

Volunteer Behavior among Asian American Groups in the United States

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Richard A. Sundeen
School of Policy, Planning, and Development
University of Southern California
Los Angeles, CA 90089-0626
rsundeen@usc.edu

Cristina Garcia
School of Policy, Planning, and Development
University of Southern California
Los Angeles, CA 90089-0626
mcgarcia@usc.edu

Lili Wang
School of Policy, Planning, and Development
University of Southern California
Los Angeles, CA 90089-0626
zhuwanglili@gmail.com

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Volunteering is any activity of giving time freely for the benefit of another person, group, or cause (Wilson, 2000)¹. The number of people and the hours volunteered in a country indicates the vitality of its civil society. It is estimated that 65.4 million American people volunteered at least once to an organization in 2005 and, on average, people volunteered 50 hours annually (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2005). The total dollar value of volunteer time in 2005 reached \$280 billion² (Independent Sector, 2006). At this scale, volunteers are important assets that provide immeasurable social and economic values to nonprofit organizations and the communities. In such a context, understanding who is likely to volunteer, what factors promote the decision to volunteer, and what kind of organizations people choose to volunteer to, is vital to the thriving of the nonprofit sector and the theoretical development of the field.

In the past few decades, the United States (US) has become increasingly diverse in its race and ethnicity. Asian Americans are one of the fastest-growing, and certainly the most ethnically diverse, American racial groups. From 1990 to 2000, the Asian American population has increased 48%, reaching 10.2 million³, which currently accounts for 4% of the total population (US Census Bureau, 1990 and 2000). The 2000 US Census divided Asian Americans into sixteen subgroups based on their countries of origin, including Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, and so on (US Census Bureau, 2000). Among the ten million Asian Americans, 80% are foreign-born or immigrants. For such a growing and diverse group, our understanding of their volunteer behavior is still very limited. More importantly, we have little knowledge of how acculturation of the Asian immigrants affects their likelihood to volunteer in the US.

Prior research on volunteerism has used race/ethnicity as a predictor of volunteer behavior and has demonstrated different voluntary activities among African Americans, Asians, Hispanics, and Whites in the US (Hodgkinson and Weitzman, 1996, O'Neil and Roberts, 2000). For example, Sundeen et. al. (2006) found that whites volunteer at a higher rate to formal organizations than the other racial/ethnic groups. Also, other studies focus on volunteering by a separate group, such as African American (Mattis et al, 2000). Very few, however, have studied Asian American volunteering (Ecklund and Park, 2005), and even fewer have investigated the differences across various Asian American subgroups (Smith, et. al. 1994, 1999, Chao, 1999). This cross-group focus is partly a consequence of the pan-Asian American notion, which emphasizes the integration and cultural similarities among Asian American population (Espiritu, 1992). Recently, however, scholars have increasingly realized the significance of differences in the language, history, cultural values, religious beliefs, and acculturation among Asian American groups (Bowen, 1990; Agbayani-Siewert, 2004), as well as the reasons for migrating, including political asylum, religious freedom, education, career advancement, and business (Chao, 2001). The diversity in their background and experiences will certainly affect their decisions to participate and contribute to communities in the US. Therefore, studying voluntary behavior of Asian American subgroups is necessary for us to better understand the role of such a diverse racial group in American civil society.

Of the few studies that examine the philanthropic and prosocial behavior of Asian American subgroups, several are qualitative, using interview and case study methods (e.g., Smith, et. al.

1992; Chao, 1999 and 2001, Bretrell, 2005) or journalists' accounts (Bernstein, 2007; Kang, 2006) that richly illustrate their benevolent practices, their rationales, and challenges. However, there are significant limitations to these qualitative studies, including their small, non-random samples⁴, a lack of systematic comparison across Asian subgroups, and, in some cases, a focus on philanthropic and charitable activities (rather than volunteering).

In this study, we bridge the gap in the literature by exploring empirically the volunteer activities of Asian Americans, in general, and the differences in volunteering across three major Asian American ethnic groups: Asian Indians, Chinese, and Filipinos. We focus on volunteering to formal organizations, as formal volunteering is relevant to the development of the nonprofit sector and is captured by most surveys on volunteering. We start with a conceptual framework of volunteering. Then, using the 2004 Bureau of Labor Statistics survey on volunteering, we seek to answer four main questions. First, among those who volunteered, to what kind of voluntary organizations does each Asian subgroup volunteer and are there any differences among the groups? Second, do the three main Asian American subgroups differ in their rates of volunteering to formal organizations? Third, within each Asian American subgroup, who is likely to volunteer or what are the predictors of volunteering? Fourth, does immigrant status affect volunteering among Asians and is the effect of immigration or citizen status similar for each subgroup? Finally, after presenting our findings, we discuss the limitation of this study and future research questions.

Conceptual Framework of Asian American Volunteering

Generally, past research on volunteering has found that personal resources, social resources, cultural resources, and demographics affect one's decision to volunteer, how many hours to volunteer, and what organizations to volunteer to (Smith, 1994; Musick, et al., 2000; Wilson, 2000; Sundeen et al., 2005). In this exploratory study, we add the dimension of acculturation to the model, and hypothesize that Asian Americans' volunteering results from the combined outcome of their original cultural identification, acculturation process, and the personal and social resources they have in the US. Further, we expect that Asian Indians, Chinese, and Filipinos share similarities and differences in the above aspects which, in turn, result in the similar and different patterns of their volunteering behavior.

Culture of Origin:

The culture and norms of a society affect individual behavior. Immigrants from diverse Asian countries come to the US with different traditions and views of volunteering. Although they will later more or less adapt to the US culture, the culture of origin – including its religious values and the importance of familial relations - will exert certain influences on the ways by which they provide services to others.

Asian Indians in the US are composed of adherents of all the religions of the Indian subcontinent, including Hindus, Muslims, Christians, and others. For Hindus, the act of giving a gift—*dana*— is one of the oldest and most important aspects of Hindu religiosity. A related concept is *serva* (service), the practice of giving time and menial duties to the maintenance of temple deities. The differences between *dana* and *serva* is not solely a difference between material gifts and gifts of services, but also a difference of motivation, i.e., *serva* is a reflexive act of love, whereas *dana* is an expression of obligation. While *dana* centers on gifts and the ability to make donations, *serva*

emphasizes gestures and acts and, therefore, is more easily accessible to anyone willing to provide time and devotion. In modern Indian, *sewa* is the dominant form of worship (Juergensmeyer and McMahon, 1998). In addition, Hinduism holds that charity should be first directed towards family, then society, and finally to the world and all living beings. Therefore, informal giving and services to the extended family members are common among Asian Indians. For Muslims, the practice of regular almsgiving is a religious requirement. In addition, voluntary charity (*sadaqah*) and good treatment of orphans, elderly, and parents are advocated in the Islamic tradition. For Christian Asian Indians, charity or contributing a certain amount of income as measure of gratitude to God is a common practice (Philanthropy and the Third Sector in Asian and the Pacific, 2006). In *Remaking America*, Joseph (1995:122) noted that Asian Indians brought “a strong tradition of voluntary associations and organized charity and philanthropy to this country.”

Studies on Chinese philanthropy show that the tradition of sharing wealth, resources, and time is deeply rooted in Confucianism and Buddhism (Smith et al., 1999; Ho, 2004). Buddhism emphasizes the value of compassion and service to others, and Confucianism teaches the concepts of “benevolence”, “filial piety”, and “reciprocity” (Shao, 1995). Due to the emphasis on obligations or responsibilities to close families and friends in Chinese culture, informal and indigenous kinds of giving and voluntary activities - based primarily on kinship, family, and hometown association - are the most common forms of philanthropy in Chinese American community (Smith et al., 1999, Chao, 2001). Also, Bernstein (2007) has observed that Chinese-Americans’ charitable giving may be rooted in their allegiance to their home town areas or regions in China.

Although Christianity is not a traditional religion of the Chinese, the impact of Christianity on Chinese American immigrants’ charitable behavior is also essential. It is estimated that 32% of Chinese in the US today are Christians, many of whom are adult converts from non-Christian family backgrounds (Yang, 1998). Research has shown that Chinese Americans with eastern-religion are less likely to volunteer to formal secular organizations relative to other Asian Americans with eastern-religion. In addition, Protestant Asian Americans are more likely to volunteer and Chinese Protestant and Catholic do not differ from other Asian American groups in volunteering to formal organizations (Eckland and Park, 2005).

Filipino Americans are predominately Christian, with an estimated eighty five percent of them Roman Catholic (Chao, 1999), and the Catholic church is important to the participatory structures for Filipino Americans (Bowen, 1990). Smith and his coauthors (1999) found the giving and volunteering behavior of Filipinos differed from that of Catholics in other countries. Since the Catholic Church in the Philippines is a missionary church, relying on outside funding for many of its activities, Filipinos do not contribute as much to the general collection as Catholics do in other countries, but they pay for services. The volunteering work for the Catholic Church in the US is more structured compared to that in the Philippines. Volunteers have to register and regularly commit to the work.

Similar to Chinese Americans, Filipinos stress obligations to family, clan members, friends, and communities. Therefore, informal giving and sharing are common in this group (Chao, 1999; Smith, et. al. 1999). In terms of volunteering to formal institutions, Chao (1999:203) found that

Filipino Americans “participate in associations based on common locality and, in recent years, profession”. Smith and his coauthors (1999) shared similar findings with Chao. Many Filipino American mutual aid associations, like the Tongs, were organized along geographic lines, such as towns, provinces, or even neighborhoods, and many are composed of almost exclusively of people from the same region of Philippines.

In addition to the traditional familial and religious obligations, the practice and norms of service or volunteering in the country of origin may also affect the Asian immigrants’ volunteering decision. For example, according to the 2001 World Values Survey⁵, 21% of Chinese respondents volunteered, compared to 32% of Indians and 58% of Filipinos, respectively. Another comparative study of global civil society also showed that 6% Filipino adults volunteered in 2000, which was higher than the 2% volunteer rate of Indians adults (Salamon et al. 2004). These findings, while not large, suggest that countries differ in the extent to which they embrace volunteerism and suggest that Filipinos will be more likely to volunteer than the Asian Indians or Chinese.

Acculturation

Acculturation refers to the extent to which a group or an individual adopts the norms, values, and practices of another culture while maintaining the culture of its origin (Berry, 2003). Studies of immigrants’ civic participation and volunteering have shown that the level of acculturation is positively related to the dimensions of civic engagement and the likelihood of volunteering (Uslaner and Conley, 2003; Scott et al., 2006). This could be related to the transition experienced by immigrants from more traditional societies and their forms of social networks to more industrialized societies. In the former, where the emphasis is on collective responsibilities and obligations, especially to family, clan, religion, and local neighborhood or community, the concept of volunteering may differ from that of contemporary society with its individualism and emphasis on self and choice (Hustrix and Lammertyn, 2003). For the recent immigrant from a traditional society, to give his or her time to strangers may seem strange or inappropriate. If this were true, then we would expect first generation Asian Americans, including the three subgroups to have lower rates of volunteering than the national average.

Length of stay in a country, birthplace, age of entering into the country, and attendance at a US school are typical indicators of acculturation. For example, Chao (2001) argued that in general, Asian American immigrants go through three stages in their philanthropic activity: (1) “survive stage”, in which people struggle through the immigrant years by sharing financial, emotional, informational, and skills-based resources, (2) “help stage”, in which people have reached financial stability and can help those less fortunate or in greater need, and (3) “invest stage”, in which people have developed higher levels of confidence and sense of permanence and thus invest in charity to realize their vision of an ideal community. The three-stage evolution supports the hypothesis that the length of stay in the US increases Asian American immigrants’ likelihood and level of volunteering. However, the length of the “survive stage” may vary among Asian American subgroups. We would expect the “survive stage” to be shorter for Asian Indians and Filipinos than for Chinese because most Asian Indian and Filipino immigrants speak English when they come to US and more of the Asian Indians are well-educated professionals. In addition to economic security and financial stability, as immigrants stay longer in a country, they will have better information on community organizations and volunteer opportunities.

Their social networks will also grow and, thus, they are more likely to be asked to volunteer, and if they increase their educational levels, they will be more attractive to organizations seeking volunteers.

Patterns of civic participation and volunteering differ significantly among immigrants and native born (Smith et al., 1999, Sundeen et al., 2005). Immigrants typically maintain closer ties with the country of origin and, frequently, they volunteer informally for or help extended families, friends, or ethnic associations. Compared to the *native born* (i.e., *born in the US*), the first-generation *immigrants* volunteer less and participate less in the mainstream American society. Ramakrishnan and Viramontes (2006) found low rates of volunteerism among first-generation immigrants compared to that of second-generation immigrants in California—U.S.-born individuals with at least one foreign-born parent. They argued that the most consistent barrier to participation among immigrants is the absence of information regarding community organizations and volunteer opportunities.

Also, we would expect differences among foreign born who become naturalized citizens and those who do not become citizens. To become a US citizen, immigrants must have a minimum of five years of continuous residence, English-language ability, knowledge of civics, and a repudiation of allegiance to other nations (Jasso and Rosenzweig, 1990). The move to obtain citizenship indicates a commitment to stay in the US and a certain level of acculturation (White, et al., 1993). A study on non-political group participation has found that citizens are more likely to participate than non-citizens (Leal, 2002). Among the three Asian American subgroups in our sample, Filipino immigrants become citizens at a faster and a higher rate than the other two groups because many came to the US after the World War II as veterans of the US armed forces or “war brides” or came after the 1965 Immigration Act as professionals, mainly medical personnel, who are more likely to get citizenship. Consequently, we would expect greater volunteering among Filipinos.

Literature on acculturation also shows that immigrants arriving as children tend to adapt well and quickly to the host environment—learning the language and adopting the way of thinking, and behaving in the host country. In contrast, those who migrated as adults may take more time to adjust (Ramakrishnan and Viramontes, 2006). Education is a means of integrating immigrants and ethnic minorities into the wider social-cultural mainstream, including the practice of school based-community service. Therefore, among the first-generation immigrants, those who arrive at the school age—especially before 10 years old (Reed, et al., 2005)—are more likely to learn about the mainstream norms and values of civic participation and volunteering from school.

A few Asian American volunteering studies focus on the differences in volunteering behavior between the first generation immigrants and the second and later generations. In a study of the second generation Asian Indians in the Silicon Valley, Gawlick (1997) noted that the first generation Asian Indians were concerned with securing their living conditions and establishing a social network through which they felt some degree of safety. Most of them socialized not only exclusively with their own Indian ethnic groups but also with their own religious groups. In contrast, the second-generation native-born Asian Indians were trying to find their way into the dominant culture by looking for ways in which they can contribute and shape mainstream America. The first generation Chinese Americans also show different interests and patterns of

volunteering from the second or later generations. When it comes to volunteering to formal institutions, the first-generation Chinese Americans often choose schools, hospitals, mutual aid associations, and religiously affiliated nonprofit organizations as the recipients of services (Chao, 1999; Smith, et. al. 1999). These choices reflect the high regard for education as an intellectual pursuit and a vehicle for success, the care and nurturing of the next generation, a collective sense of responsibility, and the obligation to the elderly in Chinese culture (Chao, 1999). The philanthropic behavior of the first generation Filipinos also differs significantly from that of the second and third generation. The first generation Filipinos often engage in informal giving or volunteering and they give or volunteer to causes related to the Philippines, to the ethnic community, and to the church. In contrast, the second and third generations no longer practice the traditional Filipino giving customs, mostly informal giving, and instead give to the causes that concern them in the US (Smith, et al., 1999).

Personal Resources

“Personal resources enable individuals to volunteer and make them more attractive to organizations seeking volunteers” (Sundeen et al., 2005). Level of education and income, which reflect personal resources or the amount of human capital one possesses, consistently predict volunteering (Smith, 1994; Sundeen and Raskoff, 1994; Brady et al., 1995; Rosenthal et al., 1998; Musick et al., 2000). Education increases empathy, heightens awareness of problems, enhances literacy and social skills to solve problems, heightens their attractiveness to organizations and, thus, boosts people’s willingness to volunteer and their chances of being asked to volunteer (Wilson, 2000). The evidence of income’s impact on volunteering is mixed. While most studies find higher income predicts volunteering (Menchik and Weisbrod, 1987; Hodgkinson et al., 1992; Sundeen 1992), some research finds a negative relation between income and hours volunteered (Freeman, 1997). If higher income were viewed as an indicator of dominant social status and occupational prestige, then we would expect its impact on volunteering to be positive. However, if we take rational choice theory’s view of volunteering as the opportunity cost of working, then people with higher income may be less likely to volunteer more hours since their opportunity cost of giving up work is high.

The impacts of education and income on volunteering are observed among Asian Americans. Since the 1965 Immigration Act, many professional and well educated Asian Indians, Chinese, and Filipinos have migrated to the US. Brettell (2005) found that voluntary organizations in the Dallas-Fort Worth (DFW) Indian community were thriving and Asian Indians demonstrated “a powerful commitment to volunteerism and action to promoting the voice of Asian Indians in the area and nationally”. She suggested the high *education status* of Asian Indians in the DFW metroplex, compared to the Asian Indians in other US cities, might have attributed to their high volunteerism and participation.

The literature on Chinese American philanthropy has shown that for Chinese to commit significant financial contributions, they must perceive a level of financial and occupational stability, i.e., higher income, not only for themselves, but also for their extended family members (Chao, 1999). The argument about charitable giving can be extended to the volunteering decision since engaging in unpaid volunteer work means giving up the potential income. Therefore, we expect Chinese with higher income to be more likely to volunteer as they are less constrained by the need to earn money.

Bowen (1990) assumed that education and income had positive impacts on volunteering among Filipinos. Although he found that volunteering did increase as education and income increase, yet the impacts were not statistically significant.

Social Resources

Social resources refer to the social ties and support systems that enable people to have opportunities and ample time to volunteer. According to Musick and his coauthors, few people begin volunteering on their own (Musick et al., 2000). Their social network—friends, neighbors, and work colleagues—provide them with information, act as role models, and build up a level of trust sufficient to persuade them to volunteer.

Also, family relations and the size of the community, which affect one's social network, provide social resources for volunteering (Wilson 2000; Sundeen et al., 2005). Married persons are more likely to volunteer than single people as the former tend to have higher social status (Smith, 1994) and are "more embedded into the community network..." (Sundeen, 1988). However, Sundeen (1990) also found that single persons without children volunteer the most hours, since this group has greater discretionary time for non-family activities and may want more social ties through volunteering to organizations

Parental status - the number of children in the household - provides both a constraint and an opportunity for volunteering (Wilson, 2000). Children's activities help their parents forge social links to schools, youth, and sports organizations. Parents are more likely to volunteer if they have children at home (Wuthnow, 1998) and often parents choose to volunteer to the organizations in which their children participate. However, more children means less time for volunteer work and parents with young children tend to volunteer fewer hours than those with older children (Menchik and Weisbrod, 1987; Wilson 2000).

Employment status reflects social integration, available time for volunteering (Wilson, 2000; Sundeen et al., 2005), and, to some extent, the level of one's skills. Therefore, employment status can be considered both a social resource and a personal resource. Studies show that part-time workers volunteer more than either full-time employed or unemployed persons (Hodgkinson et al., 1992; Hodgkinson and Weitzman, 1996).

In addition to the above indicators, the size of a community and homeownership also measure social resources. For example, Smith (1994) suggested that small communities, rather than large cities, are more congenial to volunteering since it is easier to share a sense of belonging and thus boost participation and volunteering in a small community. Homeowners may volunteer and participate more in community activities and organizations since homeownership not only indicates the wealth of a person, but also reflects "the degree to which one is integrated into the community and has a stake in its amenities, services and general quality of life" (Sundeen et al., 2005).

A few studies indicated the impact of social resources on Asian American volunteering. Brettell (2005) argued that the smaller size of the Asian Indian immigrant population in DFW metroplex, compared to other US cities, contributed to the high volunteerism and participation in the area.

She also found that Asian Indians volunteer or participate in ethnic associations for the purpose of building social contacts and exposing the culture to their *children*. Therefore, the presence of children in a family might promote volunteer behavior among Asian Indians. Chao (1999) found that since Chinese emphasized the importance of education and family, Saturday school was a major source of volunteering work in the Chinese American community. Families with children are more likely to get involved in the Saturday school activity and potentially volunteer to the school. Bowen (1990) also examined the impact of employment status, place of birth, and the number of children in school on Filipino volunteering. He found that retired military men are more likely to volunteer. However, the employment status, the number of children in school, and place of birth were not significantly related to volunteering.

Demographic Factors

In addition to the above indicators, gender and age are the two most common demographic factors that are considered determinants of volunteering. Dominant status theory argues, “participation is generally greater for individuals who are characterized by a more dominant set of social positions and roles” (Smith, 1983). Examples of dominant statuses include “male gender, middle age...married”. However, other studies find that females are more likely to volunteer, possibly due to being more caring, empathetic, and religious than males, or being more involved in their children’s education, or being unemployed outside of the home (Wilson and Musick, 1997a). In addition, gender makes a difference in the kind of organizations to which people volunteer. Females are found more likely to volunteer to caring, person-to-person tasks, but less likely to volunteer to public and political activities. Females are also more likely to volunteer in the company of friends (Wilson, 2000).

In terms of age, most research has found a curvilinear relationship between age and voluntary activities (Clotfelter, 1985; Florin et al., 1986). Middle-aged persons appear to be more likely to volunteer than younger and older persons as they are more integrated into the community (Sundeen, 1988). Also, they typically have skills or social networks that are more attractive to organizations, and thus are more likely to be asked to volunteer than youth and elderly. In addition, a high proportion of middle-aged persons are in their child rearing age and, therefore, they are more likely to be involved in volunteer work at school.

Kurien (2002) documented substantial *gender* differences in Asian Indian volunteerism. In some pan-Indian voluntary organizations, like the Indian Association of North Texas, the majority of the individuals who had served on the Board were men, which reflected the male-dominant culture of the Asian Indian community. Smith et. al. (1999) observed different patterns of philanthropic behavior between younger and elder Chinese Americans in the San Francisco Bay area. They found that older Chinese Americans gave both time and money, while the younger people were more likely to give time than money, such as organizing fundraising, and administering youth programs. This could depend on the difference of relative wealth of the younger and the older generation. In addition, they found that the motives for volunteering were similar across generations of Chinese American. Bowen (1990) tested the impact of age on volunteering among the Filipinos and found no statistically significant impact.

In general, Asian Indians, Chinese, and Filipinos share certain similarities in their volunteer behavior. They are often engaged in informal volunteering activities, such as helping neighbors

and extended families. In terms of factors that influence volunteering to organizations, we assume acculturation is important to all three Asian American subgroups. That is, residing for a longer period of time in the US, becoming more involved through schooling, taking the steps toward attaining citizenship will be associated with volunteering. The literature review also suggests differences in the correlates with volunteering according to levels social and personal resources, and demographic characteristics. Based on the literature review regarding personal and social resources, we expect education to have positive impact on the likelihood of volunteering among Asian Indians, while income is a key determinant of volunteering among Chinese. Both education and income may be important to Filipinos' decision to volunteer.

Following a description of findings regarding number of hours volunteered and types of organizations to which Asian Americans volunteer, we will test the following 10 hypotheses in the study:

Personal Resources:

H1: Level of education among Asian Americans will be positively associated with volunteering;

H2: Annual income among Asian Americans will be positively associated with volunteering;

Social Resources:

H3: Married Asian Americans are more likely to volunteer than single Asian Americans;

H4: The number of children among Asian Americans will be positively associated with volunteering;

H5: Employed Asian Americans are more likely to volunteer than unemployed Asian;

Acculturation:

H6: Foreign-born Asian American citizens are more likely to volunteer than non-citizens;

H7: The second and above generation of Asian Americans are more likely to volunteer than the first generation counterpart;

H8: Native-born Asian Americans are more likely to volunteer than the foreign-borns;

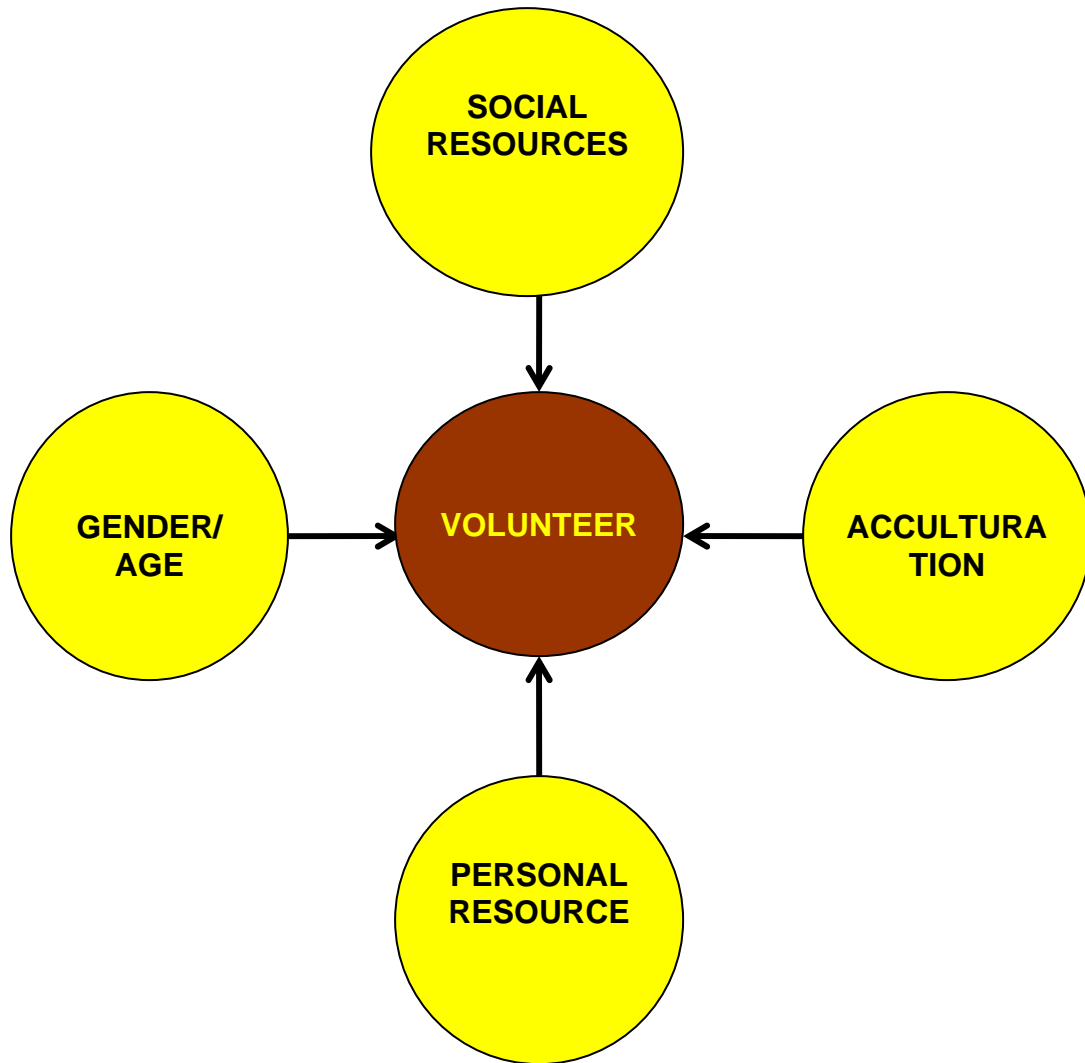
H9: Asian Americans who enter into the US before 10 years of age are more likely to volunteer than those who enter later;

Subgroups:

H10: Income level will be positively related to volunteering among Chinese; education will be positively related to volunteering among Asian Indians; Income and education will both be positively related to volunteering among Filipinos.

A summary of the conceptual model is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1:



Data and Research Methods

Sample and Selection

To test the exploratory hypotheses that social and personal, culture of origin, and the acculturation process affect volunteering, this study uses data from the September 2004 U.S. Current Population Survey (CPS) Supplement on volunteer, collected by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. “The CPS is a monthly survey of about 60,000 households that obtains information on employment and unemployment among the nation’s civilian non-institutional population age 16 and over” (Bureau of Labor Statistics: 2004:1). The supplement survey asks questions on respondents’ volunteering to formal organizations and their demographic characteristics, including race/ethnicity, income, education, immigration status, family status, and age. For the purpose of this study, we only included Asian, Asian Indian, Chinese, and Filipino samples in the analysis⁶. There are a total of 1,859 Asians, 276 Chinese, 234 Asian Indian, and 327 Filipinos in the study, which includes 1,383 Asian immigrants, 223 Chinese immigrants, 212 Asian Indian immigrants, and 271 Filipino immigrants, respectively. A Chi Square test revealed that all sub group samples are significantly different.

Dependent Variable

DEPENDENT VARIABLE	
1 When respondent is a volunteer ; 0 otherwise	
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	
VARIABLE	CODING
Gender	1 when respondent is Male ; 0 as female
Age	Continuous variable ranging from 15 to 80
PERSONAL RESOURCES	
Education	1=less than 1 st grade; 2= 1-4 grade; 3=5-6 grade; 4= 7-8 grade; 5=9 grade; 6=10 grade; 7=11grade; 8=12 grade no diploma; 9= high school graduate or equivalent (GED); 10= some college but no degree; associate degree occupational / vocational or associate degree-academic program; 11=bachelor's degree (ex: BA, AB, BS) 12= master's degree (ex: MA, MS, MEng, Med, MSW); 13=professional school or doctorate degree)
Income	1=less than \$5,000; 2= 5,000-7,499; 3= 7,500-9,999; 4=10,000-12,499; 5=12,500- 14,999; 6 =15,000 -19,999; 7 =20,000-24,999; 8=25,000-29,999; 9=30,000-34,999; 10=35,000-39,999; 11=40,000-49,999; 12=50,000-59,999; 13=60,000-74,999; 14= 75,000- 99,999; 15=100,000-149,999; 16=150,00 or more
SOCIAL RESOURCES	
Marital status	1 when respondent Married ; 0 as Single
Number of Own Children <18	Continuous variable
Employment status	1 when respondent is employed part time 2 when respondent is employed full time Unemployed (Coded as dummy)
ACCULTURATION	
Generation & Citizenship Interaction	1 when respondents is first generation and Non Citizen 2 when respondent is first generation and Naturalized Citizen 3 when respondent is mixed second generation and Native Born 4 when respondent is Third generation and Native Born Second generation and Native Born (Coded as dummy variable)
Age of Entry to US	1 when respondent immigrated to US before age 10 years Respondent immigrated to US at age 10 or more (Coded as dummy)

Volunteer The respondent was asked if he/she had performed unpaid volunteer activities through or for one of the eight types of organizations—civic, political, professional, or international; educational or youth service; environmental or animal care; hospital or other health; public safety; religious; social or community service; sport, hobby, cultural, or arts; or others—between September 1, 2003 and September 2004 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2004). Those who answered “yes” were coded as 1 and otherwise coded as 0

Independent Variables

Culture of Origin Since the literature shows that Asian countries have different cultures of volunteering and service, which may be reflected in their rate of volunteering, we include the country of origin to measure the impact of the original culture on Asian American volunteering in the US. As discussed in the conceptual framework, religion is an important part of a culture. However, since the CPS does not have information on respondents’ religious belief, we cannot examine the impact of religious affiliation or beliefs on volunteering.

Acculturation We measure acculturation with two variables: (1) the immigration, citizenship, and generation status and (2) the age of entry to the United States. We integrate immigration, citizenship, and generation status into a single variable of five categories: (1) foreign-born, first generation immigrants and non-citizens, (2) foreign-born, first generation immigrants and naturalized citizens, (3) native-born mixed second generation (those with one US born parent), (4) native born, third and above generation, and (5) native-born second generation, which is the baseline comparison group in the model⁷. This typology is based on the basic assumption that generational, family, and citizenship statuses interact as they affect one’s acculturation to the United States (which influences volunteer behavior). First, among foreign born individuals those who have made the effort to become naturalized citizens will be more acculturated than non citizens; second, among individuals born in the US, those with one parent also born in the US will be more acculturated than those where both parents who were both foreign born; and, third, among native born individuals, those who are third generation will be more acculturated than those who are second generation.

The age of entry is derived from two variables: current age of the respondent and his/her year of entry to the US. We then code the age of entry as a dummy variable, with 1 as respondent immigrated to US before age 10 years. Length of stay is excluded from the model due to its high collinearity with the age of entry variable.

Personal Resources Education is the respondents’ highest education or degree obtained. It ranges from less than 1st grade to professional school or doctorate degree and receives values from 1 to 13. Income is the respondent’s annual household income, which ranges from less than \$5,000 to \$150,000 or more, and receives values from 1 to 16. Education and income are both treated as continuous variables.

Social Resources We include three indicators of individual’s social resources in the model: marital status, the number of children in the household under 18 years of age, and employment status. Marital status is a dummy variable, with 1 as married and 0 as single. The number of children is a continuous variable. Employment status is a categorical variable with three

categories: unemployed, which is the comparison baseline, employed part time, and employed full time⁸.

Demographic Factors In the model, we control for the effects of two demographic variables: age and gender. Gender is a dummy variable with male coded as 1. Age is a continuous variable ranging from 16 to 80. As the relationship between age and volunteering may be curvilinear, we include the square term of age in the model.

Statistical Analysis

To answer the first and the last research questions, we apply descriptive statistics to determine the volunteer rate and the types of organizations to which Asian Americans and the three subgroups volunteer.

The analysis on the correlates with volunteering is conducted in two steps. In the first step, we examine the predictors of volunteering by *all* Asian Americans and Asian immigrants in the data set, respectively, including the country of origin as an independent variable in the model. In the second step, we exclude the country of origin variable from the model and examine separately the correlates with volunteering by *all* Asian Americans and each of the three Asian American subgroups. In the latter case, we report the findings of eight analyses: Asian (*all* Asian Americans in the data set) and Asian immigrants (foreign born), all Chinese, Asian Indian, and Filipinos in the dataset, and Chinese, Asian Indian, and Filipino immigrants.

Since the dependent variable, volunteering to formal organizations, is dichotomous, we use binary logistic regression method to analyze what factors affect the volunteering decision of each group. The result shows the likelihood of an individual volunteering to at least one of the eight types of organizations in the last year when controlling for the independent variables. SPSS program is used for the data analysis. For all models, we report four levels of significance—the probability of this finding occurring at random is less than 10 percent ($p < 0.10$, *), less than 5 percent ($p < 0.05$, **), less than 1 percent ($p < 0.01$, ***), and less than 0.1 percent ($p < 0.0001$, ****). The adjusted odds ratio is calculated to compare the likelihood of volunteering for people with different characteristics. In the next section, we discuss the results of our analysis and the major findings.

Results and Findings

Hours Volunteered

Asian Americans volunteered an average of 113.6 hours per volunteer in 2004-2005 to formal organizations (as shown in Table 2), compared to 114.6 hours among Asian immigrants who volunteered. Among the three subgroups, Filipino volunteered the most, an average of 158.3 hours annually, followed by Asian Indian (81 hours) and Chinese (73 hours). With respect to the immigrants, Filipino and Asian Indian immigrants volunteered an average of 30 and 3 hours more annually, respectively, than their counterparts. On the other hand, Chinese immigrants volunteered 3 hours less than Chinese overall. Similar to the rate of volunteering, the indicator of volunteer effort for all Filipinos and Filipino immigrants may also reflect the tradition they have brought to the US in combination with their greater likelihood to be second generation and citizens.

Table 2: Hours and Type of Organizations Volunteered

	ASIANS	ASIAN IMMIGRANTS	CHINESE	CHINESE IMMIGRANTS	ASIAN INDIANS	ASIAN INDIAN IMMIGRANTS	FILIPINOS	FILIPINO IMMIGRANTS
Number of Volunteers	N=416	N=273	N=51	N=37	N=60	N=51	N=67	N=52
Annual Hours Volunteered (S.D.)	113.6 (250.9)	114.6 (279.6)	73.1 (180.0)	70.3 (213.0)	81.0 (156.6)	84.4 (167.8)	158.3 (358.0)	187.6 (400.9)
Type of Organizations								
1. Religious	34.4	38.2	28.3	28.6	1.6	15.4	42.4	45.1
2. Children's Educational	20.7	22.6	13.2	14.3	31.1	36.5	22.7	19.6
3. Social & Community Service	14.7	12.7	20.8	14.3	24.6	21.2	10.4	11.8
4. Cultural or Arts	5.5	4.9	5.7	5.7	8.2	9.6	3.0	2.0
5. Health	5.7	5.3	5.7	8.6	8.2	3.8	6.1	5.9

Types of Volunteer Areas

The importance of religion to Asian Americans and their subgroups is apparent. With one exception, religious organizations attract the largest proportion of Asian American volunteers. One third (34%) of all Asian Americans volunteer to religious organizations, followed by children's educational organizations (21%) and social and community services organizations (15%). Among the three subgroups, Filipinos also volunteered the most for religious organizations (42%), followed by education (23%) and social service organizations (10%). Similarly, 28% of Chinese volunteered to religious organizations (28%), followed by social and community services (21%) and children's educational organizations (13%). The Asian Indians comprise a unique subgroup with less than 2% volunteering to religious organizations. Children's educational organization attracted the greatest proportion of Asian Indian volunteers (31%), followed by the social and community services organizations (25%), and cultural (8%) and health (8%) organizations.

With respect to the immigrants, they volunteered for similar types of organizations as their counterparts. The only difference was between Asian Indian immigrants and the overall Asian Indian group. Unlike the overall Asian Indians, 15% of Asian Indian immigrants volunteered for religious organizations.

The Rate of Volunteering

Compared to the national rate of volunteering (28.8%), Table 3a (bottom row) shows that 23% of all Asian American respondents volunteered for formal organizations during 2004-05. Among the three Asian subgroups, as expected, Filipinos volunteered to formal organizations at the highest rate (26%), followed by Asian Indian (21%) and Chinese (19%). The rate of volunteering of all Asian Americans and the three subgroups are lower than the national rate

The rates of volunteering of the *immigrant* groups are generally 2% lower than that of the overall population (see Table 3b bottom row). Twenty-four percent of Asian Indian immigrants volunteered for formal organizations in 2004-05, followed by Filipino immigrants (20%) and Chinese immigrants (17%). The differences in the rates of volunteering are not statistically significant either among Asian Americans and the three subgroups or among the corresponding immigrant groups. Nevertheless, there may be important differences between the groups in the predictors of volunteering.

Table 3a: Descriptive Statistics for Asian Americans and the Subgroups

VARIABLES	CODING	ASIAN Mean(S.D.)/ Percentage N=1859	CHINESE Mean(S.D.)/ Percentage N=276	ASIAN INDIAN Mean(S.D.)/ Percentage N= 234	FILIPINOS Mean(S.D.)/ Percentage N=327
DEPENDENT VARIABLES					
Volunteering	1= volunteering; otherwise 0	23.2	18.8	20.9	26.0
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES					
Gender	Male	46.1	44.9	51.5	40.2
Age		43.2 (16.5)	43.9(16.7)	37.2(12.3)	44.6(15.4)
PERSONAL RESOURCES					
Education		9.9(2.3)	9.8(3.0)	11.0(1.8)	9.8(2.1)
Income		8.6(6.3)	8.4(6.6)	9.8(6.3)	8.8(6.1)
SOCIAL RESOURCES					
Married		62.1	67.0	69.2	67.9
Number of Own Children <18		0.6(1.0)	0.5(0.9)	0.7(1.0)	0.7(1.0)
Employment status	Employed part time	56.9	56.3	61.9	11.8
	Employed full time	9.7	8.8	9.1	60.4
	Unemployed (Coded as dummy)	33.4	34.9	29.0	27.7
ACCULTURATION					
Generation & Citizenship Interaction	1 st generation & Non Citizen	36.0	42.3	8.2	31.8
	1 st generation & Naturalized Citizen	39.7	39.7	35.9	53.0
	Mixed 2 nd generation & Native Born	3.5	4.4	0	3.7
	3 rd generation & Native Born	10.2	0	0	0
	2 nd generation & Native Born (Coded as dummy)	10.6	13.6	0.4	11.5

Table 3b: Descriptive Statistics for Asian American Immigrants and the Subgroups

VARIABLES	CODING	ASIAN IMMIGRANT Mean(S.D.)/ Percentage N=1383	CHINESE IMMIGRANT Mean(S.D.)/ Percentage N=223	ASIAN INDIAN IMMIGRANT Mean(S.D.)/ Percentage N=212	FILIPINO IMMIGRANT Mean(S.D.)/ Percentage N=271
DEPENDENT VARIABLES					
Volunteering	1= volunteering; otherwise 0	20.6	16.9	24.4	19.6
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES					
Gender	Male	46.0	47.5	51.7	38.9
Age		42.5(15.0)	43.9(16.3)	38.1(12.2)	45.7(14.9)
PERSONAL RESOURCES					
Education		9.9(2.5)	9.8(3.2)	11.0(1.8)	9.9(2.2)
Income		8.5(6.1)	7.9(6.6)	9.8(6.4)	8.7(6.0)
SOCIAL RESOURCES					
Married		67.8	71.4	74.5	72.3
Number of Own Children <18		0.7(1.0)	0.6(0.9)	0.8(1.0)	0.7(1.0)
Employment status	Employed part time	9.1	7.8	9.6	10.4
	Employed full time	59.2	58.0	62.7	63.4
	Unemployed (Coded as dummy)	31.7	34.2	27.8	26.0
ACCULTURATION					
Citizenship	Foreign Born/ Non-Citizen	47.2	51.1	61.7	36.6
	Foreign Born/ Naturalized Citizen (Coded as dummy)	52.8	48.9	38.3	63.4
Age of Entry to US	Immigrated to US before age 10	9.5	6.8	5.7	7.2
	Immigrated to US at age 10 or older (Coded as dummy)	90.5	93.2	94.3	92.8

Correlates with Volunteering for Asians, Asian Sub Samples, and Immigrants

We first examined the correlates with volunteering by Asian Americans and Asian immigrants, including the country of origin as an independent variable in the model. In this analysis, while we did not find significant differences in the likelihood to volunteer among three Asian subgroups, results are included in the appendix. Further, while country of origin does not predict volunteering, except for Korean-born immigrants whose sample size in the data set was not sufficient to be analyzed separately, we are still interested in examining the correlates with volunteering among the three national origin subgroups - Asian Indians, Chinese, Filipinos, and their respective immigrants. Therefore, in the second step, we exclude the country of origin variable from the volunteering model and examine separately the correlates with volunteering by each of the three Asian American subgroups (as shown in Table 4).

Table 4: Logistic Regression Analysis Results--Asian Origins: Sub Sample and Immigrants

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES		ASIANS	ASIAN IMMIGRANTS	CHINESE	CHINESE IMMIGRANTS	ASIAN INDIANS	ASIAN INDIAN IMMIGRANTS	FILIPINOS	FILIPINO IMMIGRANTS
SAMPLE SIZE		N=1859	N=1383	N=276	N=223	N=234	N=212	N=327	N=271
VARIABLE	CATEGORIES	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
Gender		-0.313 ^{***}	-0.246 [*]	-0.388	-0.432	0.210	0.143	-0.671 ^{**}	-0.430
Age		0.023	-0.007	-0.030	0.021	0.067	0.058	0.031	0.104
Age²		0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	-0.001	-0.001	0.000	-0.001
PERSONAL RESOURCES									
Education		0.225 ^{****}	0.190 ^{****}	0.115	0.065	0.332 ^{**}	0.305 ^{**}	0.095	0.102
Income		0.054 ^{****}	0.058 ^{****}	0.089 ^{***}	0.108 ^{***}	0.039	0.043	0.050 [*]	0.058 [*]
SOCIAL RESOURCES									
Married		-0.182	-0.155	-0.198	-0.506	0.497	0.529	-0.067	0.125
Number of Children		0.142 ^{**}	0.134 [*]	0.205	0.347	0.233	0.267	0.134	0.105
Employment Status	Employed part time	0.104	0.450 [*]	-0.775	-1.275	-0.027	0.345	-0.510	-0.071
	Employment full time	-0.421 ^{***}	-0.304 [*]	-0.321	-0.132	-0.715	-0.362	-0.500	-0.593
ACCULTURATION									
Citizenship/ Generation interaction	Foreign Born/ Non Citizen /1st Generation	-0.965 ^{****}	-0.677 ^{****}	-1.252 ^{***}	-0.594	-1.859 ^{***}	-0.941 ^{**}	-1.880 ^{****}	-1.373 ^{***}
	Foreign Born/ Naturalized Citizen /1st Generation	-0.354 [*]	Dummy	-0.471	Dummy	-0.771	Dummy	-0.346	Dummy
	Native Born/ Mixed 2nd Generation	-0.364	N/A	0.389	N/A	N/A	N/A	-0.124	N/A
	Native Born/Third + Generation	0.221	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Age of Entry		N/A	0.246	N/A	-0.765	N/A	-0.653	N/A	-0.420
Constant		-3.546 ^{****}	-3.232 ^{****}	-1.691	-2.284	-5.172 ^{**}	-5.296 [*]	-2.169	-4.321 ^{**}
Percent Predicted Correct		76.9	79.8	78.6	84.3	77.4	79.2	78.9	80.8

Acculturation and Volunteering

Asians All The citizenship and birthplace/generation both affect Asian Americans' chance to volunteer. The *second* generation, *native-born* Asian Americans are significantly more likely to volunteer to formal organizations than the *first* generation, foreign-born, *non-citizen* Asians and *naturalized* Asian Americans. Among the native-born Asian Americans, the *mixed second* generation (those with one US born parent) and the *third* generation are not significantly different from the second generation. *Subgroups All* For the three Asian American subgroups, citizenship is an important factor in determining the likelihood to volunteer. While the second-generation, *native-born* (US citizens) Chinese, Asian Indian, and Filipino groups are all significantly more likely to volunteer to formal organizations than their first generation, *non-citizens* counterparts, they are not significantly different from the first generation, *naturalized* counterparts in the likelihood to volunteer to formal organizations.

Immigrants All With respect to all Asian immigrants, even when controlling for age of entry to the US, those who are naturalized citizens are 97% more likely to volunteer to formal organizations than those who are not citizens ($p < 0.01$)⁹. This is consistent with our assumption that naturalized citizens will have a better sense of belonging compared to the non-citizen immigrants and, therefore, are more likely to contribute their time and money to serve the community in the US.

The effect of citizenship on volunteering among immigrants, however, is not the same among the three Asian subgroups. While the *naturalized* Asian Indian and Filipino immigrants are still significantly more likely to volunteer than their *non-citizen* counterparts, there is no difference in volunteering between Chinese Americans who are *naturalized* citizens and *non-citizens*. In addition, the analysis does not find any significant impact of the age of entry to US on the likelihood to volunteer among the Asian immigrant groups.

Personal Resources and Volunteering

Personal resources, especially the level of education and income, significantly increase the likelihood to volunteer among all Asian Americans. Nevertheless, the impact of education and income on the volunteering of three Asian subgroups varies. The level of education is only positively associated with volunteering by Asian Indians, while income is positively associated with volunteering by Chinese and Filipino.

The results are similar among the respective immigrant groups: education and income increases the likelihood to volunteer by all Asian immigrants. However, for the three subgroups, education is positively associated with volunteering only in the case of Asian Indian immigrants, while income is positively associated with volunteering by Chinese and Filipino immigrants.

Social Resources and Volunteering

Asians All The number of children positively affect all Asian Americans' likelihood to volunteer. In addition, compared to those employed full-time, unemployed Asian Americans are more likely to volunteer. However, the marital status is not a significant determinant in Asian American's likelihood to volunteer.

Asian Immigrants The results for the Asian immigrants differ slightly from that of the overall Asian Americans. Part time employment status significantly increases the likelihood to volunteer for Asian immigrants. Those employed part-time are 1.57 times more likely to volunteer than those unemployed¹⁰. The finding supports the argument that partial employment provides a social network resource for immigrants which, when combined with adequate discretionary time, increases the chance of volunteering and participation. In contrast, employed full time would constrain the time available for civic involvement.

Subgroups All For the Asian subgroups, the three social resource indicators are not significantly associated with the likelihood to volunteer to formal organizations.

Subgroup Immigrants For the three Asian immigrant subgroups, the indicators of social resources are still not significantly associated with their likelihood to volunteer.

Age, Gender, and Volunteering

Overall, Asian American females and Filipino females are significantly more likely to volunteer than their male counterparts. However, the gender differences are neither significant among Chinese, Asian Indians nor the subgroup immigrants. Age and the square term of age are not significantly associated with the likelihood to volunteer to formal organizations in the four groups and their immigrant counterparts.

Discussion and Conclusion

The increasing racial and ethnic diversity in the US and, especially, the rapid growth of Asian population calls for greater scholarly attention to their volunteer behavior. In addition, the diversity of language, culture, religious beliefs, and history within the Asian American population requires further exploration of the different forms of civic behavior, including volunteering, among Asian subgroups. This study provides an empirical supplement to the existing qualitative research on Asian and its subgroups' volunteering behavior.

In the paper, we have addressed four main questions: (1) how many hours and to which type of voluntary organizations each Asian subgroup volunteers (2) whether Asian Americans and Asian American immigrants in general and whether Asian Indians, Chinese, and Filipinos differ in their rates of volunteering to a formal organizations, (3) what are the predictors of volunteering within each Asian American subgroup, (4) does acculturation affect the level of volunteering among Asians, and? The answers to these questions are summarized as the following:

Filipinos expend greater levels of effort in volunteering, e.g., greater number of hours volunteered per year, than the other two subgroups and Filipino immigrants volunteer more hours than the whole Filipino group. In fact, the Filipino immigrants volunteer hours are twice the amount than the Chinese and Asian Indian groups (all and immigrants). However, neither country of origin nor immigrant status affects (in terms of statistically significant differences) participation in particular types of volunteer organizations or the level of effort (hours volunteered per year).

Table 5: A Summary of the Correlates with Volunteering

	ASIANS	ASIAN IMMIGRANTS	CHINESE	CHINESE IMMIGRANTS	ASIAN INDIANS	ASIAN INDIAN IMMIGRANTS	FILIPINOS	FILIPINO IMMIGRANTS
Personal Resources	Education (+), Income (+)	Education (+), Income (+)	Income (+)	Income (+)	Education (+)	Education (+)	Income (+)	Income (+)
Social Resources	Unemployed (+) ^a Number of Children (+)	Unemployed (+) ^a Employed part-time (+) ^b Number of Children (+)	–	–	–	–	–	–
Acculturation	2 nd generation native-born (+) ^{c,d}	Naturalized citizen (+)	2 nd generation native-born (+) ^c	–	2 nd generation native-born (+) ^c	Naturalized citizen (+)	2 nd generation native-born (+) ^c	Naturalized citizen (+)
Age and Gender	Female (+)	Female (+)	–	–	–	–	Female (+)	–

Note: a. Compared to employed full-time.
 b. Compared to unemployed.
 c. Compared to 1st generation foreign-born non-citizen.
 d. Compared to 1st generation foreign-born naturalized citizen.

Asian Americans, including the three subgroups, tend to volunteer most frequently to religious, children's educational, social and community service, cultural or arts, and health organizations, although their rankings – that is, which type of organization receives the greatest participation – differ slightly. Particularly dramatic is the difference in participation in religious organizations between the Asian Indian groups and the others in that only a small proportion of Indians devote volunteer time to religious organizations. This might be a function of how Hindu temples operate and whether or not a member volunteers to an activity sponsored by the temple in the same way a Christian might volunteer to her church as a teacher or organist, whether there are Hindu sponsored social service projects to which they can volunteer, or whether Asian Americans have secularized to the extent that they tend not to participate in religious activities.

One other finding of interest is that volunteering to children's and educational organizations is higher than volunteering to social and community service organizations for the Filipino and Asian Indian groups, but not the Chinese. While the differences are not statistically significant, one wonders if the finding contradicts the assumption that Chinese Americans find Saturday School a popular place to volunteer.

The country of origin does not significantly affect the likelihood of volunteering by Asian Americans and the respective immigrants (except in the case of Korean immigrants who volunteered at a statistically significant higher rate than the other groups). Further, although findings show differences exist between the three groups in their rates of volunteering, those differences are not statistically significant.

As found in most research on volunteering, these findings indicate that personal and social resources, acculturation, and gender do matter for Asian American volunteering, although in different ways (as summarized in Table 5). For all Asian Americans, including immigrants, education and income levels, children in the household, greater discretionary time (or not being full time employed), and being female are positively associated with whether or not one volunteers. The only difference between the all Asian American and the Asian American immigrant groups is that the latter group's volunteers are also more likely to be employed part time.

On the other hand, the role of resources and gender differs among the subgroups. Only educational level predicts volunteering among the overall Chinese and Filipinos subgroups and immigrants, while only income level predicts volunteering for the Asian Indians, including immigrants. Further, while social resources of family life, e.g., having children in the home, support volunteering among the all Asian American groups (both overall and immigrants), none of the social resource indicators predict volunteering among the three subgroups. The role of females as a volunteer is only found among the overall Filipino group. These findings regarding social resources and gender are unexpected and require further study.

As expected, acculturation influences who will volunteer. Asians born in the US and immigrants who have become citizens are most likely to volunteer, although when comparing first and second generation Asians, birthplace appears to be more important than citizenship. Also, acculturation plays a major role in influencing the decision to volunteer in the three overall subgroups, as well as among all immigrants except for Chinese. Among the overall groups,

those second generation Asian Indians and Filipinos – born in the US – are more likely to volunteer than those who are first generation. Also, among immigrants (except Chinese), the volunteering by those who have become naturalized citizens exceeds their non- citizen counterparts (even when controlling for age of entry into the US). For Chinese, citizenship does not make a difference.

This paper is the first attempt to examine empirically the volunteer behavior among Asian American subgroups in the US. The limitations of the sample size and the availability of the data relevant to volunteering somewhat constrain the findings. For example, we did not include the size of the community where the respondents reside in the analysis due to the large number of missing values for Asian Americans in the data. In addition, while the number of children and the employment status are significant correlates with the overall Asian American groups' volunteering, in the subgroups analysis, the two variables did not have a similar significant impact on the likelihood to volunteer. The different results may be caused by small sample size of the Asian American subgroups. Finally, in this study, age of entry to the US is not significantly related to the chance of volunteering among Asian immigrants and three Asian subgroup immigrants. It could be due to small sample size or due to truly lack of impact on volunteering.

Moreover, with regard to available data, religion has been consistently found to be an important factor in affecting volunteering behavior and given Asians' participation in Christian, Buddhist, Hindu, and Moslem religious institutions, we would expect to find a correlation with their volunteering. However, since the CPS does not collect information on respondents' religious beliefs, we cannot address the impact of religion on the decision to volunteer among Asian Americans and the subgroups. Secondly, as the literature review shows, Asian Americans may engage significantly in informal volunteer and helping behavior, such as providing a ride or care for relatives or elderly neighbors, which may underestimate their volunteering activity when we only focus on formal volunteering (as done by the CPS). In the future, a dataset with a larger Asian sample and its subgroup sample sizes, inclusion of indicators of religiosity and informal helping will enable further and more comprehensive examination of volunteering and civic engagement by Asian Americans.

Despite the limitations, the study furthers our understanding of volunteering behavior, especially the rate of volunteering, the correlates with volunteering, and the types of organizations volunteered to, among Asian Americans and the three significant Asian American subgroups. Additionally, our findings regarding the importance of generational differences and citizenship for volunteering are especially significant for the current national discussion regarding immigrations.

The findings of the research have important implications for identifying, recruiting and motivating Asian Americans, especially the three subgroups. First, to recruit and motivate first generation Chinese immigrants to volunteer, organizations should emphasize that the networks and skills obtained through volunteering help them connect to the mainstream and survive in the US. This helps them to see that it is in their interests to get involved in the community and to volunteer. Second, to recruit and motivate Asian Americans who have passed the survive stage, organizations need to understand the differences in Asian American culture and engage

volunteers in activities that are deemed important in their respective cultures. For example, Asian Indians emphasize children's education, while the Filipinos emphasize religious services.

NOTES:

1. Some scholars use civic participation and volunteering interchangeably. They refer to membership and involvement in groups such as neighborhood associations, faith-based groups, educational associations, and ethnic organizations (Ramakrishnan and Viramontes, 2006).
2. According to the Independent Sector, the estimated dollar value of volunteer time is \$18.04 per hour in 2005.
http://www.independentsector.org/programs/research/volunteer_time.html#value
3. In 2000 U.S. Census, respondents are allowed to check multiple races. Here, we only count Asian alone population. If Asian Americans with two or more races are included, the growth rate would be even higher.
4. The in-depth interview method usually involves a small number of subjects selected from a few geographic areas, often metropolitan areas where the Asian American population is concentrated, such as San Francisco, Los Angeles, New York, and Seattle.
5. The 2001 World Values Survey data for China, India, and Philippines are downloaded from the World Values Survey website, <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/>
6. Asians who also identify themselves as Hispanics are excluded from the analysis since the culture of Hispanic Asians may differ from the other Asians. Taiwanese are not included in the Chinese category for the same reason.
7. See Marin and Marin's (1990) for a classification of generation.
8. The size of the community is not included in the analysis due to large number of missing values for Asian Americans in the data. The homeownership is not included due to its high correlation with the income variable.
9. The adjusted odds ratio for the effect of naturalization on volunteering is calculated as $OR=1/(\exp(\beta_{\text{non-citizen}}))=1/\exp(-0.677)=1.97$.
10. The adjusted odds ratio for the effect of employment on volunteering is calculated as $OR=\exp(\beta_{\text{part-time}})=\exp(0.45)=1.57$.

Appendix A
Logistic Regression Analysis Results

Countries of Origin as Independent Variables: Asian and Asian Immigrants

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES		ASIANS	ASIAN IMMIGRANTS
SAMPLE SIZE		N=1830	N=1360
VARIABLE	CATEGORIES	B	B
Gender		-0.308***	-0.221
Age		0.023	-0.005
Age²		0.000	0.000
PERSONAL RESOURCES			
Education		0.223****	0.190****
Income		0.056****	0.058****
SOCIAL RESOURCES			
Married		-0.221	-0.199
Number of Own Children <18		0.164**	0.165**
Employment Status	Employment part time	0.121	0.476*
	Employed full time	-0.434***	-0.322*
ACCULTURATION			
Citizenship/ Generation interaction	Foreign Born/ Non Citizen/1st Generation	-1.059****	Dummy
	Foreign Born/ Naturalized Citizen /1st Generation	-0.447**	-0.715****
	Native Born/ Mixed 2nd Generation	-0.278	N/A
	Native Born/Third + Generation	0.243	N/A
Origin	Japan	-0.259	0.095
	Korea	0.364	0.462*
	India	0.246	0.303
	Philippines	-0.020	0.034
	Vietnam	0.044	-0.075
	Other	0.264	0.362
Age of Entry to US		N/A	0.275
Constants		-3.662****	-3.571****
Percent Predicted Correct		77.3	79.7

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