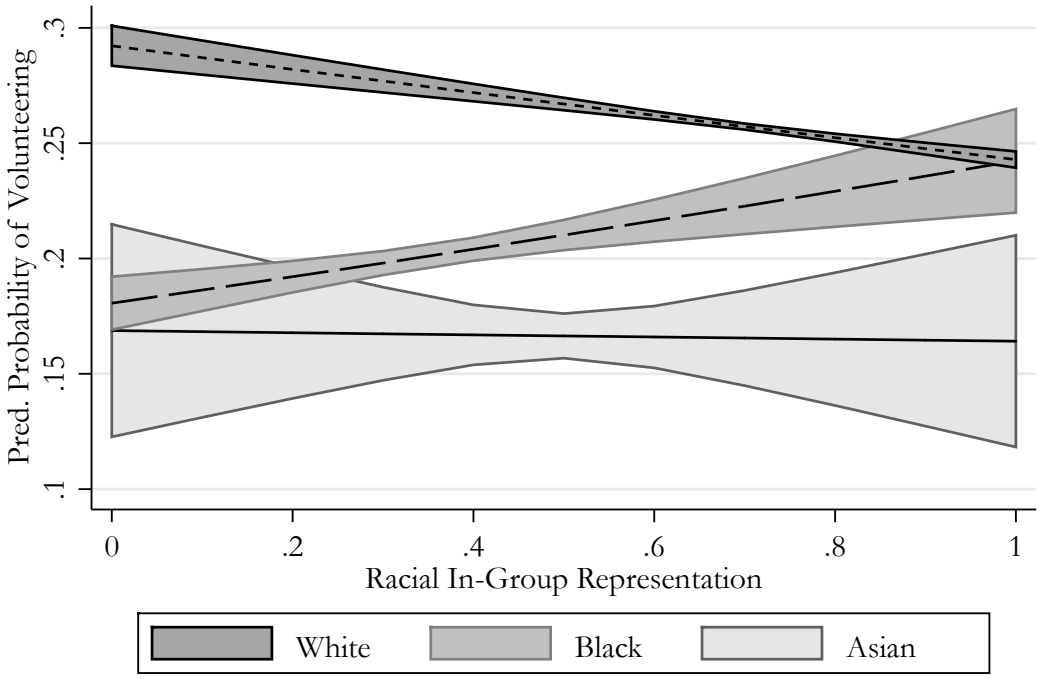
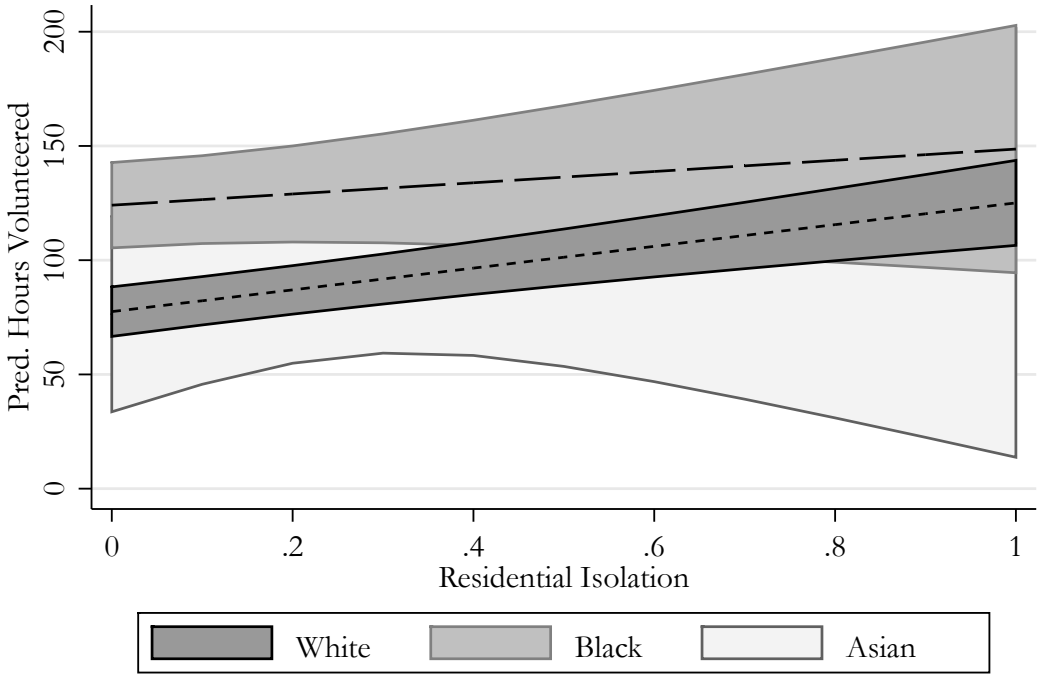
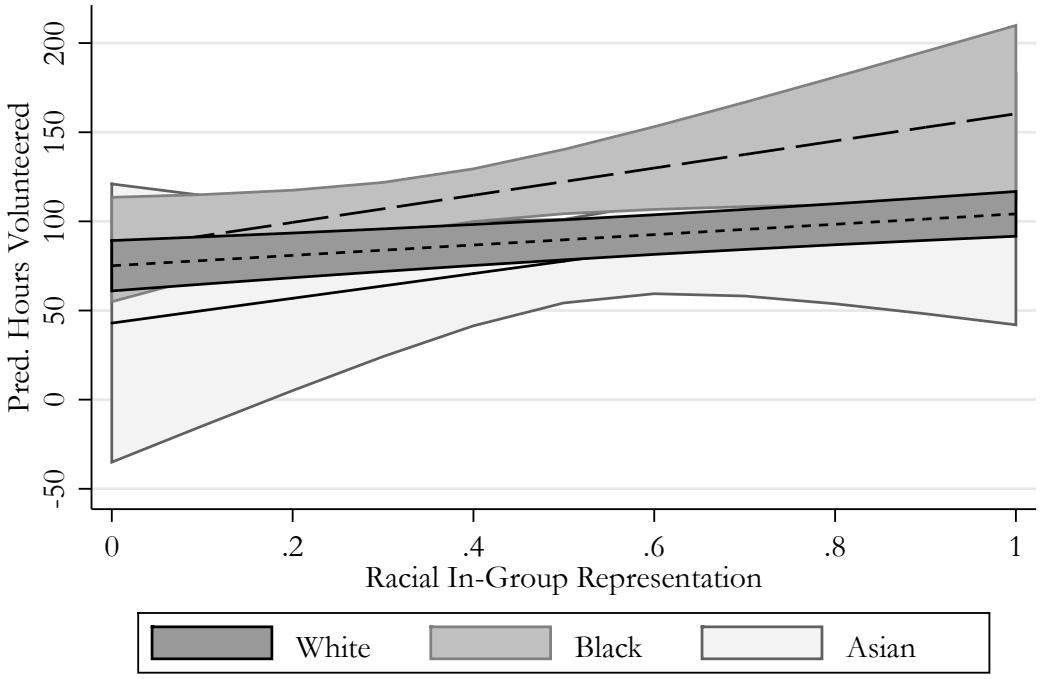


Figure 4: Context and Volunteering Intensity





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