Forms of Distinction and Variations in Social Participation from Early Adulthood to Midlife: a Lifecourse Perspective using Longitudinal Data

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Abstract

Social participation has a wide variety of benefits affecting health and social outcomes at individual, community, and national levels. This, along with concerns that levels of participation are in decline, have led to the expansion of interest in the factors that motivate and restrict social participation from both researchers and policy makers; with encouraging participation at all lifecourse stages a particular policy aim. This research develops understandings of how social participation varies across the lifecourse using a longitudinal cohort study and its qualitative sub-study. Previous studies largely used cross-sectional and short-term panel data and so were unable to track the development of social participation and social relationships across the lifecourse. The relationships between social participation, social class, gender, and employment and family characteristics are also investigated. Social class and previous participation experience are shown to have a consistent relationship with social participation, while the relationship between social participation, employment and the family shifts across the lifecourse. The gendered nature of social participation and responsibilities towards the family and employment are highlighted. The qualitative analysis indicated social participation is potentially underreported in quantitative data and identified novel themes that provided insight into the class-based patterns of social participation by showing it is valued widely, albeit in different ways. These findings are discussed in relation to Bourdieu's concept of habitus as it is argued that the experiences of those of a higher social class during their childhood develops the dispositions, or habitus, that encourages social participation behaviours across the lifecourse. Efforts aimed at increasing social participation must consider the diversity, or current lack thereof, of participants. This research showcases the strength of using longitudinal data, with both qualitative and quantitative analyses in depicting the relationships and nuances in lifecourse social participation behaviours.

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 Research Context

Social participation encompasses a wide range of activities including organisation membership, volunteering, and interaction with friends and neighbours. Communities with high levels of social participation are healthier, both mentally and physically, better able to recover from negative events such as natural disasters, and have higher levels of support exchanged between community members (Aldrich & Meyer, 2015; Gray, 2016; Leone & Hessel, 2016; Poortinga, 2012). These positive outcomes ripple out from the individuals participating and the communities in which they participate to affect national outcomes including economic growth (Edwards et al., 2014). In the UK volunteering was valued at £23.9 billion in 2016, and the voluntary sector contributed £17.1 billion to the UK economy, representing 0.85% of GDP (National Council for Voluntary Organisations, 2019). Social participation has important outcomes for individuals, communities, and the country.

There have, however, been concerns regarding declines in social participation. In 2000, Robert Putnam published *Bowling Alone* in which he charted declines across all forms of participation in America (Putnam, 2000). He showed political, civic, and religious participation, philanthropy, and informal connections had suffered declines over the preceding decades, and this had negative effects on educational performance, neighbourhood safety, democratic processes, trust, health, and happiness. He argued that the declines were the cumulative result of a variety of social and technological changes, notably the rise of television as entertainment, women increasingly entering the workforce, suburban sprawl and the resulting increased commuting times, and generational change whereby the 'long civic generation', who were heavily engaged in community life, were replaced by the baby boomers, a less civic-minded generation.

These declines identified by Putnam were met with both concern and criticism. One such criticism focussed on whether the declines were American-focussed, or whether Putnam's observations were replicated in other countries. Writing before the publication of *Bowling Alone* in 2000, but considering Putnam's earlier work, Hall (1999) did not identify any decline in social participation in the UK. Instead, he considered the number of social organisations and people participating in them to be at a healthy level. The National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO) in

2017 also reported that, although some declines were noted in traditional organisations, there was no evidence of a decline in overall social participation in the UK (Hornung et al., 2017). Instead, new forms of participation were emerging. These arguments show that social participation declines and their causes identified by Putnam in *Bowling Alone* are disputed and may not be applicable in different contexts.

While the UK's decline in social participation is debated, encouraging social participation has become a key policy area for successive governments in light of the considerable benefits associated with social participation. An element of the Third Way, promoted by New Labour governments in the 2000s, encouraged a mixed economy of welfare whereby the public sector worked alongside the private and voluntary sectors in order to provide services. The Conservative election campaign in 2010 focussed on the concept of the Big Society which aimed to promote social action and empower communities alongside supporting the voluntary sector as a provider of public services (Coote, 2010; Hornung et al., 2017). Most recently, in 2018, the government published its Civil Society Strategy, which detailed the importance of maintaining community social capital alongside financial and physical capital by encouraging individuals' action within their communities and across their lives (Cabinet Office, 2018). The success of these policies is questionable, however, and they can be viewed as a continuing effort to place the responsibility for service provision on the voluntary sector (Milbourne & Cushman, 2013; Savage & Pratt, 2013). Nevertheless, the existence of these policies highlights the importance of social participation in the UK policy landscape.

The wide-ranging beneficial outcomes, the fears of decline, and the increasing policy concerns, have driven research interest in social participation and the characteristics of those who participate. Determining the characteristics of participants can assist in understanding the barriers and motivations to participation. Volunteers in the UK have been shown to be mostly women, aged 65+, and of a higher socioeconomic status, although this profile varies considerably depending on the type of activities participated in (Brodie, Cowling, Nissen, Paine, & Warburton, 2009; Hornung et al., 2017). Social class has been consistently identified as a key determinant of participatory behaviour, with those participating being of a higher social class (Brodie et al., 2009; Hietanen, Aartsen, Kiuru, Lyyra, & Read, 2016; Irwin & Elley, 2011). This class-based split between participants and non-participants can produce an unequal distribution of the benefits of social participation.

The reasons for this class-based divide in social participation may be explained by Bourdieu's concept of habitus. Habitus describes the dispositions that develop as a result of experiences through education and socialisation practices. These practices are different for different social classes and so the resulting habitus is also stratified by class. While habitus has been largely used to explain class-based differences in cultural preferences, most notably music tastes, recent developments have suggested it may be useful in other contexts, including the class disparities present in social participation (Dean, 2016; Harflett, 2015). Bourdieu's theory of habitus is useful in linking past experiences with future outcomes, and therefore can be incorporated in research that adopts a lifecourse perspective. This thesis considers the fundamental nature of the association between social class and social participation across the lifecourse.

In addition to characteristics such as social class that distinguish between participants and non-participants, there is evidence that employment and family characteristics can also impact the likelihood of engaging in social participation. However, research has observed certain contradictions in the relationship between these characteristics and participation. For example, while some find marriage restricts social participation, others find it promotes participation, although this can depend on specific circumstances (Kim & Dew, 2016; Sarkisian & Gerstel, 2015). The relationship between these lifecourse factors and social participation can be considered highly complex and so examining the relationship between these factors and social participation is an aim of this thesis.

Research investigating these patterns of social participation has, in the main, used cross-sectional or short-term panel data. This is limited as it cannot observe the longer-term trajectories of participation and how these relate to the changes that occur across the lifecourse. In order to investigate the relationship between social participation and changes in family and employment characteristics over the lifecourse, this thesis uses longitudinal data collected over fifty years in order to track social participation behaviours across the lifecourse. There is also evidence that alternative research methods can provide different understandings of social participation and so this thesis uses a variety of methods in order to capture the nuanced nature of social participation patterns. Using data from the same source, this thesis assesses social participation cross-sectionally in midlife, longitudinally across the lifecourse, and qualitatively in order to consider the personal narratives that are not captured by quantitative data.

1.2 Aims & Research Questions

This thesis aims to improve understandings of social participation across the lifecourse and how it relates to sociodemographic characteristics such as social class, and employment and family characteristics. Firstly, it examines the patterns of social participation across the lifecourse and in midlife. Secondly, it aims to identify the characteristics of those who participate, how these differ from those who do not participate, and how these characteristics change across the lifecourse. In particular, it is concerned with changes and consistencies in the relationships between social participation, employment and family characteristics, and social class. Finally, it aims to examine how social participation is experienced, and how accounts differ between those with contrasting social participation histories and social class backgrounds. The following research questions are therefore the focus of this thesis:

1. What patterns of social participation are undertaken across the lifecourse and in midlife?
2. How do patterns of social participation relate to sociodemographic, employment, and family characteristics??
3. How do those with different lifecourse trajectories of social participation and from different social class backgrounds experience social participation?

1.3 Thesis Outline

Chapter 2 is a literature review of existing research assessing social participation in order to provide the context and theories that underpin this thesis. Key debates in social participation research will be introduced, and research assessing patterns of social participation across time, across social groups, and across the lifecourse will be examined. The theoretical perspectives used by this thesis are introduced, with a focus of the potential of Bourdieu's habitus in explaining the development of class-based distinctions between those who engage in social participation and those who do not.

Chapter 3 provides an examination of the data and methods used within this thesis. It details the benefits of using longitudinal data to assess social participation and introduces the National Child Development Study (NCDS) and the associated Social Participation and Identity Study (SPIS). The analytical methods selected for this study are discussed and justified.

Chapter 4 focuses on the analysis of NCDS social participation measures. Repeated Measures Latent Class Analysis (RMLCA) is used to identify trajectories of social participation across the lifecourse, providing details of ages where participation is more likely and where it is less likely, and how this differs for different groups. It also examines the patterns of social participation in midlife by considering the types of organisations engaged in at this age in order to provide greater nuance to understandings of how social participation is patterned over time and across social groups. The results of this analysis are discussed in relation to Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and distinction, and the contrasting Omnivore Thesis.

Chapter 5 aims to explain the trajectories and patterns of social participation identified in the previous chapter and uses logistic regression models to consider how these patterns relate to sociodemographic and lifecourse factors such as economic activity and family characteristics. This is undertaken in order to show the stability of some factors in enabling participation, and the fluctuations in others. The results highlight the stability of social class and previous participation in determining social participation and so are related to Bourdieu's concepts of habitus. The connections with existing research regarding the relationships between social participation and employment and the family are also considered.

Chapter 6 uses the qualitative SPIS to examine experiences of social participation. Cohort members were selected for this study based on their social participation

patterns and social class backgrounds. The results highlight the varied experiences of social participation, and how reports of participation in the SPIS interviews compare to those given in the NCDS. This chapter details how forms of social participation are valued differently, and how the values placed on certain behviours can maintain social class distinctions. This qualitative analysis also identifies examples that demonstrate the nature of the habitus that guides social participation behaviours, with examples relating to social mobility and the dark side of social capital emerging.

Chapter 7 concludes this research by drawing together the findings from the empirical chapters to provide a greater understanding of the consistencies, fluctuations, and experiences of social participation across the lifecourse. The limitations of this study are also discussed here, and the implications of these findings for researchers investigating patterns of social participation and for policy makers who wish to encourage greater social participation are examined.

Chapter 2 - Understandings of Social Participation

2.1 Introduction

Social participation has received increasing attention from researchers and policymakers due to the wide variety of benefits resulting from social participation that operate at individual, community, and national-levels. Additionally, Robert Putnam's study of declines in levels of social participation in America has resulted in fears regarding the levels of participation and the affect this may have on outcomes such as health, social cohesion, and economic development. In the UK, policy over the past twenty years has focussed on enabling social participation in order to meet social and welfare needs. Social participation is a complex concept however, with conflicting definitions that offer contrasting ideas about how social participation can best be promoted. The characteristics of those who do and those who do not participate can indicate factors that enable participation, yet evidence has been somewhat contradictory in identifying who is most likely to participate. These contradictions particularly relate to the relationship between participatory behaviours and family and employment characteristics, with some perceiving responsibilities towards the family and employment as a restriction on resources such as time that could otherwise be used to engage in social participation, while others view these responsibilities as encouraging action by providing social connections. These factors also fluctuate across the lifecourse, and therefore their relationship with social participation can also change over the lifecourse. As such, social participation is not evenly spread among the population or over the lifecourse. Sociodemographic characteristics, notably social class, have also been found to be related to social participation with those of a higher social class being more likely to engage in formal participation activities. The reasons for this class-based split are not fully understood. Bourdieu's theories of habitus and distinction may offer a potential explanation for the development of this split, as participation behaviours may have resulted from class-based socialisation during childhood. This chapter reviews the social participation literature, examining the complexities in defining the concept, identifying who participates, and how assessing and selecting research methods is important in developing understandings of social participation across the lifecourse.

This literature begins by discussing the definitional issues of social participation. The beneficial outcomes of social participation will then be examined, alongside

the declines observed in social participation and how these relate to participation and policy in the UK today. Bourdieu's concept of habitus and the possible insight this offers as an explanation for the social class-based distinction between participants and non-participants will be discussed. Lifecourse fluctuations in social participation and how these fluctuations relate to lifecourse characteristics such as employment and family responsibilities will then be examined. The methods used to investigate these lifecourse fluctuations will be highlighted, and their limitations discussed. This literature will show how the patterns of social participation across the lifecourse, and the relationship with sociodemographic, employment, and family characteristics, are not yet sufficiently understood.

2.2 What is social participation?

2.2.1 Consistency and Contrast

Brodie et al (2009) identified elements of consistency within the definitions of social participation used by existing research, highlighting that social participation is typically used to describe the collective activities that are engaged with as part of everyday life. Based on these definitions, they defined social participation as the "collective activities that individuals may be involved in as part of their everyday lives" (p15). However, they also observed a lack of clarity in the definitions of social participation employed. They note that concepts such as social engagement, social integration, and community involvement are often used interchangeably. The consistencies and contrasts in definitions of social participation, and the boundaries between social participation and related concepts, make social participation a complex concept to define and the variety of definitions used requires addressing.

Social participation is often considered to be a type of civic engagement. Both Morrow-Howell (2010) and Serrat, Villar, & Deldran (2015) viewed civic engagement to be an umbrella concept that covers social participation and political participation. Serrat et al (2015) defined political participation as engagement in activities oriented towards affecting political outcomes. Additionally, active membership of political parties, the occupation of strategic roles in political campaigns, and engagement in political debates and demonstrations have been used to define political participation (De Piccoli & Rollero, 2010). As these activities are undertaken with the intention of impacting political outcomes, the definitions of

political participation offered by Serrat et al (2015) and De Piccoli and Rollero (2010) appear to be largely consistent.

The definitions of social participation offered by Serrat et al (2015) and De Piccoli and Rollero (2010) also indicate definitional consistency. Serrat et al (2015) defined social participation as simply connecting individuals to others, while De Piccoli and Rollero (2010) defined social participation as participation in associations aimed towards social assistance, environment protection, and culture. Both definitions involve fostering relationships and connections with other people and so they demonstrate elements of consistency. However, the activities included in De Piccoli and Rollero's (2010) definition indicate a greater level of structure as they are undertaken within the scope of an existing organisation and with the aim of achieving a wider community purpose. This notion of structure is not incorporated into Serrat et al's (2015) definition. This difference between structured and unstructured participation is apparent in many definitions of social participation and forms the basis of the split between formal and informal social participation and is discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

This conception of social participation as a type of civic engagement alongside political participation is not consistently adopted however and there is evidence here of terminology being used interchangeably. Taló, Mannarini, & Rochira (2014) define social participation as the overarching concept that is made up of political participation and civil participation, with civic engagement being a specific type of civil participation. Their definition of political participation focusses on activities undertaken to affect political outcomes, including voting, party membership, and signing petitions and so is consistent with the definitions of political participation adopted by Serrat et al (2015) and De Piccoli and Rollero (2010). Civic engagement, on the other hand, was defined by Taló et al (2014) as volunteering in services and community organisations. As this incorporates structured activities aimed at achieving wider community outcomes, this definition of civic engagement appears more consistent with De Piccoli and Rollero's (2010) definition of social participation. These uses of the terms social participation and civic engagement highlight how the interchangeable use of concepts can result in a lack of definitional clarity.

The term social participation is therefore not used consistently and is often used interchangeably with other related terms. A consideration of how the activities

classed as social participation have been categorised can help provide clarity regarding the ways in which participation has been defined.

2.2.1 Types of Social Participation

Social participation is often seen to incorporate both formal and informal elements which are commonly used to distinguish participation types with different levels of structure and different levels of connection with others (Brodie et al., 2009). Levasseur et al (2010) investigated the activities that have been considered to be social participation and produced a six-level taxonomy. This taxonomy represents a scale of social activities that depend on the level of association with others involved in the activity and can be used to examine the split between formal and informal social participation. The first two levels describe activities undertaken alone, and so are not typically described as social participation. These solo activities are fundamental in preparing to associate with others. If these activities cannot be undertaken individuals may not be able to undertake activities further up the taxonomy with greater levels of association with others. The remaining four levels on the other hand involve engaging with others, to differing extents and with different purposes. The third level involves interacting with others, but not in any specific activity, while the fourth level introduces achieving of a goal through interaction. The fifth level specifies that the goal of participation is helping others, and the sixth broadens this goal to involve contributing to wider society. Overall, Levasseur et al's (2010) taxonomy considered participation to be activities that involve interaction with other people, with higher level activities being undertaken in order to achieve a wider purpose. This taxonomy, based on levels of association with others and the purpose of the activity, highlights the wide variety of activities that can be considered social participation.

Levasseur et al's (2010) taxonomy offers a way of classifying types of participation. In a similar manner, Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation offered a way of perceiving a scale of participation based on levels of engagement. This ladder was developed to distinguish differing levels of citizen engagement in decision making processes. Arnstein (1969) considered citizen engagement to involve non-participation, tokenism, and citizen power. Non-participation in this ladder is the first two levels, described as manipulation and therapy, which Arnstein considers to involve planners educating participants but not involving them fully in planning processes. The next level, tokenism, involves participants slightly further through

informing, consultation, and placation. This allows participants to have a voice, however there is no obligation on the planners to enact the suggestions of participants. Finally, citizen power through partnership, delegated power, and citizen control involve greater levels of engagement from participants through the transferral of decision making powers from planners to participants.

Despite being formulated with different intentions, Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation in planning processes can be considered alongside Levasseur et al's (2010) taxonomy of levels of participation with others. Levasseur et al's (2010) level that represents preparation for social participation can be compared with Arnstein's (1969) non-participation as they do not involve any interactions between individuals. Informal interactions with others on Levasseur et al's (2010) taxonomy can be considered alongside Arnstein's (1969) tokenism as, while they both describe types of participation the wider impact and benefits of this participation are limited. Finally, Levasseur et al's (2010) formal engagement with others to achieve a wider aim and Arnstein's (1969) citizen power can be compared as they represent the most intense forms of participation that are undertaken with the intention of enacting wider change.

Types of social participation can therefore be classified based on the levels of involvement with others and the ability to enact wider change, and these are often reflected through the concepts of informal and formal social participation. These types of social participation will now be examined.

Informal Social Participation

Informal social participation can be related to Levasseur et al's (2010) taxonomy levels three and four that describe activities undertaken with other people but have little wider purpose than the interaction itself. Utz, Carr, Nesse, & Wortman (2002) considered contact, either in person or by telephone, with friends, neighbours, or relatives to be informal social participation. Similarly, Lancee & Radl (2012) identified informal social participation to be social gatherings with friends, relatives and neighbours. Informal social participation can therefore be described as interactions with other people, often already known to the individual, that are not undertaken in order to achieve a wider community purpose.

There are also contrasts apparent in the definitions of informal social participation, however. While the definitions discussed previously include interactions with any social contacts, regardless of relationship to the individual, Kohli, Hank, & Kunemund (2009) only considered informal social participation to be interactions

with non-family members. According to their definition, interactions with the family are not always described as informal social participation but are a more private activity, while interactions with those beyond the family are typically described as informal social participation.

It is possible that this distinction between family and non-family contacts emerged in Kohli et al's (2009) research as they specifically focussed on mapping the nature of social relationships. In order to examine relationships in greater detail they considered family and non-family connections separately. This demonstrates that research aims can result in the adoption of different definitions and measures, feeding into the emergence of contrasting definitions.

Non-family contacts can be important within the social network, however they too are challenging to define. Perlman, Stevens, and Carcedo (2015) describe how definitions of friendship are unclear and incorporate contested elements. They note that friendships are often viewed as truly voluntary and so contrast family relationships that are not typically chosen. Perlman et al (2015) also highlight that friendships may offer companionship. Spencer and Pahl (2006) detail how the meanings of friendship can vary between individuals and have diverse characteristics. Some friendships may offer emotional support and companionship while others instead share similar backgrounds. The definition of non-family contacts can be subject to be contest and, as such, may be difficult to capture.

Formal Social Participation

While informal participation refers to unstructured interactions with social contacts, formal social participation implies a more structured type of interaction. The fifth and sixth levels of Levasseur et al's (2010) taxonomy which relate to interaction with others with the intention of helping other people or contributing to wider society can be described as formal participation. Affiliation, membership, and engagement in the activities of clubs, groups, and associations is widely used to define and measure formal social participation (Huang, Maassen, & Groot, 2012; Nyqvist, Nygård, & Jakobsson, 2012; Peter & Drobnič, 2013). According to these definitions, a central feature of formal social participation is affiliation and engagement with the activities of organisations as these organisations provide a structure that brings people together to work towards a common cause.

The concept of formal social participation also features elements of contrast that result in the non-universal adoption of measures in research. Peter & Drobnič (2013) measured formal social participation through a count of memberships in

voluntary associations. Other studies meanwhile attempted to produce a more nuanced measurement of formal social participation. Elliott, Gale, Parsons, & Kuh (2014) for example, in addition to a count of organisation memberships, also included a measure of the regularity of participation in these organisations. This measure indicates active participation where the individual is involved in the activities of an organisation and using their resources to achieve the intended outcomes of that organisation, as opposed to membership alone which can be a more passive activity. Despite the use of a consistent definition of formal social participation, the measurement of formal social participation can also demonstrate elements of contrast.

Volunteering

Volunteering can be considered a type of formal social participation as it involves engaging in the activities of an organisation with the intention of impacting wider outcomes. It has been argued that discussions about social participation have been dominated by volunteering, despite being just one specific type of participation (Morrow-Howell, 2010). Morrow-Howell (2010) describes volunteering as an unpaid and uncoerced activity undertaken by an individual, within the structure of an organisation, and directed towards a community concern. Wilson (2012) supports this definition as, in his review of volunteering research, he considers volunteering to be a freely chosen activity without expectation of reward, with the intention of helping others, often through an organisation. The structural components and the focus on wider outcomes of these definitions suggest volunteering is consistent with formal social participation.

There are elements of these definitions of volunteering that contrast with those of formal social participation, however. Definitions of volunteering often focus particularly on the services and skills provided by an individual without reimbursement (Lancee & Radl, 2014; Parkinson, Warburton, Sibbritt, & Byles, 2010). These do not appear in definitions of formal social participation and so are key components of the definition of volunteering. Volunteering can be perceived as a type of formal social participation evidenced by elements of definitional consistency but with specific characteristics, such as skill use and non-reimbursement of expenses, that distinguish volunteering activities from more general formal social participation.

Social participation is therefore a term that lacks a consistent definition and has been used interchangeably with other terms which results in the contrasting usage

of definitions. It is possible, however, to examine the activities that are typically described to be social participation. These activities are often considered to either be informal social participation involving unstructured contact with friends or family, or formal social participation which involves activities with a greater level of organisational structure. Volunteering, which has gained much research attention, is a specific type of formal social participation and involves the donation of resources including time and skills to an organisation or a community concern with no expectation of reimbursal. While this thesis is primarily concerned with formal social participation, as definitions can contrast, this literature review will examine the research investigating a variety of social activities, including participation in voluntary associations and volunteering. As we shall see, formal social participation can have considerable benefits and has been the subject of concerns regarding declines over the past few decades.

2.3 Why is social participation important?

Formal social participation, defined as engaging in the activities of organisations and including voluntary action, encompasses a variety of activities. Formal social participation can have a considerable range of impacts which lead to intense research and policy interest. Edwards et al (2014) investigated the social impact of participation in organisations and identified a ripple effect whereby outcomes extend beyond the participating individuals and organisations to have more fundamental impacts on wider society. The mechanism through which this ripple effect influences varying levels of outcomes can be related to the concept of social capital, particularly Putnam's conception of social capital (Putnam, 2000) as he viewed formal social participation as central to the production of social capital. According to Putnam, social capital is a resource that exists in the connections between people and represents the networks, norms, and trust that are essential for a functioning society. He described how communities rich in social capital are better able to solve community problems as social norms and healthy social networks reinforce behaviours that are desirable to the community. He also considered empathy and tolerance to be increased in communities rich in social capital as individuals are more mindful of the wider impacts of their personal actions. Finally, he saw higher levels of social capital to be associated with an improved flow of information around social networks, which can also reinforce knowledge of behaviours acceptable to the community. In this way, individual social participation in the community can improve outcomes for the individual, the

community, and wider society. These levels of impact will be assessed here in order to highlight the positive outcomes of formal social participation.

2.3.1 Individual-Level Outcomes

The first level of impact of social participation is to the individual who participates. Leone and Hessel (2016) investigated the relationship between social participation in charity work, organisations, and religious groups, and subjective and objective health. They found that both initiating and continuing social participation can have a positive impact on health.

Similarly, health outcomes can be negatively affected by social disconnectedness. Cornwell and Waite (2009) measured social disconnectedness as having a small social network and infrequent participation in social activities outside the home, which can be viewed as assessing the impact on health of non-participation in either formal or informal contexts. They found social disconnectedness to have a negative impact on self-rated health, suggesting low levels of social participation can lead to negative health outcomes. The research undertaken by Leone and Hessel (2016) and Cornwell and Waite (2009) highlights how enabling and maintaining social participation is important in achieving positive health outcomes.

Leone and Hessel (2016) also found that improvements in health increased the likelihood of initiating new, and continuing existing, participation activities. This demonstrates the circular relationship between social participation and health as taking up social participation can result in health improvements which in turn leads to higher levels of social participation. However, it also suggests that, while social participation can improve health, those in better health are more likely to begin and continue social participation, thus excluding those with poorer levels of health. A poor health status may present a barrier to social participation and the resulting health benefits. This circular relationship between social participation and health sows it can be challenging to distinguish between the causes and the effects of social participation. As will be discussed later, this may be due, at least in part to the focus on cross-sectional data in existing literature. Longitudinal data can offer the opportunity to more closely examine the causes and effects of experiences, events, and behaviours.

The type of social participation can also have an impact on the nature of the outcomes achieved. Gray (2016) examined outcomes resulting from different forms of social participation, particularly focussing on the differing relationship between informal and formal social participation on the perception of social support

availability. She found those with higher levels of informal social participation, measured by frequent contact with neighbours, had richer emotional and practical support networks than those with higher levels of formal social participation, measured by engagement with social organisations. Additionally, she only found religious organisations and sports clubs to have a positive impact on social support, implying that the outcomes of participation in different organisations may not be comparable. Gray's (2016) findings suggest that informal social participation has a more positive impact on the availability of social support than formal social participation. Formal social participation alone may therefore not achieve all positive outcomes associated with social participation but is instead most beneficial when undertaken alongside other types of social participation including informal social participation.

2.3.2 Community-Level Outcomes

Poortinga (2012) investigated the impact of social capital, in the form of formal social participation and trust, on the relationship between neighbourhood deprivation and community health. He found that, while social capital had a positive impact on community health, high levels of social participation and trust cannot mitigate the negative effects of neighbourhood deprivation on health. This suggests that, while social capital is important in achieving positive community outcomes, the causes of neighbourhood deprivation must also be directly targeted in order to realise the potential of socially active communities.

Social capital, developed through formal social participation, has also been shown to have a positive relationship with community resilience. Aldrich & Meyer (2015) detailed the importance of engagement with community activities and social participation to successful recovery following natural disasters. Communities with higher levels of social participation had greater social resilience which aided efforts to recover and rebuild. Aldrich and Meyer (2015) promoted policies that invest in strengthening both the physical and social infrastructure of communities in order to aid recovery following such disasters. The impact of social capital, and therefore formal social participation, on communities in these extreme circumstances exemplifies the importance of social participation in achieving positive community outcomes.

2.3.3 National-Level Outcomes

Finally, the ripple effect of social participation can also impact national level factors. Bhandari and Yasunobu (2009) note that economic theories typically overlook the potential impact of social and cultural variables as they assume economic outcome variables are explained by purely economic variables. They suggest that differences in economic growth between countries with similar economic environments may be explained by differences in social environments, particularly by differences in norms, values, beliefs, and institutions. Pichler and Wallace (2007) investigated differences in patterns of formal and informal social participation across European countries and found significant variations in the types of social participation across these countries, and that these variations influence the development of social capital. While Scandinavian countries had the highest levels of both formal and informal participation, informal participation was predominant in Southern and Eastern Europe. The UK and Ireland meanwhile had moderate levels of both forms of participation in comparison to other European countries. These differences in social participation can affect national stocks of social capital and can therefore explain some of the variations in economic outcomes for the countries.

2.3.4 The Dark Side of Social Capital

Thus far, social participation has been presented as a universally positive concept, with only positive outcomes. This is not necessarily the case, however, as negative outcomes of social participation have been identified. These negative outcomes often relate to the nature of connections and networks between people. Granovetter (1973) considered the types of ties that exist within a network, with a particular focus on the relative benefits of strong versus weak ties and bonding versus bridging ties. He saw bonding ties to connect individuals who are close, share characteristics, and often have known each other for a long time. Bridging ties on the other hand connect those who are less well acquainted and share fewer characteristics. Granovetter (1973) argues that the existence of both types of tie are required to develop healthy social networks.

The characteristics of social networks, and the proportions of different types of ties that make up networks, can result in the dark side of social capital, as described by Portes (1998). He saw networks consisting heavily of strong bonding ties to limit the extent to which new members can join the network, resulting in an exclusive

dichotomy of those who are members, and have access to network resources, and those who are non-members and do not have access. This is particularly problematic in contexts where resources are sparse as the exclusive nature of social networks can reduce the sharing of resources.

Portes (1998) also saw networks predominately characterised by strong bonding ties to control the actions of members. These ties are developed between individuals who are similar in terms of characteristics and expected behaviours which produce a need for conformity that can stifle individuality as this may be perceived as a deviant behaviour by the group. Actions of individuals within the groups are controlled and inhibited by expectations of homogeneity in networks dominated by strong bonding ties.

Finally, Portes (1998) argues that, as network connections are used to share information, networks with few weak ties to different networks may have a limited supply of new and contrasting information. The information shared within a network can be good or bad, accurate or inaccurate. Without an inflow of information from different sources, this may result in the rapid spread of inaccurate information. Technological advances and the rise of social media have increased concerns regarding the sharing of information within closed groups. Social media has been shown to produce an echo-chamber effect, or a filter bubble, whereby the individual only sees information that is in-keeping with their world view, resulting in beliefs and opinions being uncontested and reinforced (Pariser, 2011; Bozdag & van den Hoven, 2015). This echo-chamber effect has been considered to be partially responsible for a number of outcomes, including influencing voting behaviours. As a result, the sharing of inaccurate information within networks, either off- or online, is a cause for concern. Opening new channels for the introduction of new information can be achieved by the development of bridging ties with different individuals and networks, and this can help combat the echo-chamber effect.

Social participation can therefore have a wide variety of benefits that affect individual-, community-, and national-level outcomes. These outcomes relate to health, social connectedness, community resilience, and national economic development. Putnam (2000) argued that the actions of individuals through social participation can influence the development of social capital, which results in these multiple levels of positive outcomes. These benefits are not uncontested however, with arguments emerging regarding the potential negative outcomes of social capital. Despite these negative consequences, knowledge of the benefits of social

participation to individuals, communities, and countries has resulted in interest in ensuring the maintenance of social participation levels. Putnam, however, has also raised concerns over levels of social participation. These concerns, and their relevance to social participation in the UK today, will now be examined.

2.5 Patterns of Participation: Across Time

2.5.1 Social Participation in Decline

Robert Putnam, in his book *Bowling Alone* (2000), detailed declines in American social participation since the 1950s. He found these declines in a range of spheres, including political, civic, and religious participation, philanthropy, and engagement with informal connections. Without these forms of social participation, he argued the collective social capital held by communities was at risk. In *Bowling Alone* he considered how these declines can have negative effects on educational performance, neighbourhood safety, equitable tax collection, democratic responsiveness, trust, health, and happiness. This sparked a debate regarding community engagement, particularly in America, but also across many Western countries due to the potentially universal nature of social participation declines and the extensive negative consequences that may result.

Putnam attributed these declines in participation to several societal and technological changes that occurred in the second half of the 20th Century. He saw the main culprit for the declines as television, which he argued to have privatised leisure time and caused people to look inwards to themselves and their families rather than outwards to their communities. He also considered the impact of women entering the workplace as two-career families reduced the time available for social participation, particularly for women who had previously been heavily involved in community life. Additionally, he argued that suburban sprawl and increasing commutes reduced the time and energy available for participation and also reduced connectedness to the communities people lived in, resulting in lower levels of community engagement. Finally, he argued that generational change had been a cause of decline, as successive generations were engaging at increasingly lower levels compared to the socially active generation of the 1950s. These factors together, according to Putnam, resulted in a decline in social participation that threatens outcomes for individuals, communities, and countries. This lead to arguments for policy interventions that targeted social participation.

2.5.2 Questioning Putnam

Putnam's observations of a decline in social participation have been met with some criticism, however. Stolle and Hooghe (2004) noted empirical issues, highlighting that not all social capital indicators measured by the General Social Survey (GSS), used by Putnam, have moved in similar ways during the latter half of the twentieth century. Their data shows that, while generalised trust had decreased, associational membership and institutional trust were in fact maintained. Additionally, they noted that the measurement of percentage voter turnout used by Putnam to demonstrate the impact of declines was unreliable as the total population of voting age includes those who are ineligible to vote. Stoole and Hooge (2004) argue that the proportion of the US population who are ineligible to vote has increased, resulting in voter turnout appearing depressed in comparison to the total population of voting age. They argue these measurement issues reduce the ability to draw reliable conclusions regarding levels of social participation and the effect of any declines on democratic processes.

Women's Social Participation

Putnam's decline and the relationship with women's increasing roles in the workforce, have also been questioned as the types of social participation he examined have overlooked the gendered nature of social participation. While women's social participation may have declined in some areas, Campbell (2012) argued that Putnam did not include areas in which women maintained social activity, notably in informal caring networks. Lowndes (2000, 2004) observed that research had focussed on male-dominated forms of engagement, without consideration of the impact gender may have on the nature of social participation. Her research showed women had similar amounts of social capital as men, although it was developed and utilised in different ways. Men tend to hold committee positions in sports clubs, for example, while women engaged in befriending activities in health, education, and social causes. Like Campbell (2012), Lowndes also highlighted the importance of informal care networks to women, and how the private nature of care work, undertaken primarily by women, contrasts with the public nature of political engagement, undertaken primarily by men. Women were also more likely to draw on their reserves of social capital in order to manage the conflicting demands of home and work (Lowndes, 2004). By excluding these areas in which women maintained social participation, Putnam (2000) may have overstated the declines in women's participation as a result of their movement into the workforce.

Emerging Forms of Social Participation

The types of participation assessed by Putnam were also criticised as it was argued he typically focussed too heavily on participation in traditional organisations, with little consideration for new and emerging forms. These newer forms of participation were less hierarchical and more informal than traditional organisations, and also increasingly involved new technologies (Stolle & Hooghe, 2004). Political consumption, spontaneous protests, petition signing, online participation, and informal groups were on the rise. At the time, however, evidence comparing these new forms of participation with traditional forms was lacking, particularly with regards to the levels of collective engagement involved and their impact on social capital. Two decades have now passed since the publication of *Bowling Alone* and the development of new forms of participation and their outcomes have been of considerable research interest. Gibson and Cantijoch (2013) investigated the structure of online political participation, and how online and offline participation interact. Using UK survey data in the lead up to the 2010 General Election they found that types of political participation that originated offline were migrating online, and online participation was offering increasing networking opportunities and a greater ability to seek and share information. This suggests that the rise and expansion of the internet as a location for participation is capable of offering a rich variety of forms of engagement that mirror and complement offline participation.

There were also concerns regarding whether these emerging forms of participation would result in the same benefits as traditional participation. Kittilson and Dalton (2011) compared the outcomes of online and offline social interactions. They used American data to assess the effects of online and offline social interactions on political tolerance, perceptions of good citizenship, and engagement with political activities. They find both online and offline social interactions have similar impacts on these political outcomes, suggesting online participation can result in the same positive outcomes as offline participation. Putnam's focus on traditional social participation at the expense of similarly effective emerging forms of participation may therefore distort the extent of any decline in social participation and its impacts.

Post-Bowling Alone

Since the publication of *Bowling Alone* it has also been possible to track changes in social participation, and how further social and technological developments have altered the landscape of participation. On the one hand, Putnam's concerns

regarding the isolating nature of television as a source of entertainment have increased as technology has expanded and become further entrenched in everyday life. Klinenberg (2019) notes that Putnam's observation that people abandon social activities outside the home in order to watch television together as a family can now be considered somewhat utopian. Technological developments have meant that television as leisure can now be enjoyed independently on separate devices by members of the same household. As a result of these influences, the causes of any decline may have worsened, potentially resulting in further declines in social participation.

Despite these increasingly isolating forms of entertainment, Putnam himself observed that levels of social participation may not have continued to decline as a result. Sander and Putnam (2010) considered changes to social participation in the US that occurred in the decade following 9/11. They perceived the tragedy to have acted as a stimulus for interest in politics and public affairs, having a particularly profound and long-term effect on young people. Sander and Putnam (2010) cite this surge of civic interest as a driving force that assisted Barack Obama's rise to the White House. This suggests that, while technological advancements may encourage increased isolation, they may not have resulted in considerable declines in American social participation. It also demonstrates the importance of considering patterns of social participation over time in the historical context in which they emerged.

While total social participation may not have declined, Sander and Putnam (2010) note a class divide in engagement, as middle and upper class young people became increasingly engaged while the working class disengaged. This class-based disparity in the engagement and disengagement of different sections of the American population may have influenced the large-scale disaffection that contributed to the election of Donald Trump in 2016 (Jacobson, 2016). Similar patterns of class-based disaffection have been argued to have impacted the result of the 2016 EU referendum in the UK (Warhurst, 2016). These societal divisions can have a profound impact on national outcomes, reinforcing the importance of ensuring engagement from all areas of society. The class-based distinction of social participation is of particular concern to this thesis and will be discussed further later in this chapter.

As we have seen, social participation can result in a wide variety of positive outcomes, which reinforce concerns over declines in social participation. However,

the consequences of declines for democracy, and social and political stability may not be as considerable as argued by Putnam (2000). Van der Meer and van Ingen (2009) investigated the extent to which involvement in voluntary associations stimulates political action. They find that, across European countries, associational involvement and political action are positively correlated, thus supporting Putnam's conclusions. However, they also find that the relationship between associational involvement and political action is not explained by civic skills and civic mindedness, which are often considered to develop through social participation. They consider these voluntary associations to be "pools of democracy" as politically interested people become involved in these organisations, as opposed to "schools of democracy" that educate members in civic skills which encourage political action. Declines in social participation may not necessarily result in declines in political action as the civic skills required for this political action may be developed independently of social participation.

Beyond the American Context

Putnam's observations of social participation decline have also been critiqued as they are not viewed as generalisable. His research in *Bowling Alone* is confined to the US, and his declines may not be mirrored in other countries. Stolle and Hooghe (2004) presented data that suggests while some forms civic engagement such as trade union membership and voter turnout had declined in some European countries, participation in organisations had not. This suggests that Europe does not reflect the US' declines in social participation as observed by Putnam.

While the patterns of social participation across Europe do not entirely reflect those of the US, the UK may offer a greater comparison with the US. Sarracino (2010) used the World Values Survey from 1980 to 2000 to assess patterns of social capital, in the form of institutional trust, generalised trust, membership of organisations, and unpaid voluntary work, and the relationship between social capital and declines in wellbeing. He found that, while the majority of Western Europe demonstrates patterns of participation that are more optimistic than those in the US, Britain is most similar to the US in its declines in social capital. Trust in others and membership of organisations were found to be in decline in the UK, similar to Putnam's observations in the US, while undertaking unpaid voluntary work has presented less of a decline than in the US. The declines in social participation identified by Putnam, while not necessarily universal, have been found in other countries, with the UK seemingly offering a comparable example.

In contrast to the declines in social participation in the UK identified by Sarracino (2010), Hall (1999), did not find an overall decline in voluntary organisations in the UK. He found traditional women's organisations had declined, largely due to their traditional focus on homemakers that was no longer relevant following women's increasing involvement in the labour market. Other organisations did not decline however, and there was in fact an increase in the creation of new voluntary organisations since 1960. There is therefore contrasting evidence regarding the levels and potential declines in social participation in the UK.

Additionally, despite portraying optimism regarding the levels of social participation in the UK, Hall (1999) noted declines in social trust. Social trust is a measure of social capital used by Sarracino (2010), and so Hall's findings offered tentative support for Sarracino's findings that the UK's levels of social capital are declining in a similar manner to levels in America. Hall (1999) attributed these declines to the economic difficulties of the late 1970s. This decline in social trust alongside economic difficulties was reflected following the 2008 recession as Lindstrom and Giordano (2016) found trust, but not social participation, to have declined in the UK following the crash. This suggests that economic difficulties can result in worsened levels of trust while having a limited effect on levels of social participation. Overall, there appears to be conflicting evidence regarding the extent to which the UK's levels of social participation during the latter half of the twentieth century mirror the declines observed by Putnam in the US.

More recent evaluations of the nature of participation in the UK have found little evidence in support of an overall decline (Hornung et al., 2017). Membership of trade unions, religious organisations, and tenants' organisations had declined, as had membership of all political parties. The major exception was membership of the Labour Party which had seen membership increase since 2015 when Jeremy Corbyn was elected as leader. Volunteering and charitable giving were stable, and voting had increased. Online forms of participation appear to have offered new avenues for engagement, with connections emerging between on- and offline forms of participation. This suggests that, while declines may have occurred, these were largely confined to more traditional forms which were replaced by new and emerging forms of participation.

2.5.3 Participation and Policy in the UK

The declines in social participation observed by Putnam (2000) may not have emerged in the UK in a similar way as in the US. Despite this, *Bowling Alone* had a considerable impact as it raised awareness of considering the health of collective social life alongside economic goals. As such, social participation has received an increasingly central position in the policy directions of both lead political parties in the UK. In the 1980s, the state retreated from welfare provision as a result of Thatcher's neo-liberalism, opening opportunities for greater involvement from voluntary organisations in the provision of welfare and services. However, the voluntary sector was not able to compete with the private sector for government contracts and so the relationship between the state and the voluntary sector remained poor (Savage & Pratt, 2013). The Third Way, which was the focus of New Labour during the 2000s in navigating between Thatcherite neo-liberalism and old Labour's social democratic principles, aimed to reconfigure the relationship between the third sector and the state, and to support the third sector as vital for the development of social cohesion, citizenship, and social capital (Evers, 2013; Fyfe, 2005). Ferragina and Arrigoni (2016) highlighted how New Labour's focus on the Third Way was a shift from traditional social democratic values and enabled social capital theory to be merged with neoliberalism. This was seemingly continued throughout the 2010 general election in the Conservative's Big Society which attempted to use social capital in order to revise Thatcher's individualism with a communitarian element. Most recently, the Civil Society Strategy, published in 2018, lauded the history of community action in the UK and the government stated it recognised the importance of maintaining social capital alongside financial and physical capital for the development of thriving communities (Cabinet Office, 2018). This policy incorporated key pledges including increased funding for charities and community organisations through the utilisation of funds from dormant accounts and encouraging a lifetime of participation from the population. These policies promoted the third sector as a service provider and focussed on increasing social participation in community organisations in order to support the third sector and enrich community life.

These policies will not be critiqued thoroughly here, they are cited instead to highlight the importance of social participation to policy agendas in the UK. It is, however, pertinent to briefly consider the extent to which these policies were successful. Milbourne and Cushman (2013) note that, while New Labour's Third Way increased resources for third sector organisations, the government at the time

did not trust community organisations to use resources well, resulting in high levels of bureaucracy. They also show how the Big Society may have involved greater autonomy for third sector organisations but reduced the financial and organisational support available. As a result of these challenges, third sector trust in government policy declined (Milbourne & Cushman, 2013). Ferragina and Arrigoni (2016) also see the Big Society as unsuccessful as it could not smooth the growing tensions in British society that resulted from rising inequalities in the aftermath of the 2008 recession. The pursuit of hard austerity policies alongside encouraging community action through the Big Society was seen as being at odds.

Finally, the Civil Society Strategy (2018) only built on existing pledges rather than offering any new commitments from government in supporting the third sector, and the goals contained within the policy were also primarily short- and medium-term (Chamberlain, 2018). This undermines attempts to promote the longevity of positive relationships between the third sector and government. Additionally, since the publication of the Civil Society Strategy, third sector organisations have reported seeing little change in the relationship with government as they continue to be treated as suppliers rather than stakeholders and so are excluded from essential decision making (Abrahamson, Godfrey, Popplewell, & Wright, 2019). The increasing expectations from government of third sector organisations has not been matched either by commitments to funding or by actions intended to develop meaningful relationships (Weakley, 2018). The problematic nature of these policies has resulted in a lack of trust in the government to achieve a positive and fully functional relationship with the third sector. This undermines intended policy outcomes, risking the development of levels of social participation in the UK.

There has therefore been considerable concern over the levels of social participation in societies across the world following Putnam's examination of social participation behaviours in America. He found participation in a number of activities to have declined over the latter half of the twentieth century as a result of technological advancement, social change, and generational differences. The veracity of his claims has been questioned however, including the international generalisability of his arguments, with different countries reporting different patterns of social participation over time. While some research has found declines in the UK to be comparable with those observed in the US by Putnam, others have not identified such declines. The potential for declines and the widespread knowledge of the benefits of social participation have led to an increased policy interest in social participation. The success of these policies has been debated,

but their existence is evidence of the importance of the maintenance of social participation levels to government policy. In order to understand the nature of social participation, and to identify successful participant recruitment methods, the characteristics of those who participate must also be understood. The patterns of social participation in the UK will be presented here, and the reasons for these patterns will be examined.

2.6 Patterns of Social Participation: Across People

There are certain characteristics that have been found to be associated with a higher likelihood of social participation. Religiosity has been shown to have a strong relationship with social participation, and with volunteering in particular. Johnston (2013) conducted a longitudinal analysis of the volunteering behaviours of religious people and found that religious organisations can act as feeder organisations into non-religious volunteering. He argued religion promotes the values associated with volunteering, provides the organisational structure in which volunteering activities can be undertaken, and enables contacts to be developed through which volunteering opportunities can be shared. Bennett (2015) supported this and found the relationship between religion and volunteering to extend across countries and religions. Religiosity, as a result of the development of values, structures, and networks, can promote social participation.

The influence of religiosity on social participation may be restricted, however. Research undertaken by Son and Wilson (2012) found that feeling an obligation to volunteer in adulthood was influenced by religiosity in adulthood, but not affected by religiosity in childhood. This suggests the values that encourage volunteering developed through religious involvement during childhood may have limited influence on volunteering behaviours across the lifecourse, while membership of an organisational structure and social network in adulthood that enables volunteering can have a greater influence on adult volunteering behaviours. The relationship between religiosity and social participation may therefore be limited in scope.

The relationship between social participation and ethnic origin has also been investigated, with black and minority ethnic groups being found to be under represented across a variety of forms of participation (Brodie et al., 2009). A survey conducted by the Office for the Third Sector (OTS) attempted to understand the nature of formal volunteering within the UK and observed differences between

ethnic groups, with those of Asian origin being less likely to participate in formal volunteering opportunities but more likely to donate to overseas and disaster relief funds (Low, Butt, Ellis, & Davis Smith, 2007). However, they also considered the influence of being born in Britain on the likelihood of social participation. Once place of birth – Britain or abroad – was controlled for, the relationship between ethnic origin and social participation was no longer significant. The effect of including place of birth may indicate that younger people from black and minority ethnic groups, who were born in the UK, may have been more likely to volunteer in the UK while they were less likely to donate overseas than their parents who were born outside the UK.

While those with certain characteristics may be more or less likely to engage in social participation activities, Brodie et al (2009) argued the characteristics of social participants varies between different types of participation activities. They reviewed social participation in the UK and investigated a number of types of participation, including voting, online participation, charitable giving, and formal volunteering, and the backgrounds of people who engage in them. They found differences in the characteristics of those likely to participate in each of these activities, for example those who engaged in voting had different characteristics to those who were involved in online participation activities. In terms of formal volunteers they found that, while they are more likely to be women, they differ greatly in terms other characteristics as formal volunteering can include a variety of activities. As a result of differences in characteristics of participants both within some types of participation, and across the types of participation investigated, Brodie et al (2009) concluded it was not possible to describe a typical participant.

There was one characteristic that Brodie et al (2009) observed to increase the likelihood of participation, regardless of the type of participation activity. They found that participants in any type of activity were typically middle class, higher earners, and better educated. This supports research undertaken by the National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO). In their 2019 report Time Well Spent: A National Survey on the Volunteer Experience (NVCO, 2019), the NCVO state that social class is the single greatest factor that distinguishes between volunteers and non-volunteers. In a previous report, they also noted that the increasing use of technology and the development of less formal participation opportunities have done little to add diversity to the types of people who participate (Hornung et al., 2017). Additionally, Low et al (2007) found volunteers to be primarily middleaged, women, of a higher socioeconomic status, and to particularly occupy committee or

organiser positions. While findings may vary regarding the influence of some characteristics on participation behaviours, the impact of social class appears to be consistent and considerable.

Those of a higher social class appear to be more likely to engage in formal social participation, such as volunteering. Low et al (2007) noted how those with no formal qualifications were at risk of social exclusion and, as such, were less likely to participate. However, the activities of those of a lower social class may differ from those of a higher social class. Hietanen et al (2016) used longitudinal data to show the impact of childhood socioeconomic status on different types of social participation at age fifty. Those of a lower social class in childhood were less likely to undertake voluntary work at age fifty but were more likely to have a larger number of social contacts. This again highlights the influence being of a higher social class can exert on formal social participation. It also shows that those of a lower social class are not necessarily disengaged but rely on informal social participation to a greater extent than those of a higher social class. It may therefore be overly simplistic to perceive those of a higher social class as participants and those of a lower social class as non-participants.

Hietanen et al's (2016) research also showed how the development of class-based social participation behaviours may originate in childhood, with childhood social class influencing whether the individual engages in formal or informal types of social participation at age fifty. His findings do not offer an explanation of how childhood social class results in these outcomes later in life, however. Examination of the mechanisms that result in class-based patterns of social participation is largely absent from much social participation research to date. Some recent attempts have been made to address this using Bourdieu's concept of habitus as a way of understanding the development of class-based social participation behaviours. The concept of habitus will now be introduced, and existing attempts to relate habitus to the social participation literature will be discussed. This thesis intends to add to this body of work by considering the influence of social class and previous experiences of social participation on social participation behaviours across the lifecourse and in midlife.

2.6.1 Bourdieu: Habitus and Social Class

Bourdieu posited that the social world is represented by the structure and distribution of various forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986). He considered social and cultural capital, alongside economic capital, to be of importance in determining position in social structures. Bourdieu's definition of social capital contrasts with Putnam's as Putnam considered social capital to be a resource held by communities while Bourdieu saw it as an individual-level resource. Social capital, in Bourdieu's conception, is the resources available to an individual through their social networks. These networks can provide the individual with credentials, thus opening greater opportunities to expand their network (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu saw cultural capital as embodied in the form of dispositions, objectified as goods, or institutionalised as qualifications. According to Bourdieu, an individual's position within social class structures was based on the level of capital they possessed, and the distribution of their total capital between the three forms.

Bourdieu described the set of dispositions, or tastes and preferences that are developed through socialisation experiences and education as habitus. He considered class-based socialisation experiences to result in the development of a certain habitus that accounted for the largely homogenous cultural tastes observed among those of the same social class (Bennett & Silva, 2011). In his 1984 book *Distinction*, Bourdieu used the example of music tastes to show how tastes and preferences were stratified by social class. This stratification, he argued, was the result of the upper class' development of preferences for "legitimate" culture, such as classical music, through their education and socialisation (Bourdieu, 1984). As the working class received no such socialisation or education, they did not learn the skills required to understand legitimate culture and so did not develop preferences for it. The development of habitus, demonstrated by tastes, preferences, and dispositions, is used to reinforce distinction between social classes, and is the result of class-based education and socialisation.

Bourdieu also considered the influence of social mobility on habitus (Bennett, 2007). He argued that class-based socialisation and education develop a habitus that produce distinction in tastes between social classes, and so these cultural tastes provide similarities and mutual recognition between members of the same social class. In the context of upward social mobility, in order to interact with members of the new social class with a similar level of mutual recognition, elements of the new class' habitus must be learnt, such as an understanding of classical music. Bourdieu describes this as habitus clivé, or a divided habitus, and

he saw this resulted in conflict as the values and tastes associated with the original habitus oppose those required by the new social class (Paulson, 2018). Social mobility can therefore be problematic and result in challenges for the individual to navigate in relation to their original and new habitus.

2.6.2 Questioning Habitus

Bourdieu's arguments have been criticised, however due to his perception of working class cultural tastes. He assumed that the working class were excluded from legitimate culture which was valued by the upper and middle classes, and that they only enjoyed popular culture that required little skill to understand (Bourdieu, 1984). Bennett (2011) was critical of this assumption and saw this as a missed opportunity to examine variations within working class culture. He also argued Bourdieu's assumptions regarding working class culture suggested the working class position was inescapable, even through the pursuit of countercultural leisure activities. Additionally, Bennett (2011) saw this representation of the working class position as inconsistent observing that, at times, Bourdieu perceived the working class to be constrained by necessity while at others he considered the working class to be free from the bourgeois need to express high culture and maintain class distinction. Bennett (2011) therefore considered the discussion of working class culture within Bourdieu's work to be limited and flawed as a result of the assumptions made regarding working class culture.

Bourdieu's class-based stratification of cultural tastes has also been called into question by arguments that this stratification is now outdated. Beck (1992, 1997) saw class-based social norms typical of industrial society to have broken down and no longer be applicable to modern society. Instead the individual can create their own biographies and lifestyles by selecting from a wide variety of available options, resulting in broad variations between individuals (Beck, 1997). In the context of culture, opportunities to consume various cultural forms are now more widely available, particularly as a result of the growth of the internet. The demonstration of specific cultural tastes is part of the construction of self-identity that is possible in modern, individualised society (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2005a). This individualisation suggests that cultural tastes are no longer pre-determined by social class.

While the transition from industrial to modern societies may have caused the breakdown of class-related cultural stratification and the rise of individualisation,

alternative patterns of grouping cultural tastes have been considered. Peterson (1997) agreed that class-based distinction in cultural tastes had broken down but posited that it had been replaced by cosmopolitan omnivorous tastes. This is represented by the enjoyment of a variety of tastes as opposed to the legitimate culture of the upper classes identified by Bourdieu (Peterson & Kern, 1996). The upper classes are now increasingly engaged in other genres that were formerly considered low brow, popular culture.

Omnivores, with a variety of tastes across cultural forms in the UK through empirical investigations conducted primarily by Chan and Goldthorpe (2005a, 2005b, 2007a, 2007b). They used latent class analysis to investigate cultural tastes in the domains of reading (2005a), theatre, cinema, and dance (2005b), music tastes (2007a), and the visual arts (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007c). Their work has highlighted patterns of cultural tastes that support the Omnivore Thesis and oppose Bourdieu's taste-based distinction. They found groups of omnivores present in most cultural forms. They also found groups of univores, who were interested in a single cultural form, and paucivores who engaged in a variety of cultural forms but whose tastes were less extensive than the omnivores. Although present in only a few cultural forms, they also found non-consumers who did not engage with any activities.

Chan and Goldthorpe questioned the relationship between cultural tastes and social class identified by Bourdieu, particularly with regards to the role of social status (Chan & Goldtorpe, 2007c). Bourdieu viewed social status as the symbolic element of social class, and so one's social status, and therefore cultural taste, is inextricably linked to one's social class (Bourdieu, 1984). Chan and Goldthorpe, on the other hand, argued that social class and social status are different forms of social stratification, operating through different mechanisms, with cultural tastes being less linked to social class than it is to social status (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007a). They demonstrate this by investigating the relationship between social class, social status, income, and education on the likelihood of expressing omnivorous tastes. In terms of music tastes, they found that social status has a stronger relationship with omnivorous tastes than social class (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007b). Similar results, but with less strength in the relationships, were found in the context of theatre and cinema attendance. Education had a weaker relationship with theatre and cinema attendance compared to music tastes, while social class had a stronger relationship (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2005a). This shows the relationship between cultural tastes and social class, social status, and education

varies based on the cultural form in question. Additionally, as the relationship between social class and social status and cultural taste varies, Chan and Goldthorpe show social class and status appear to measure different elements of social stratification.

2.6.3 Questioning Omnivores

Despite this evidence, the extent to which omnivorous patterns of cultural taste exist has also been questioned. As Chan and Goldthorpe identified, omnivores are typically of a higher social status and education level, suggesting the social stratification of tastes continues. Distinction may now not be represented by preferences for legitimate culture, but by tolerance and openness to diversity through omnivorous tastes. However, the class-based nature of these omnivorous tastes indicates these upper and middle class omnivores have a monopoly over all cultural forms, rather than a sole interest in legitimate culture. This suggests that, while the middle and upper classes no longer feel the need to maintain distinction from the working classes through their cultural tastes, they continue to benefit from comfort with legitimate culture as it remains exclusive (Bennett et al., 2009). Those of a higher social class appear to have gained access to a wider variety of cultural forms, and this includes legitimate culture.

Additionally, it has been noted that research supporting the Omnivore Thesis may have overlooked nuances in cultural taste through the focus on quantitative methods that force respondents to categorise their tastes and preferences into preconceived, broad, genres (Atkinson, 2011). It has been argued that qualitative research can been more successful in identifying class-based cultural distinctions as it enables the specifics of cultural tastes to be reported (Li, Savage, & Warde, 2015). This again suggests that class-based differences in cultural tastes have been maintained, albeit represented by different patterns. It also highlights how the type of research, quantitative versus qualitative, can expose different patterns of social participation.

2.6.4 Bourdieu: Extending to Social Participation

Bourdieu's concept of habitus, while originally used to explain preferences for cultural tastes may be useful in explaining class-based patterns in other fields, including social participation. Harflett (2015) used Bourdieu's ideas of cultural capital and habitus to explain the overrepresentation of the upper and middle classes in volunteering. She undertook qualitative research with a group who volunteered for the National Trust, and found these volunteers displayed a specific habitus, or set of preferences, tastes, and practices, that explained their selection into volunteering. She argued that theories that suggest the upper classes are more likely to volunteer as a result of their greater financial, time, and social resources, overlook the development of habitus as a potential explanation for the higher likelihood of volunteering by those of a higher social class.

Similarly, Dean (2016) considered how habitus can assist in understanding social behaviours, such as volunteering, as habitus is developed through experience and knowledge and can influence responses to situations. He argues that upper and middle class children learn to be at ease in a range of social situations as a result of their socialisation and education. Through qualitative interviews with those who work in volunteer recruitment roles, he showed how volunteer recruiters often focus on upper and middle class young people as their habitus makes them fit more comfortably into volunteering roles than working class young people, who were instead viewed by recruiters as uncooperative. The habitus of upper and middle class young people makes them more likely to be selected into volunteering roles than working class young people. Volunteering appears to be an activity where the habitus of the upper classes is demonstrated, and volunteering behaviours become a way in which class-based distinctions are maintained.

Furthermore, in support of the development of a habitus that results in participatory behaviours, the upper and middle classes have been found to actively encourage their children to engage in formal settings from a young age. Bennett and Parameshwaran (2013) suggested youth engagement in volunteering may be undertaken in order to signal social advantage. Additionally, Vincent and Ball (2007) investigated the role of extra-curricular activities in parents' efforts to reproduce social class. Using qualitative interviews with middle class parents, they found these parents involved their children in multiple activities from a very young age and as a result of multiple motivations, including their children's enjoyment, investment in future educational success, and the accumulation of middle class values, such as ease in social situations as noted previously by Dean (2016).

Lareau (2011) argued that middle class parents undertake concerted cultivation in order to develop their children, and this is a mechanism through which class differences are maintained. An element of this is a middle class concern regarding their children's ability to form relationships with others through engaging in organisated leisure activites, while working class parents did not see these activities as necessary for their children's development. There therefore appears to be a concerted effort by middle class parents to reproduce social class, and to develop a habitus that encourages ease in social situations and involvement in formal activities. This suggests that formal participation can be evidence of distinction between social classes that is developed from a young age and intentionally encouraged by middle and upper class parents.

2.6.5 Valuing Participation

Habitus describes the development of certain behaviours, the pursuit of certain activities, and is stratified by social class. Through the development of habitus, social class has a more fundamental influence on the development of the self than is often captured by more traditional economic-focussed understandings of social class. It affects both the conscious and the subconscious and, as a result of this, Sayer (2005) argues class can be better understood by examining the public's attitudes towards social class and the value they place on themselves and others. He perceived class to be inextricably linked to perceptions of moral value with the behaviours and activities of the upper and middle classes being of greater moral worth than those of the working classes. Atkinson (2015) considered the judgements made on other's social and cultural preferences to be central to the maintenance of class differences. According to these arguments, the working class were "othered" as a result of these judgements of moral worth based on social and cultural differences.

The effects of these judgements on working class identity have been investigated. Skeggs (1997) conducted qualitative interviews with working class women and found they often rejected the notion of being described as working class. This, she observed, was due to the negative perception of working class women resulting from judgements of moral worth. Often, the women would project middle class values, and cast judgements on others in order to protect themselves from the demonising label of working class. Similarly, Lawler (2004; 2005) in examining the treatment of working class and middle class mothers in the press, found working

class women's bodies, speech, and homes to be subject to intense scrutiny and judgement. These judgements were not made of middle class women. There was a clear distinction between those who are judged to be morally worthy and those who are not, and this occurred along social class lines.

The moral judgements that value the activities of the upper and middle classes while demonising those of the working class ignore the fundamental nature of class-based activities and behaviours. Access to the resources and opportunities necessary for engagement in valued behaviours and activities are unequally distributed based on social class, thus restricting access to these valued behaviours and activities (Sayer, 2005). In this way, the working class are less able to develop the behaviours and access the activities that the upper and middle classes consider to demonstrate moral value.

The working classes may not perceive this as a restriction, however. Sayer (2005), reflecting arguments put forward by Bourdieu (1993), highlights that the activities valued by the upper and middle classes may be rejected by the working class who state they have no interest in engaging. By rejecting the activities that are valued by others in favour of those valued by themselves, the working classes may reclaim their sense of self-worth from the judgements made on their behaviours, and this valuing of different activities can present as a sense of class pride. While this is positive for the self-worth of the working classes, it can lead to an acceptance of unjust class differences rather than encouraging their contest.

It was previously noted that the working classes may undertake informal participation to a greater extent than formal participation (Hietanen et al, 2016). This suggests that, while the middle classes place a moral value on engaging in formal social participation activities, the working class may instead place a greater value on informal engagement. Walker (1995) examined social class differences in the nature of friendship groups. She found the working classes focussed on reciprocal, interdependent relationships that involve sharing material goods or practical support, while the middle classes typically developed larger friendship groups based on shared leisure activities. The working classes may value the development of close, supportive relationships and view them as of greater importance than formal social participation.

The research examined here has shown that, in the UK, those who engaged in formal social participation activities, and especially those who were volunteers, are predominately characterised by their higher social class (NCVO, 2019). This

suggests that social class may be the basis of a fundamental distinction between those who do participate and those who do not. Bourdieu's theories of cultural capital and habitus may be useful in explaining this relationship between social participation and social class. Those of a higher social class, through their childhood experiences and education, may develop the dispositions and skills, or habitus, that results in selection into formal social participation roles (Dean, 2016; Lareau, 2011; Vincent & Ball, 2007). Previous research investigating this has focussed on qualitative data and has specifically investigated volunteering behaviours, which may not uncover the extent of the relationship between social class and social participation. This thesis is concerned with the continuous relationship between social class and social participation, and how this is maintained across the lifecourse and in midlife in relation to employment and family characteristics.

2.7 Patterns of Participation: Across the Lifecourse

2.7.1 The Lifecourse Perspective

Social participation, as will be shown, is not a static activity but can fluctuate in response to external influences and lifecourse factors, such as changes to family characteristics. It can therefore be examined from a lifecourse perspective, considering the timings of and influences on fluctuations in participation behaviours across the lifecourse. The benefits of incorporating the lifecourse perspective will first be discussed, followed by an examination of the patterns of social participation across the lifecourse that have so far been observed. The factors that are considered to influence these patterns of social participation will then be discussed. The limitations of this existing research, notably the overreliance on cross-sectional and short-term panel studies, will also be highlighted.

Kendig and Nazroo (2016) detailed the benefits of observing phenomena using the lifecourse perspective. They demonstrated that the lifecourse approach is able expose how individual life experiences interplay with social structures in order to produce different outcomes. Using lifecourse trajectories to examine transitions across the lifecourse key events and circumstances at different points can be connected thus revealing how early life experiences can be aggravated or mitigated by later experiences. Additionally, the lifecourse perspective encourages the consideration of wider historical and social events, and the effects these can have on personal experiences.

The nature of the adult lifecourse has been considered to have undergone shifts in recent decades as a result of historical events and social changes. Settersten (2007) noted that, traditionally the lifecourse was characterised by a series of stages with beginnings, ends, and defining themes. These stages were largely described as education, work or childcare, and retirement. He argued that this rigid structure had broken down by an increasing focus on individual choice, which resulted in chronological age becoming of lesser importance. Following these changes, Settersten (2007) observed that greater possibilities, and also greater uncertainty, are now present at every life stage. While it is important to examine the characteristics of the lifecourse, it is also important to consider the diversity of life stages and variations in the experiences of individuals of the same age.

Social participation as an activity to be undertaken across the lifecourse is also incorporated into the Civil Society Strategy 2018, which states enabling a lifetime of contribution through continued engagement in community organisations and social activities as a policy goal (Cabinet Office, 2018). Previous research investigating social participation across the lifecourse has primarily used short-term panel or cross-sectional data. Additionally, it has largely maintained a singular focus on a specific type of participation, notably volunteering, rather than examining other forms of social participation. This research will be discussed here, detailing current understandings of the nature of social participation across the lifecourse.

2.7.2 Lifecourse Patterns of Participation: Stability and Fluctuation

Research investigating patterns of social participation across the lifecourse has identified elements of stability and fluctuation. Lancee and Radl (2014) found volunteering to be largely stable across the lifecourse as those who volunteer were likely to continue, and those who did not were unlikely to initiate volunteering. They found lifecourse events to have only a limited impact on the frequency of volunteering, and this was restricted to family-related events, such as the birth of a child. This suggests that transitions in family and labour market have a limited impact on volunteering, and lifecourse volunteering behaviour is instead predetermined by unobserved characteristics. Over the lifecourse this research indicates that some do participate while others do not, and any fluctuations are minimal.

While fluctuations in social participation across the lifecourse appear minimal, they are apparent. Nesbit (2012) also investigated volunteering across the lifecourse and considered how volunteering behaviours change in relation to shifts in roles, responsibilities, and preferences. She aimed to identify the impact of the birth of a child, divorce, widowhood, and the death of another household member on volunteering and volunteering hours. Following divorce, men were shown to be more likely to volunteer and to increase the hours they spend volunteering and, while widowhood generally decreased volunteering, those who became widowed at an older age were more likely to increase their volunteering. These findings show changes in close family relationships signify changes in roles that relate to volunteering. While volunteering may remain fairly stable across the lifecourse, split between those who volunteer and those who do not, life events can impact the extent of volunteering.

The research conducted by Nesbit (2012) suggests greater variance in volunteering patterns across the lifecourse than observed by Lancee and Radl (2014) and this may relate to the measures of volunteering used. While Lancee and Radl (2014) considered the frequency of volunteering by comparing those who report volunteering at least weekly, at least monthly, less than monthly, and never, they noted their measure does not specify a time frame within which this volunteering takes place, limiting its use as a measure of volunteering frequency. Nesbit (2012), on the other hand, included both a binary variable assessing volunteering in the past year and a log of the number of hours spent volunteering. This measure, particularly the use of a log of volunteering hours, may lead to a more precise reporting of volunteering that was not possible using Lancee and Radl's measures. This exemplifies the impact the choice of measure can have on results.

Fluctuations in lifecourse social participation were also identified by Gil-Lacruz, Marcuello, and Saz-Gil (2017) who investigated the influence of sociodemographic characteristics on volunteering behaviours across several European countries, including the UK. They found volunteering to fluctuate over the lifecourse, with midlife associated with a peak in volunteering, most notably in social awareness and professional activities. Wilson (2012), in his review of volunteering research also identified midlife as a time where volunteering was most likely as a result of stable family and employment roles. This supports Nesbit (2012) and shows that, despite Lancee and Radl's (2014) identification of overall stability in volunteering

across the lifecourse, there are fluctuations at different life stages with midlife in particular demonstrating a peak in volunteering.

Oesterle, Johnson, and Mortimer (2004) considered these fluctuations in volunteering over the lifecourse and related them to changes in the connections that exist between the individual and institutions such as education, employment, and the family. These institutions can provide skills, values, and opportunities that act as resources to enable volunteering. However, they can also represent demands and stresses that restrict volunteering and Oesterle et al (2004) argue this restrictive effect is strongest during the transition into adulthood. They investigated the changing relationships between volunteering behaviours and education, employment, and the family. Full-time work and parenting responsibilities were found to reduce the likelihood of volunteering, while post-secondary education increased the likelihood of volunteering. Volunteering appears to be influenced by changes in the relationship with education, employment, and the family that occur across the lifecourse.

The relationship between social participation and various lifecourse factors relating to the family and employment have also been investigated by Carr, King, and Matz-Costa (2015) who focussed on the type of volunteering undertaken. The life stage factors investigated included family structure and employment status, age group, and demographic variables including gender and race. They measured six types of volunteering: non-volunteers, charitable, youth-oriented, religious-oriented, civic-oriented, and volunteers in more than one domain. Non-volunteers were found to be the largest group. Charitable volunteering was not related to chronological age, and was negatively related to being single with children and to being disabled. Those aged over 30 were less likely to be engaged in youth-oriented volunteering, while those with children, students, and those looking for work were more likely to engage in this type of volunteering. Civic volunteering was unrelated to employment status or family structure but was more likely to be undertaken by those aged between 30-59. Volunteering in multiple domains was more likely to be undertaken by individuals aged between 45-59 and 75 and over, students, those looking for work, and those who were married without children or who had children outside the home. This research again shows variance in volunteering patterns and provides another example of how different measures can lead to different results.

The motivations to volunteer have also been found to shift across the lifecourse. Yamashita, Keene, Lu, & Carr (2017) examined the motivations of volunteers in early adulthood, midlife, and later life. They found that community service and wellbeing motivated volunteering at all life stages. Career advancement primarily promoted volunteering in early adulthood, while social network development motivated volunteering both during early adulthood and midlife. On the other hand the authors found generativity, which they defined as helping others, particularly the next generation, to promote volunteering in later life only. The motivations to participate therefore fluctuate across the lifecourse, alongside fluctuations in the likelihood of social participation.

2.7.3 Employment, Family Characteristics, and Social Participation

The responsibilities towards employment and the family are often seen to influence social participation as a result of the time pressures they present, with a lack of time being the most commonly reported reason for non-participation (Low et al., 2007). However, there are arguments that it is not a lack of time itself that results in non-participation, but feelings of being pressed for time. This is the assertion of Southerton and Tomlinson (2005) who argued that time can be experienced in different ways, and this results in feelings of time-based pressures that reduce the likelihood of engaging in different activities. The experiences of time pressures may influence the relationship between employment and family characteristics and social participation. Research regarding the relationship between social participation, family, and employment will now be examined.

The Family

The influence of family characteristics on social participation have previously been examined, with Lancee and Radl (2014) that volunteering was fairly stable over the lifecourse, but minor fluctuations were related to changes in the family domain. The relationship between social participation and changes in family composition as a result of children entering and leaving the household have also been examined. Voorpostel and Coffe (2012), using panel data collected over a relatively short period, investigated the relationship between changes to family characteristics and political and civic participation. They found that children entering or leaving the household had a limited influence on participation, supporting Lancee and Radl's (2014) findings that changes in family characteristics only result in small

fluctuations in social participation. This research therefore suggests that the relationship between children and social participation appears to be limited.

However, Voorpostel and Coffe (2012) also found that participation increases as children reach school-age, particularly for women. The dynamics of the relationship between parents and children can shift as children grow and become increasingly less dependent, and this can result in changes to parents' activities. Additionally, Wood et al (2011) investigated the impact of children on social capital, considering children to be potential catalysts for the development of social capital rather than solely presenting restrictions on parents. They found that those with dependent children living in the home had significantly higher levels of social capital, neighbourhood cohesion, and community participation. This supports Voorpostel and Coffe's (2012) findings that dependent school-age children can increase social participation. It also suggests that roles can be complementary rather than competitive. The age of children can influence the likelihood of their parents' participation.

Changes in marital status have also been shown to influence social participation. Marriage has been considered by some to be restrictive, shown by Sarkisian and Gerstel (2015) who used cross-sectional data and a short-term panel study to investigate the impact of partnership status on wider informal ties. They found single individuals were more likely to be in contact with others and to provide help to a wider group of people than those who are married. As a result, Sarkisian and Gerstel (2015) concluded that marriage can be associated with constraints on behaviours and activities.

On the other hand, spouses' activities have been shown to affect one another. Kim and Dew (2016) used cross-sectional data to examine whether marriage was detrimental to volunteering and found the relationship between marriage and volunteering to be complex and strongly related to the specific characteristics of the spousal relationship. They show that, in couples who spend more time together, the husband is more likely to volunteer. Meanwhile the husband of wives who view their husband as their "soulmate" are less likely to volunteer. This shows the relationship between marital status and volunteering is complex and depends heavily on the nature of the relationship between partners.

Employment

It has been argued that research investigating the relationship between employment and non-work activities has focussed too heavily on the influence of

work on the family domain, and has ignored the influence on community activities (Pocock, Williams, & Skinner, 2012; Voydanoff, 2001b). Tang, Morrow-Howell, and Choi (2010), in their investigation of the reasons for volunteer turnover, found disengagement occurred largely as a result of increasing commitments to other productive activities. This suggests that employment, and any increases in obligations towards work, may result in decreases in social participation. Ba's (2010) research offers an alternative perspective, however. He considered the strategies used by dual-earner parents in managing their work and family lives and found the strategies used by the couples to manage responsibilities had little to do with time availability. Instead the meaning associated with the work and family domains had a greater impact on the strategy used to meet competing demands from work and family life. Ba's (2010) findings may extend to social participation, and so the relationship between social participation and responsibilities towards work may not be a simple balance of time, but also relate to how activities are valued. The valuing of activities will be discussed later.

Lup and Booth (2018) argued that, while it has been acknowledged that work events can affect the non-work domain, little is understood regarding the relationship between employment and volunteering. They used cross-sectional research to examine the influence of changes in employment characteristics, such as working hours, contract type, and job satisfaction, on volunteering behaviours. They found that increases in work hours does not result in a decrease in volunteering, although increases in commuting time can decrease volunteering. They argued this may be the result of longer time being spent further away from the community. Additionally, they found increased job satisfaction related to a higher likelihood of volunteering. This suggests that the relationship between employment and social participation is characterised by greater complexity than a simple balance of resources such as time.

Rodell (2013) also examined the relationship between employment characteristics and volunteering and argued that job satisfaction can influence the likelihood of volunteering. In contrast to Lup and Booth's (2018) research discussed previously, Rodell (2013) showed that those with low levels of job satisfaction, those who feel there is less meaning in their work lives, are attracted to more meaningful volunteering roles. He also showed that engaging in meaningful volunteering is associated with improved job performance, suggesting there is a mutually beneficial relationship between volunteering and employment. Social participation

does not necessarily appear to be restricted by work factors, instead the two domains can be viewed as complementary.

The relationship between family and employment characteristics and social participation is therefore not simple and can vary in a number of ways. The relationship can also be influenced by responsibilities to other roles, as roles are typically undertaken simultaneously. Kraaykamp, van Gils, & van der Lippe (2009) were concerned by the free time activities of full-time working couples and used cross-sectional data to investigate how free time was split between solitary and social activities. Those working full-time spent less time on informal social interaction with friends and family in comparison to those with other employment types, and instead spent a greater proportion of time on more formal social activities, such as volunteering, cultural participation, and attending sports events. This suggests that full-time employment, alongside responsibilities to families, may not restrict involvement in social participation activities such as volunteering. This again highlights the complementary nature of roles and suggests that social participation is not necessarily restricted by the undertaking of multiple roles.

Gendered Participation

Lifecourse events and trajectories, and the contexts affecting them, can impact subgroups within cohorts to differing extents. This has been particularly observed in social participation research as the experience of life events and their impact on social participation has been shown to be gendered. Lancee and Radl (2014), while promoting the stability of volunteering across the lifecourse, noted that women's volunteering was influenced by family-related transitions to a greater extent than men's volunteering. Nesbit (2012) meanwhile found that divorced men were more likely to start volunteering or to increase the hours they spend volunteering than divorced women. This suggests that life events, particularly family related events, can influence the volunteering behaviours of men and women in different ways.

While some disagreed, as discussed previously, Putnam (2000) identified women's increasing labour force participation to be a key factor that resulted in the declining levels of social participation in America. He argued that, as women became increasingly involved in the labour market, they were less involved in community social organisations. This decreasing involvement in social organisations can be the result of role overload as women were increasingly expected to maintain multiple roles. In the UK, Evandrou and Glaser (2004) evaluated changes in the

characteristics of social and economic roles and highlighted that, while the occupation of multiple caring and labour market roles was relatively uncommon, it was increasing and had a particular impact on women's experience of the lifecourse. Bryson, Warner-Smith, Brown, and Fray (2007) mirrored these observations through their investigation of women's health and sense of control in their family and employment commitments. They noted that expectations on women had increased substantially over recent decades as a result of changing social trends and increasing individualisation of lifecourse choices. The increasing expectation of women to maintain both caring and labour market roles may have contributed to the declining levels of social participation observed by Putnam. This highlights the complexity of the relationship between social participation and other roles as it contrasts the previous observations that social participation is undertaken alongside multiple other roles towards the family and employment.

The gendered impact of employment and family characteristics on volunteering was the focus of research conducted by Taniguchi (2006). He found that part-time employment had a positive influence on women's volunteering but had no influence on men's volunteering. Unemployment, on the other hand, negatively affected men's volunteering but had no effect on women's volunteering. Meanwhile, he found unpaid caring work to family members had a negative effect on women's volunteering but had no impact on men's. Additionally, Rotolo and Wilson (2007) also considered the impact of women's social and economic roles on volunteering. They found that women who were described as homemakers and who had school-aged children were most likely to volunteer while those in full-time work with pre-school children were least likely to volunteer. This supports the idea that, for women, there is a time resource based trade-off between roles as parent, worker, and volunteer. This suggests that men and women occupy different roles in relation to the family and the labour market, and the characteristics of these roles can influence their volunteer work.

Social participation therefore fluctuates across the lifecourse in relation to employment and family characteristics. There is also evidence that social participation is gendered as a result of gender differences in these characteristics. However, research investigating social participation across the lifecourse has been focussed on cross-sectional and short-term panel data and so cannot accurately track changes across the lifecourse. This thesis aims to build on the findings from this existing research using a longitudinal study that enables participation behaviours to be followed across the lifecourse, thus providing a greater

understanding of how social participation is undertaken across the lifecourse and the changeable nature of the factors that influence social participation.

2.8 The Longitudinal Data Gap

As stated previously, much research regarding social participation across the lifecourse and the factors that influence participation behaviours have primarily used cross-sectional and short-term panel data. For example, the studies undertaken by Carr et al (2015), Yamashita, Keene et al (2017), Gil-Lacruz, Marcuello, & Saz-Gil (2017) aim to examine different elements of the relationship between volunteering and employment and family characteristics. However, by using cross-sectional data, their findings cannot show how these relationships develop and change across the lifecourse.

Some studies have used data that enables the tracking of behaviours, yet these too have limitations. Nesbit (2012) used a short-term panel study which, while enabling the assessment of lifecycle changes, such as divorce and widowhood, on later volunteering, it was not able to observe longer term changes and developments in volunteering across the lifecourse. Oesterle et al (2004) used longitudinal data and so were able to observe changes in volunteering behaviour, however they were focussed solely on changes that occurred in young adulthood and their findings cannot be generalised to other life stages. Lancee and Radl (2014) meanwhile used panel data collected over an extended period. As a result, they were able to assess the influence of lifecourse factors on later volunteering. However, while they conclude there appears to exist an element of self-selection into volunteering resulting in distinct groups of volunteers and non-volunteers, without data from those younger than 18 they cannot identify factors that result in this self-selection.

The data used in this thesis, the National Child Development Study (NCDS) will be introduced in Chapter 3. This study has previously been used to examine social participation, such as by Hietanen et al (2016) used data from the cohort study that will also be used in this thesis. The authors used NCDS data to identify the relationship between childhood socioeconomic status and adult social participation in volunteering, informal social activities, and contacts. This enabled them to highlight the influence of childhood socioeconomic status as a mechanism that encourages adult social participation, which Lancee and Radl (2014) were unable to do. However, Hietanen et al (2016) only measured social participation at ages

23 and 50, and did not examine the fluctuations in adult social participation and how these relate to social class.

Additionally, Brookfield, Parry, and Bolton (2014, 2018b, 2018a) used NCDS and its associated qualitative sub-study, the Social Participation and Identity Study (SPIS) to investigate differences between quantitative and qualitative reports of lifecourse participation. They observed an underreporting of participation in NCDS compared to the SPIS interviews, and the types of organisations reportedly participated in differed between the quantitative and qualitative studies. However, Brookfield, Parry, and Bolton focussed solely on data from the 220 cohort members selected for the SPIS study and so did not undertake a comprehensive investigation of participation behaviours across the lifecourse of the whole NCDS cohort. Using the complete NCDS cohort as a starting point may provide greater detail regarding the trajectories of social participation pursued across the lifecourse.

There is therefore the opportunity to build upon this existing research, using longitudinal data collected during childhood and across the lifecourse to identify the patterns of social participation across the adult lifecourse, the childhood factors that influence the development of these patterns, and the relationship between social participation and family and employment characteristics.

2.9 Conclusion

This literature review has examined social participation literature and revealed gaps that this thesis intends to investigate. The way in which social participation is undertaken across the lifecourse is not currently fully understood as studies have primarily used cross-sectional and short-term panel data. This thesis will use data from a longitudinal study that has tracked individuals across their lives since the late 1950s. In particular, it will focus on the nature of the relationship between social class and social participation. While social class is a known predictor of social participation, this thesis will examine the extent to which both social class background and social class in adulthood are related to social participation across lifecourse.

Through this review of social participation literature, it has emerged that there is a lack of consistency in current knowledge regarding the relationship between social participation and employment and family characteristics. Conflicting findings have emerged with some research observing, for example, that being married increases the likelihood of participation, while others have found marriage to restrict participation. This thesis will investigate these relationships further to observe whether the relationship between social participation and these characteristics changes across the lifecourse.

Additionally, this thesis aims to develop understandings of how social participation is experienced. While the quantitative longitudinal research is able to identify the patterns of social participation, it cannot observe the meanings individuals place on their social participation activities. These will be investigated using the Social Participation and Identity Study, a qualitative sub-study of the National Child Development Study. These studies will be introduced in Chapter 3.

In order to investigate these gaps in social participation literature, the following research questions are addressed by this thesis:

1. What patterns of social participation are undertaken across the lifecourse and in midlife?
2. How do patterns of social participation relate to sociodemographic, employment, and family characteristics?
3. How do those with different lifecourse trajectories of social participation and from different social class backgrounds experience social participation?

Chapter 3 - Investigating Social Participation

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methods used to investigate social participation across the lifecourse and in midlife. It begins by discussing the advantages of using longitudinal data and of incorporating both quantitative and qualitative elements in this thesis. The data used by this thesis will then be introduced: the National Child Development Study (NCDS) and the qualitative sub-study the Social Participation and Identity Study (SPIS). The variables, sampling strategies, and analytic strategies employed to answer each research question will then be discussed.

3.2 Longitudinal Research

As stated previously, existing research examining lifecourse social participation has limitations. The circumstances and experiences that develop over the lifecourse can only be fully understood through the use of longitudinal data (Parsons, 2010). Cross-sectional research can only identify one-off events that may not be representative of experiences across the lifecourse (Buckingham, 1999). Longitudinal studies have an advantage over cross-sectional and short-short term panel studies, which have dominated social participation research, as they cannot show changes and developments in behaviour (Carr et al., 2015; Gil-Lacruz et al., 2017; Yamashita et al., 2017). Longitudinal studies also enable cause and effect comparisons to be made more easily (Caruana, Roman, Hernández-Sánchez, & Solli, 2015). As discussed previously, it can be challenging to distinguish between the factors that can enable social participation and the positive outcomes of social participation, such as good health (Leone & Hessel, 2016). Studies that have used longitudinal data to study social participation have also been limited however as they focus on a specific time of life, such as the transition to adulthood (Oesterle et al., 2004), do not have data on childhood influences on adult participation (Lancee & Radl, 2014), or do not examine the intricacies of fluctuations in participation across the adult lifecourse (Hietanen et al., 2016). These limitations emerge as a result of a lack of longitudinal data that measures social participation across the lifecourse, both during adulthood and childhood. This thesis uses longitudinal data to assess the trajectories of social participation across the lifecourse. As will be seen, the National Child Development Study offers such data, enabling long term patterns of social participation to be examined.

3.3 Quantitative and Qualitative Data

This thesis uses quantitative data to track participation across the lifecourse and to examine how social participation is exhibited in midlife. These patterns are then considered in relation to characteristics of the family and employment in order to identify potential explanations for these patterns. The qualitative element then analyses how social participation is experienced and how these experiences reported in interviews compare to the quantitative results. This approach has a variety of benefits.

Using quantitative longitudinal data will enable a more accurate measurement of participation across the lifecourse, which contrasts previous research that has relied on cross-sectional data or historical recall of past activities. This quantative data will not, however, provide information regarding the context or lived experience of individuals (Creswell & Clark Plano, 2018). This will be achieved through qualitative analysis. Qualitative analysis is used here to support and enhance the findings of the quantitative analysis in order to provide informative results that utilise the strengths of both quantitative and qualitative research (Dures, 2012; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Weathington, Cunningham, & Pittenger, 2012). Methodological pluralism, conducting research using both quantitative and qualitative elements, can achieve results that are richer and of greater detail than those gained through single method research .(Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Payne, Williams, & Chamberlain, 2004). While there is interest in the wider social phenomenon of changes in the social participation of a generation across their lifecourse, it is also pertinent to consider the lived experiences of NCDS cohort members (Greene, 2008; Tebes, 2012). This research will be able to provide an overview of the patterns of participation existing within the NCDS cohort and a detailed picture of how these patterns can be described and understood by cohort members.

Undertaking both quantitative and qualitative analysis will make it possible to present a picture of social participation that has breadth and depth and provides a greater insight into the way in which social participation is undertaken across the lifecourse, and how it is influenced by responsibilities towards family and employment. While it may be considered ideal for the results of the quantitative and qualitative analyses to be consistent, divergent results are also valuable as they offer an opportunity to assess the impact the type of research, data, and analysis undertaken, can have on the outcomes (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). This

is particularly the case here as the quantitative and qualitative data are both from the same cohort study.

3.4 Data

3.4.1 National Child Development Study

The National Child Development Study (NCDS) began as a perinatal survey of every child born within a specific week of March 1958. Originating as the Perinatal Mortality Study and not initially designed as a longitudinal study, the cohort was returned to multiple times since 1958, when funding allowed, with sweeps taking place in 1965, 1969, 1974, 1981, 1991, 2000, 2004, and 2008. This has enabled the lifecourse of this cohort to be tracked from childhood into adulthood, assessing changes relating to shifts from dependent to independent, education to work, and through family changes (Power & Elliott, 2006). It has grown into a large longitudinal study assessing a vast range of topics, including their employment, health, and social participation. NCDS therefore enables trends in activities and behaviours to be tracked over time, and associations between these activities and behaviours and lifecourse factors to be established (Brookfield et al., 2018a).

The lifecourse of this cohort, born in 1958, has been marked with considerable social, economic, and political change. While in school, the NCDS cohort experienced the expansion of the comprehensive school system and they were the first cohort required to stay in school for an extra year following the rise of the school leaving age to 16 in 1973 (Power & Elliott, 2006). Throughout the 1960s and beyond divorce rates were increasing, although the majority of the cohort continued to live with both parents. A larger proportion than is now the norm lived without basic amenities, including the sole use of a hot water supply and an indoor toilet (Wedge & Prosser, 1973). By the 1970s the economic position of the UK became increasingly unstable and the NCDS cohort entered the labour market at a time of economic unrest and increasing unemployment, and turned 20 just prior to the Winter of Discontent (Fraser, 2009). They therefore experienced increasing individualisation and consumerism throughout the 1980s under Margaret Thatcher (Rubinstein, 2003). Through the 1980s, as part of the dismantling of the welfare state under Margaret Thatcher, many of the steps towards economic and social equality that occurred during their childhoods were reversed. Housing tenures also changed greatly as a result, with owner occupation increasing and renting decreasing (Ferri, 1993).

They also experienced certain legislative steps targeting discrimination against certain groups. From the 1970s, various acts were passed to reduce discrimination on the basis of sex, disability, ethnicity, and sexuality in employment and access to services. Additionally, changes in the composition of the labour market were key to the work experiences of the NCDS cohort, with the number of women in the labour market rising dramatically throughout the 1970s and beyond (Ferri, 1993). The types of job available diversified with part-time work and self-employment representing an increasingly large proportion of the labour market (Chiripanhura & Wolf, 2019). This cohort continues to be affected by changes in society, for example legislation to equalise and increase the state pension age for men and women. These events show the NCDS cohort has lived through great social change that may influence their experiences across the lifecourse.

The most recent sweep utilised by this research is the 2008 sweep, where the cohort was aged 50. A total of 9,790 cohort members were interviewed as part of this sweep, a decline from 18,555 in the original sample, but still a large sample, making NCDS an important longitudinal resource (Brookfield et al., 2014). The loss of participants is typical in a longitudinal study and occurs as a result of a loss of contact with participants due to death, relocation, and non-response. While NCDS is affected by these factors resulting in declining response rates over time, overall non-response is low (Brookfield et al., 2014). Hawkes and Plewis (2006) investigated non-response in the NCDS and found the best predictor of non-response are explained by variables in the previous sweep and, for this reason, this research uses Multiple Imputation in order to counter the effects of cohort members dropping out from the study. This will be discussed in further detail below. All variables used within this study were included in this Multiple Imputation, with the exception of the types of organisations participated in during midlife.

Missing Data

The longitudinal data used by this research contain missing data as a result of death, relocation, and non-response. Missing data can arise as participants may choose not to respond to certain questions, end the survey before it is completed, or make response errors. Missing data is a particular issue for longitudinal research as, in addition to these possibilities, participants are often lost between survey sweeps. As the National Child Development Survey had been running for 50 years at the time of the last sweep and tracked individuals since birth, the risk of losing contact with cohort members was high. The original sample taken in 1958 had over 18,500 participants, while the sample at the last sweep in 2008 was 9,789. While

this continues to be a large sample, the loss of nearly 8,000 participants due to death, refusal, and an inability to contact cohort members indicates that research intending to use NCDS as a longitudinal data set will be required to overcome issues regarding missing data.

The way in which missing data is dealt with must be carefully considered in order to avoid introducing bias or reducing the statistical power of any results (Enders, 2010; Graham, 2012). Missing data can take one of three characteristics. Missing completely at random (MCAR) indicates the missing values are a completely random sample of the study sample, and that the reason for this missingness is completely unrelated to the variables being studied. This is rare in uncontrolled environments, but traditional methods of dealing with missing data, such as listwise deletion, pairwise deletion, or mean substitution, assume this to be the case. As a result, these traditional methods can result in problems relating to bias and statistical power if used inappropriately (Little, Jorgensen, Lang, & Moore, 2014). Missing at random (MAR) is missingness due to a predictable reason and is an easily estimated random effect. A measure can be included in the study that measures the reason for missingness, which means the missing data can be estimated. Missing not at random (MNAR) indicates that missingness on a variable is caused by their level on that variable. This cannot be corrected for.

In order to correct for missing values, much longitudinal research using NCDS has utilised a Multiple Imputation (MI) approach (Blane, Higgs, Hyde, & Wiggins, 2004; Bowling, Pikhartova, & Dodgeon, 2016; Dibben, Playford, & Mitchell, 2016). Multiple Imputation is particularly useful when data is MAR. This method involves replacing missing values with plausible estimates by mimicking the variability of values present in observed data. Multiple Imputation calculates several plausible values, and then these are brought together to conduct further analyses (Little et al., 2014). It has been suggested that 20 to 100 imputations are sufficient to recover missing information, although the longitudinal research using NCDS described previously primarily used only 10 imputations (Graham, Olchowski, & Gilreath, 2007).

MI will be conducted in SPSS and the imputed data used in LatentGOLD for the proposed Repeated Measures Latent Class Analysis (RMLCA) in Research Question 1. Also, as MI can be used for covariates, which are introduced to answer the second research question, while other methods of dealing with missing data cannot, it is best suited to the research proposed here (Collins & Lanza, 2010).

Multiple Imputation therefore appears to be the most appropriate method of dealing with missing data for this research.

Over the course of their lives, the NCDS cohort have been asked about their lives in a wide range of areas, including social participation and contacts, family, and employment. The variables used to answer each research question will be discussed later in this chapter (sections 3.5.1 and 3.6.1).

3.4.2 Social Participation and Identity Study

Alongside the main NCDS sweeps, sub-studies have been undertaken and at age 50, the Social Participation and Identity Study (SPIS) was carried out. This is a qualitative sub-study whereby 220 cohort members were selected for interviews. A sample of 170 participants from North West and South East England and Scotland and an additional 50 participants from Wales were selected based on region and social mobility criteria. An equal balance of men and women was also sought in the SPIS sampling strategy. The aim was also to obtain a sample reflecting upwardly social mobility, downward social mobility, and stable social class.

Selected cohort members took part in semi-structured interviews which covered areas of substantive interest to the study of social participation and identity. The interview was organised into six topics: neighbourhood and belonging, leisure activities and social participation, friendships, life story, identities, and membership of NCDS.

Neighbourhood and belonging aimed to identify the activities the cohort member engaged in within their neighbourhood and to locate the cohort member within their migration histories. *Leisure activities and social participation* investigated participation without pre-defining social participation, allowing the cohort member to describe participation in their own terms. *Friendships* focussed on the connections the cohort member had with others in order to highlight the sources and construction of social capital. It utilised a concentric ring diagram in order to aid information gathering and to place the individual within their networks. *Life histories* asked cohort members to recount their life histories in their own words and in as much detail as possible. This was designed to relate to the longitudinal quantitative datasets. Included in this was an account of turning points in life, and the opportunity to select from a variety of diagrams representing life trajectories. *Identities* focussed on how the cohort member described themselves in terms of

social class, occupation, generation, and national and gender identities. A diagram was used in this section asking cohort members to place themselves along a scale from male to female. *Membership of NCDS* was the final section of the interview and asked the cohort member about their memories and experiences of involvement in this longitudinal study. This section aimed to provide an insight into participant retention which can be a considerable issue for longitudinal studies.

For this research, the topics of central importance will be “Leisure Activities and Social Participation”, “Friendships” and “Identities”. “Life Histories” also provides interesting information regarding the way in which role identities relate to social participation and social networks as roles change over the life course. This topic will therefore also be investigated.

Previous research has been undertaken using NCDS and SPIS to understand participation across the lifecourse. Brookfield, Parry, and Bolton (2014, 2018b, 2018a) have conducted several studies comparing the levels of social participation measured in the NCDS data with the reports of participation in SPIS. They found the SPIS revealed a greater range of social participation experiences than reported in NCDS, and this lead to an apparent underreporting of social participation in NCDS (Brookfield et al., 2018b). Lifelong non-participants, defined by the authors as those who participate in no organisations at any sweep, were overrepresented in the NCDS data (Brookfield et al., 2018b). They considered this to be due to the use of closed questions and a focus on participation scale and frequency in NCDS, compared to the open-ended questions, prompts and probes incorporated into SPIS (Brookfield et al., 2018a). The benefits of using NCDS alongside SPIS are also highlighted in these studies as using quantitative and qualitative data together provides a more complete picture of how social participation can fit into the lifecourse (Brookfield et al., 2018b). However, in these studies, the authors focus solely on the NCDS cohort members who were selected for SPIS. While this provides close linkage between the quantitative and qualitative data, the 220 cohort members selected for SPIS are not representative of the overall NCDS cohort (Elliott, Miles, Parsons, & Savage, 2010). This thesis investigates the patterns of social participation exhibited by the whole NCDS cohort and compares these results with results from the analysis of a subsample of the SPIS interviews. The analytic strategies used to answer the three research questions will now be discussed.

3.5 Research Question 1: What patterns of social participation are undertaken across the lifecourse and in midlife?

This research question aims to understand how social participation changes across the lifecourse and how it is engaged with in midlife. Social participation is measured by assessing membership and participation in a number of social organisations. As discussed previously, this is a measure of formal social participation. The variables selected for this research will be introduced and justified, including a discussion of any recoding undertaken in order to prepare the data for analysis. As these variables are described post-Multiple Imputation, these frequencies are based on the entire original NCDS cohort, therefore n=18,557 unless stated otherwise. The analytic strategy, focussing on the use of Latent Class Analysis and Repeated Measures Latent Class Analysis, will then be discussed.

3.5.1 Variables

Social Participation

Each adult sweep of NCDS included questions about cohort members' involvement with a selection of social organisations. They were asked if they have ever been a member of each organisation, whether they are currently a member of an organisation, and how frequently they engage with the activities of that organisation. Frequency of participation was measured in four levels: at least once a week, at least once a month, less often than once a month, and never. This research is concerned with active social participations and so is interested in those who engaged with the activities of an organisation as opposed to solely being a member of the organisation. In order to distinguish these active participants from members and those who had never participated, cohort members were considered to be participants if they stated they were a member of the organisation and if they had engaged in the organisation's activities, either once a week, once a month, or less than once a month. For example, a cohort member who reports having been a member of a trade union, is currently a member of a trade union, and engages with the activities of a trade union about once a month is considered to be a participant. Meanwhile a cohort member who similarly reports having been a member of a trade union, and is currently a member of a trade union, but reports never engaging in the activities of the trade union is considered to be a non-participant. While more nuanced patterns of participation may be uncovered by distinguishing between those who participate with varying levels of regularity, these

were grouped in this research in order to distinguish between those who do participate and those who do not.

Additionally, the organisations included at each sweep were considerably different. These are detailed in Table 3.1. To maintain consistency between sweeps, the number of organisations participated in is considered for the first part of this research, as opposed to the types of organisations. A richer picture of participation may be also be observed by considering the types of organisations engaged with, and so the second part of this research investigates participation in different types of organisations in midlife.

Sweep and Age	Organisations
Sweep 4, Age 23	Voluntary Work; Youth Club; Sport; Religious Meetings; Trade Union
Sweep 5, Age 33	Political Party; Charity/voluntary group (environmental); Charity/voluntary group (other); Women's groups; Townswomen's Guild/Women's Institute, etc; Parents/School organisations; Tenants/residents associations; None of these
Sweep 6, Age 42	Political Party; Environmental Charity/Voluntary Group(s); Other charity/voluntary group(s); Townswomen's Guild/Women's Institute etc; Parents/school organisations; Tenants/residents associations; None of these
Sweep 7, Age 46	Youth or children's activities, including school activities; Politics, human rights, or religious groups; Environmental or animal concerns; Other voluntary or charity groups; Local community/ neighbourhood groups (incl. elderly, disabled, homeless; Hobbies, recreation, arts, social clubs Trade Union activity; Other groups, clubs or organisations; None of these
Sweep 8, Age 50	Political Party; Trade Union; Environmental Group; Parents'/School Association; Tenants'/Residents' Group/Neighbourhood Watch; Religious Group or Church Org.; Voluntary Service Group; Other Community/Civic Group; Other Community/Civic Group; Social/Working Men's Club; Sports Club; Women's Institute/Townswomen's Guild; Women's Group/ Feminist Org.; Professional Org.; Pensioners Group/Org.; Scouts/Guides Org.; Any other Org.; None

Table 3.1: Organisation Types at each NCDS Sweep

Social Participation across the Lifecourse

Figure 3.1 shows the NCDS cohort at age 23 is fairly evenly split across the three levels of social participation measured, with around 68% of the NCDS cohort at age 23 participating in one or several organisations. By age 33, however, participation had declined considerably, with less than 20% of the cohort participating in one or several organisations. This was largely maintained at age 42. Following this, there appeared to be a resurgence of participation at age 46, as the proportion who participated in one or several organisations exceeded 50%. This reduced slightly by age 50 to just below 50% as the proportion who participated in several organisations decreased. Participation in social organisations is therefore not stable across the lifecourse and there are great variations apparent between different ages. Some of this variation may relate to changes in the response options at each sweep. Table 3.1 details the differences in organisations assessed at each sweep, revealing considerable differences. This may have influenced cohort members' reporting of their participation, for example, because the organisation type they participate in may not have been included at a certain sweep.

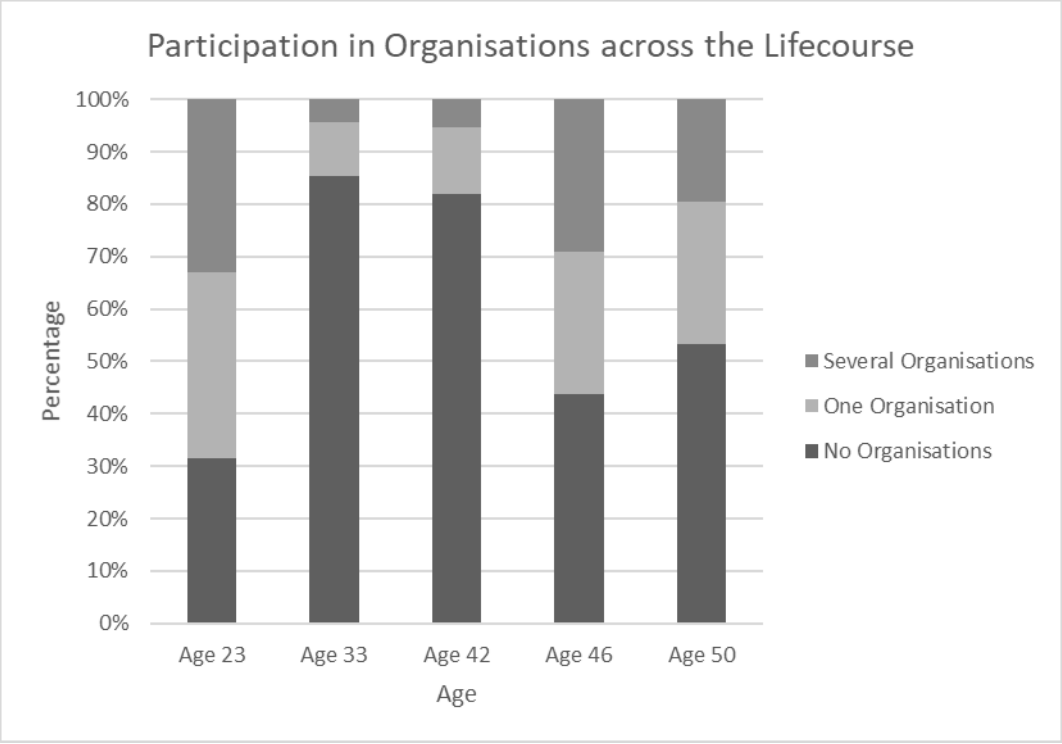

Figure 3.1: Proportion of cohort members participating in none, one, or several organisations at each age

Social Participation in Midlife

Social participation in midlife was analysed by investigating the types of organisations participated in at age 50. Table 3.1 showed the organisation types included at Sweep 8. As described previously, those who reported active participation in an organisation were recorded as a participant of that organisation. Figure 3.2 shows the rates of participation in each type of the organisations included at age 50. This analysis was conducted using age 50 data that had not undergone Multiple Imputation and so n=9790. This shows that participation in the majority of organisation by the NCDS cohort at age 50 appears low. Ten of the organisation types listed were only participated in by less than 5% of the NCDS cohort. Trade Unions and Religious Groups were each participated in by just below 10% of the NCDS cohort. Professional Organisations were participated in by 13% of the cohort while Sports Clubs have the highest participation, with 22.5% of the NCDS cohort reporting participation in this organisation type.

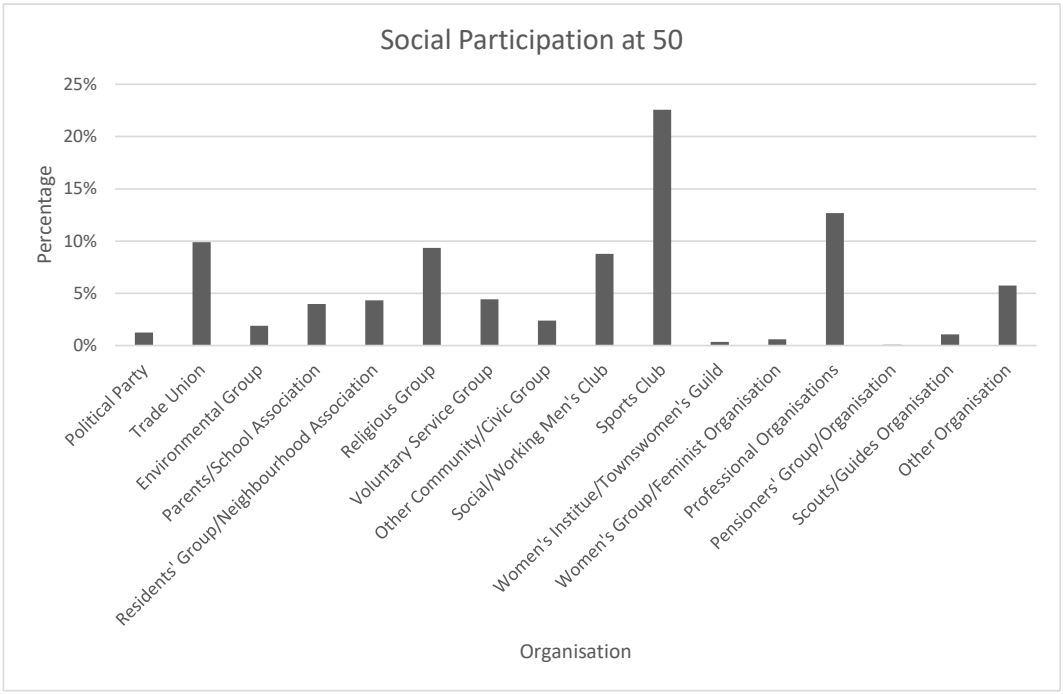

Figure 3.2: Proportion of cohort members participating in each organisation type listed at age 50

3.5.2 Research Question 1: Analytic Strategy

Latent Class Analysis

To address research question 1, which is concerned with identifying the patterns of participation in midlife and across the lifecourse, Latent Class Analysis (LCA) and Repeated Measures Latent Class Analysis (RMLCA) were used. LCA identifies unobserved subgroups (or clusters/latent variables) of participants from observed, multivariate categorical data (Armour, Elklit, & Christoffersen, 2014; Carlson, Nahhas, Daniulaityte, & Martins, 2014). It can be considered a person centred approach as the respondents are the focus of analysis (La Flair et al., 2011; Rutledge, Siebert, Siebert, & Chonody, 2016). LCA bases allocation to the latent variable on similarities in participants' responses to survey items (Mezulis, Stoep, Stone, & Mccauley, 2011). It is assumed that variation in responses to these survey items is the result of the latent variable (La Flair et al., 2011; Rhebergen et al., 2016). RMLCA involves a similar process to standard Latent Class Analysis (LCA). However, the classes are interpreted as trajectory classes as they show changes between states at different time points (Bray, 2007). RMLCA is an exploratory analysis technique that describes the observed longitudinal data through the identification of latent trajectories (Lanza & Collins, 2006).

RMLCA was also selected as the purpose of this research is to identify shifts in the level of participation over time. RMLCA will be used to identify trajectories of social participation across the five adult sweeps of NCDS at ages 23, 33, 42, 46, and 50. The recoded social participation variable was discussed previously and assesses whether the cohort member participated in none, one, or several organisations at each sweep. By conducting RMLCA using this variable at each NCDS sweep, it will be possible to determine whether there is a latent variable that explains the movement of individuals through their life course participatory behaviours (Collins & Lanza, 2010). This latent variable could highlight whether there are a set of lifecourse social participation trajectories.

While identifying the trajectories of social participation across the lifecourse is beneficial for determining the extent of stability and change in lifecourse social participation, the NCDS data also contain rich information regarding the types of organisations participated in. As shown in Table 3.1, these organisations vary considerably between sweeps and so it is not possible to study movements between organisation types across the lifecourse using these data. However, in order to fully examine the nuances of social participation across the lifecourse, the types of organisations participated in at the most recent sweep of NCDS will be

assessed. The final sweep, sweep 8, was selected as it is the most recent data available at the time of this research, and it offers the greatest variety of organisation types. Sweep 8 was also selected as the cohort were age 50 which is often considered to be midlife. As seen in the literature review in Chapter 2, midlife has been considered a peak of participation activity as a result of stability in family and employment roles. Investigating the types of organisations participated in during midlife offers an opportunity to examine greater nuances in social participation. Latent Class Analysis (LCA) was used in order to identify whether a latent variable explains the pattern of social participation in different organisations in midlife.

In LCA and RMLCA the number of classes in a latent variable need to be considered. There is no clear agreement on how to determine this, however, nor which statistical indicator is most appropriate to decide the number of classes in a latent model. In some cases, theoretical literature may indicate a certain number of classes and this can be used to guide the analysis. This is absolute fit. This is not typically the case however and so most analyses rely on identifying the model with the best fit in relation to other models. This is "relative fit" as the model is chosen that fits the data best in comparison to other models (Lanza, Bray, & Collins, 2013). As there are no theoretically defined number of classes suggested by the social participation literature, and this analysis is primarily explorative, this analysis seeks to identify a model that best fits the data compared to alternative models. In this scenario, certain indicators are used to determine which model best fits the observed data. The indicators most commonly used to compare models are Akaike Information Criterion (AIC), Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC), and classification error.

Lower AIC, BIC, and classification error values are preferred (Ahmed et al., 2013; Nylund et al., 2016). AIC and BIC are functions of log likelihood, although BIC is considered superior to AIC as it takes sample size and the number of parameters into account (Mezulis et al., 2011; Nylund et al., 2016). Therefore, a model should be selected if it has a low AIC, BIC and classification error, with preference given to BIC values.

In addition to these statistical indicators, the model can be assessed for suitability based on whether each class represents a sizable proportion of the sample. Once again, a sizable proportion is defined by the researcher, but can typically range from 1-5% of the sample (Nooner et al., 2010; Rhebergen et al., 2016). In the event

that a larger model is indicated by the AIC, BIC, and classification error, these indicators may be disregarded if the extra class cannot be reasoned theoretically or if the additional classes only represents a small proportion of the sample.

Another important consideration when determining which model to use is to investigate the bivariate residuals to ensure that the assumption of conditional independence is met. The assumption of conditional independence is that the removal of the latent variable would result in no correlations between the variables used to create the model (Ahmed et al., 2013). Higher figures in the bivariate residuals indicate stronger correlations between two variables that would exist without the influence of the latent variable. Higher figures are therefore problematic. As with other tests to identify the most appropriate model, there is no absolute rule stating which bivariate residual figures are acceptable and which are not. Existing research has suggested that figures over 20 are to be considered problematic (Mezulis et al., 2011). If bivariate residuals are above an acceptable level, then the condition of independence can be relaxed for these specific problematic pairs, allowing the correlation to be included in the modelling procedure (Vermunt & Magidson, 2016).

This analysis was run in LatentGOLD, which reports AIC, BIC, classification error, and bivariate residuals. These indicators were considered when identifying the most appropriate model to describe social participation trajectories across the lifecourse and the types of organisations engaged with at age 50.

Next steps

While identifying the latent variable is itself of great interest, a common reason for the use of Latent Class Analysis in the social sciences is due to its ability to relate the latent variable to external variables of interest (Bakk, Oberski, & Vermunt, 2014). The simplest way to conduct this involves identifying the latent variable, assigning individuals to classes, then relating class membership to the external variables (Vermunt, 2017). It is possible to relate class membership to different types of external variables. To identify whether the external variables predict class membership, the external variables are entered into a logistic regression. This third step is undertaken in order to answer Research Question 2: “How do patterns of social participation relate to sociodemographic, employment, and family characteristics?”.

Research Question 1 will therefore be answered using RMLCA to identify trajectories in the levels of social participation across the lifecourse, and LCA to identify the patterns of participation in different types of organisations at age 50.

3.6 Research Question 2: How do patterns of social participation relate to sociodemographic, employment, and family characteristics?

This thesis is also concerned with the relationship between social participation and factors including social class, economic activity, and parental status. Three sub-questions are asked in order to answer this research question:

a) What childhood characteristics are associated with different lifecourse participation trajectories?
b) What characteristics differentiate participant levels at different ages across the adult lifecourse?
c) What characteristics differentiate participant types in midlife?

To answer these questions, variables are taken from two childhood sweeps of NCDS, collected at ages 11 and 16, and the five adult sweeps, at ages 23, 33, 42, 46, and 50. Once again, these variables are post-Multiple Imputation, and so n=18,557, unless otherwise stated. Logistic regression will be used to examine the relationship between the dependent variables which measure social participation, and the independent variables measuring sociodemographic, employment, and family characteristics. The justification for using logistic regression will first be discussed. The independent variables will then be examined and their inclusion in the regression analysis justified based on theoretical arguments. As these data are from a longitudinal study, there may have been changes in the wording of response options available at each sweep which may affect responses. Any significant changes in question wording will be also considered here. The analytic strategy, including the methods of handling missing data, will then be examined.

3.6.1 Variables

Childhood Variables

The childhood variables utilised by this research predominately come from Sweep 2, collected in 1969 when the cohort was 11 years old. This sweep contains useful information regarding the formal social activities of the cohort, particularly involvement in clubs. Social class of the male head was also taken at this sweep in order to indicate the social origins of the cohort member. One variable, frequency of volunteering, was taken from Sweep 3, collected in 1974 when the cohort was 16. These variables measuring childhood social class and participation experience are included in this analysis as social class has been shown be a strong determinant of social participation (Brodie et al., 2009; NVCO, 2019). A higher social class in childhood has been shown to increase the likelihood of volunteering and informal social engagements as an adult (Hietanen et al., 2016). Additionally, children from higher social class backgrounds have been found to be more likely to be selected as volunteers as a result of the development of skills and behaviours that are sought after by volunteer recruiters (Dean, 2016). There is also evidence that young people are involved in extra-curricular activities in order to signal social advantage and to reproduce social classes (Ball & Vincent, 2007; Bennett & Parameshwaran, 2013). Childhood social class and social participation experiences may therefore indicate the development of a habitus that results in the class-based patterns of social participation in adulthood (Bourdieu, 1984; Harflett, 2015). These variables were included in this analysis to show the influence of conditions and events in childhood on behaviours in adulthood.

Participation in Childhood

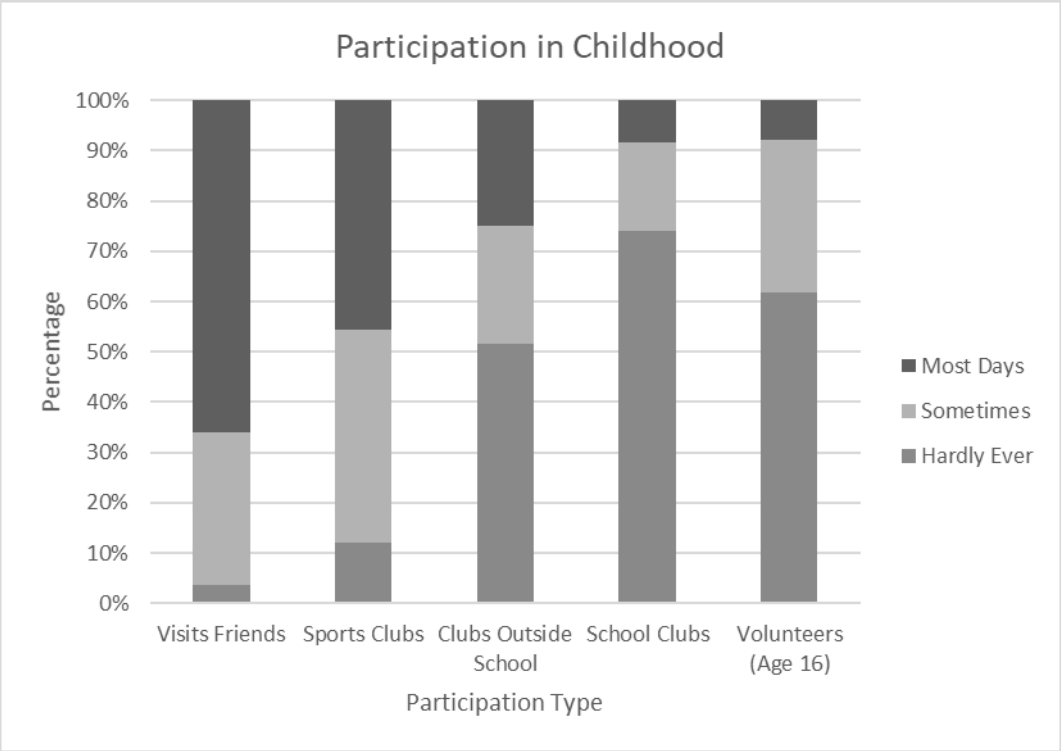

Figure 3.3: Proportion of cohort members engaging in social participation in childhood (age 11, unless otherwise stated)

Figure 3.3 shows that, at age 11, over 95% of cohort members reported meeting friends outside school and nearly 90% reported participating in sports clubs, either most days or sometimes. Additionally, just below 50% said they engaged with clubs outside school. Meanwhile, fewer than 30% reported participation in school clubs This suggests that informal participation, sports, and activities outside school were the most popular activities for the children aged 11. At age 16, nearly 40% of the cohort were engaged in volunteering. While this may appear to be a healthy proportion, only 8% of the cohort were engaging most days. However, little guidance is given on how to quantify “sometimes” in comparison to “hardly ever” or “most days”. This variable, and those used at age 11, can therefore only be used to provide an indication of the regularity of participation in each activity, not to provide a reliable assessment of participation frequency.

Childhood Social Class

Figure 3.4: Proportion of cohort members by social class at age 11

At age 11, social class is based on the occupation of the child's father, and so this variable represents the cohort members' social origins. It was measured by the Registrar General's Occupational Classification at the 1969 NCDS sweep, which used information about the father's occupation to categorise people into five social classes. Figure 3.4 indicates that the class structure of the NCDS cohort at age 11 exhibits a normal distribution, with the majority being in Skilled Occupations, and fairly similar proportions in the highest and lowest classes.

Lifecourse Variables

In order to track participation activities across the adult lifecourse, from age 23 in 1981 to age 50 in 2008, the focus was on retaining comparability between the variables used. This involved careful selection of variables and the recoding of some variables for consistency. The questions asked and responses available to cohort members at each sweep are detailed here.

Gender

Gender is included in this analysis as there is some evidence that social participation may be gendered. Family-related transitions, such as marriage and the transition to parenthood, have been shown to affect women's volunteering, but not men's (Lancee & Radl, 2014). Additionally, women with school-aged children in the home who are not in employment have been found to be the most likely to volunteer (Rotolo & Wilson, 2007). In terms of employment status, part-time work has been shown to influence women's likelihood of volunteering but to have no effect on men's (Taniguchi, 2006). Social participation may be gendered and including this as an independent variable within this analysis will show the consistencies and fluctuations in this relationship across the lifecourse. The gender split of the NCDS cohort remains at approximately 50% men and 50% women at every sweep.

Social Class

Social class is used in this analysis because, as discussed previously, it has been shown to be a strong indicator of social participation (Brodie et al., 2009; Low et al., 2007; NVCO, 2019). Class-based distinction in patterns of social participation may be observed between participant and non-participants, reflecting the distinction between social classes based on cultural tastes as found by Bourdieu (1984). Social class is therefore included at each sweep in order to observe whether class has a consistent relationship with social participation across the lifecourse.

In Chapter 2, Chan and Goldthorpe's findings were presented that suggested social status and education had a stronger relationship with omnivorous cultural tastes. Investigating the interrelationships between social participation and social class, social status, and education would likely provide an interesting insight into the nature of social participation in relation to different measures of social stratification, however the purpose of the present research is to consider the

association between social class and social participation across the lifecourse. As a result, social status and education are not included in this analysis.

Due to definitional changes social class was measured using Registrar General's Social Class (RGSC) until Sweep 6 in 2004 at which point the National Statistics Socio-economic Classification (NS-SEC) was introduced and used for Sweeps 7 and 8. NS-SEC is based on occupational coding, originally based on Standard Occupational Classification 2000 (SOC2000). SOC2000 has been updated since and so current measures of NS-SEC are based on SOC2010. NS-SEC can be used in three ways – full, reduced, or simplified – depending on research requirements and data availability. Greater detail in the social class breakdowns is possible when using the 7-level full NS-SEC, however the analysis in Chapter 5 uses the 3-level simplified NS-SEC for ease of interpreting the logistic regression results. The relationship between the 3-, 5-, and 7- level NS-SEC is shown in Table 3.2.

NS-SEC 3-Level	**NS-SEC 5-Level**	**NS-SEC 7-Level**
1. Higher managerial, administrative and professional occupations	1. Higher managerial, administrative and professional occupations	1. Higher managerial, administrative and professional occupations 2 Lower managerial, administrative and professional occupations
2. Intermediate Occupations	2. Intermediate Occupations 3. Small employers and own account workers	3. Intermediate occupations 4. Small employers and own account workers
3. Routine and own account workers	4. Lower supervisory and technical occupations	5. Lower supervisory and technical occupations
	5. Semi-routine and routine occupations	6. Semi-routine occupations 7. Routine Occupations

Table 3.2: NS-SEC 3- 5- and 7-Level Versions

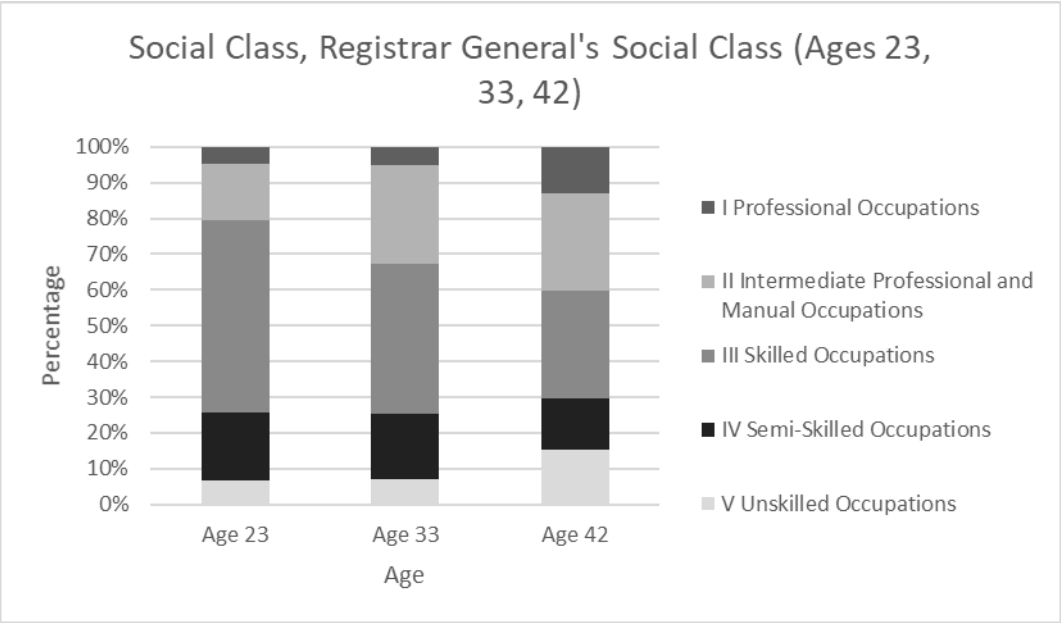

Figure 3.5: Proportion of cohort members by RG's Social Class, ages 23-42

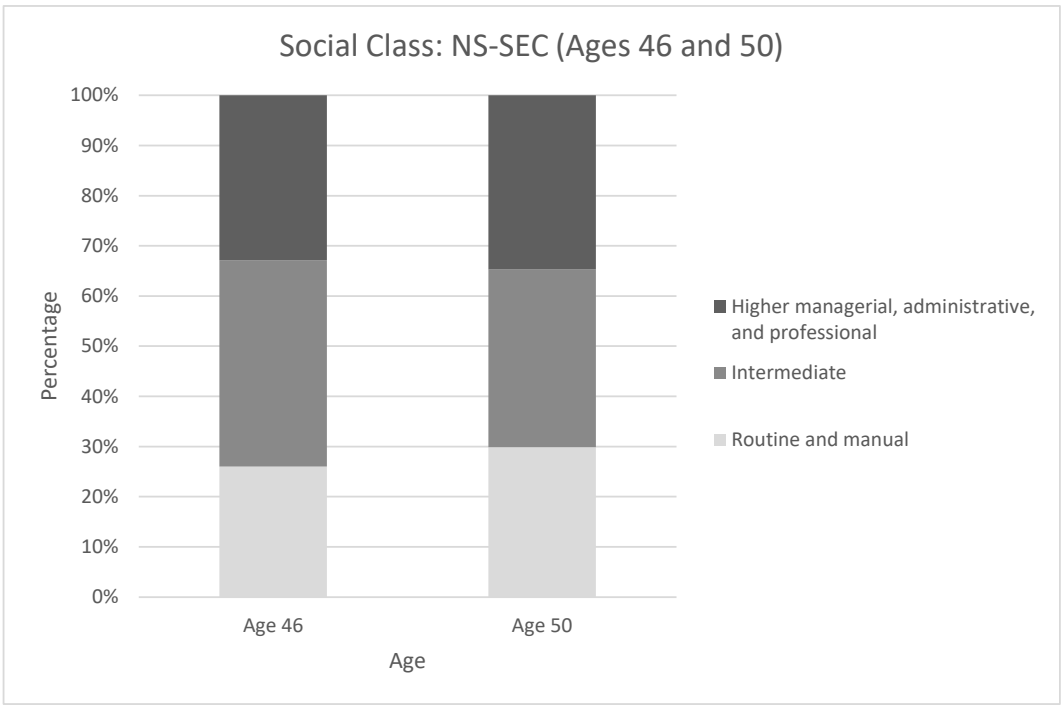

Figure 3.6: Proportion of cohort members by NS-SEC (3-Level), ages 46-50

Figure 3.5 shows that, up to Sweep 6, collected in 2000 when cohort members were aged 42, the proportion of the cohort in the highest social classes using the RG class measure increased from 20% to 40%. The proportion of those in the lowest social class also increased slightly from 25% to 29%. Figure 3.6 shows 43% of the cohort were in the highest social class by age 46, where the measure changed to NS-SEC. This was largely maintained at age 50. The change in measure means the social class structure of the cohort up to age 42 cannot be directly compared with the structure at age 46 and beyond. Overall it appears that the proportion of the cohort in the highest and lowest classes increased to age 42, squeezing those in the intermediate class, followed by relative stability between aged 46 and 50. However this impression of relative stability between ages 46 and 50 may be influenced by the shorter time gap between these sweeps than between previous adult sweeps (approximately ten years). Future sweeps of the NCDS will reveal whether the social class distribution of the cohort maintains stability or fluctuates.

It is important to remember, however, that these social class distributions the NCDS cohort at each sweep are based on data that has gone through Multiple Imputation. As discussed previously in section 3.5.2, Multiple Imputation was used to handle missing data within the NCDS. Missing data is a common issue among longitudinal studies and can result in attrition bias, which can be particularly noticeable in social class as those of a lower social class are more likely to drop out of longitudinal studies (Hawkes & Plewis, 2006). It is possible to examine this using the NCDS data before and after Multiple Imputation. Figure 3.7 shows the social class distributions for ages 23, 33, and 42 before Multiple Imputation. This shows the proportion of the NCDS cohort in the highest two social classes increases by 21 percentage points from 15% at age 23 to 36% at age 42. This increase is reflected in the imputed data, albeit to a more limited extent, with an increase of 10 percentage points. Meanwhile, the proportion of those in the lowest two social classes decreased by 4 percentage points from 17% at age 23 to 13% at age 42 in the dataset prior to imputation. This decrease is not observed in the imputed data, which instead shows an increase in the proportion of the NCDS cohort in the lowest two social classes, from around 25% at age 23 to around 30% at age 42. The differences in proportions of cohort members of different social classes between the original data and the imputed data highlights the importance of handling missing data in order to account for potential attrition bias.

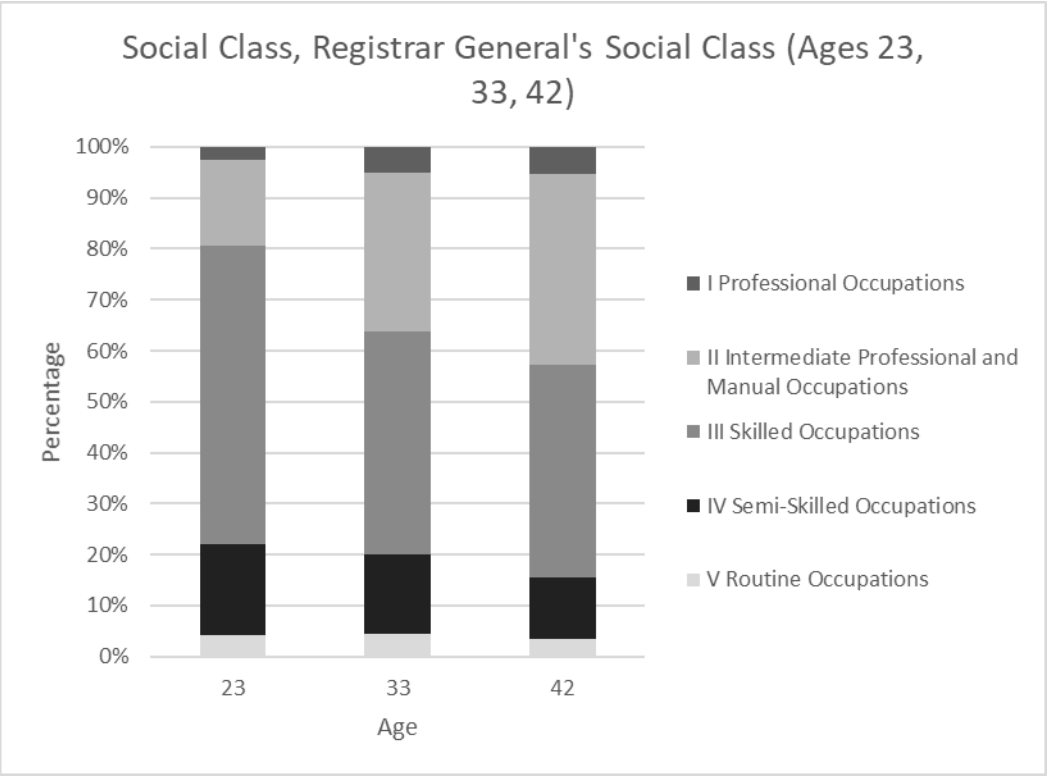

Figure 3.7: Proportion of cohort members by RG's Social Class (pre-Multiple Imputation), ages 23 (n=9,920), 33 (n=10,582), and 42 (n=9,591)

Religion

Religion has consistently been identified as an indicator of participation, and is often considered to relate to the possession of values that typically remain stable across the lifecourse. It has been shown to impact the likelihood of volunteering in both religious and non-religious organisations (Johnston, 2013). The relationship between religion and social participation is said to relate to the organisational structures of religious institutions, the values instilled in religious teachings, and the social networks developed within religious communities (Bennett, 2015). It is included in this analysis in order to highlight whether the relationship between religion and social participation is stable across the lifecourse or whether it fluctuates.

Religiosity has multiple dimensions, including religious affiliation which can be viewed as connection to a specific religion, and religious behaviours which is the proactive observation of religious practice (Paxton, Reith, & Glanville, 2014). The questions asked at each NCDS, shown in Table 3.3, appear to capture different elements of religiosity. At sweeps 23, 33, and 42, cohort members were asked whether they considered themselves to belong to a religion, therefore measuring religious affiliation by assessing connection to a specific religion. At age 50, on the other hand, cohort members were asked if they currently practice any religion,

thereby assessing whether the cohort member engages in any religious behaviours.

Furthermore, at age 46, cohort members were asked if they had attended a religious service in a specified time frame. While this may also be indicative of religious behaviours, as at age 50, attendance at a religious service was considered to be too specific to solely be a measure of an element of religiosity. Attendance at religious services may also be too close to assessing participation in religious groups, which is included as a form of social participation (see Table 3.1). As no appropriate variable was available, it was decided to not include a measure of religiosity at age 46, but to include it at every other sweep, despite the questions capturing different elements of religiosity.

Sweep 4 Age 23	Sweep 5 Age 33	Sweep 6 Age 42	Sweep 8 Age 50
"Do you regard yourself as belonging to any particular religion? IF CHRISTIAN, PROBE FOR DENOMINATION"	**"Do you regard yourself as belonging to any particular religion?"**	**"[SHOW CARD YY] Please look at this card and tell me what is your religion, if any?"**	**"Do you actively practise any religion now?"**
No, No Religion	No/No religion	No religion	Yes
Church of England/Anglican	Church of England/ Anglican	Church of England/ Anglican	No
Roman Catholic	Roman Catholic	Roman Catholic	
United Reformed Church (URC)/ Congregational	United Reform/URC/ Congregational	United Reform (URC)/ Congregational	
Baptist	Baptist	Baptist	
Methodist	Methodist	Methodist	
		Presbyterian/ Church of Scotland	
Christian, no denomination	No denomination Christian	Christian, no denomimation	
Other Christian (WRITE IN)	Other Christian (WRITE IN)	Other Christian (please state)	
Hindu	Hindu	Hindu	
Jew	Jew	Jew	
Muslim	Muslim	Muslim/Islam	
Sikh	Sikh	Sikh	
Buddhist	Buddhist	Buddhist	
Other non-Christian (WRITE IN)	Other non-Christian (WRITE IN)	Other non-Christian (please state)	

Table 3.3: Question and response options assessing religiosity at each sweep

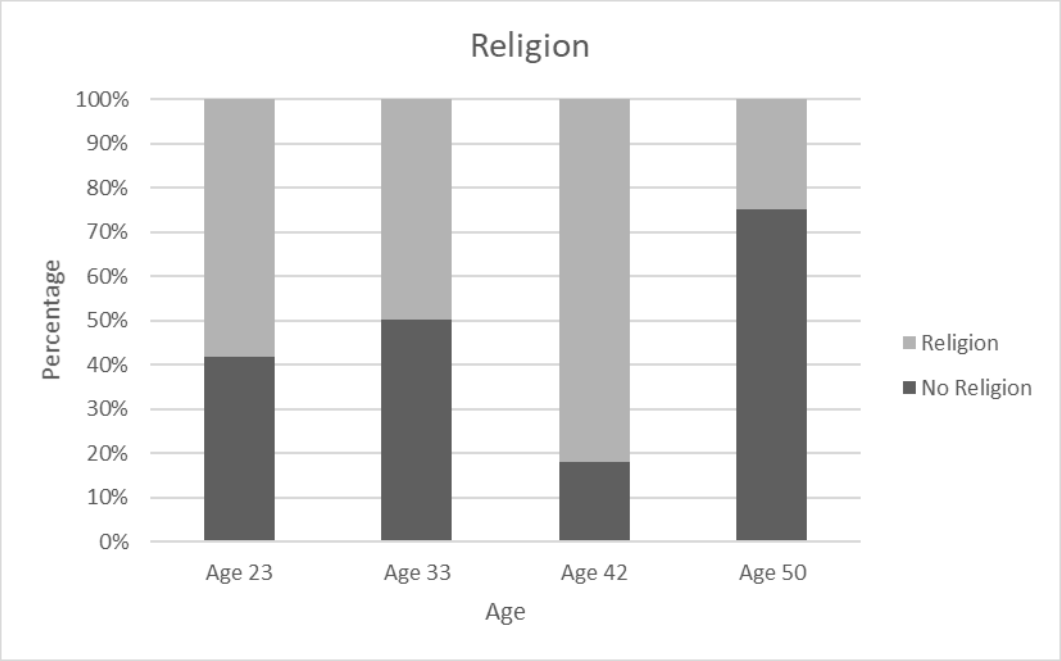

Figure 3.8: Proportion of cohort members reporting religiosity at each sweep

Nearly 60% of cohort members reported belonging to a religion at age 23, and this decreased to around 50% by age 33. However, at age 42 this spiked with over 80% of cohort members reporting having a religion. By age 50 this had decreased considerably, to around 25%. The spike in reported religiosity at age 42 may relate to the way in which the question was asked at this sweep in comparison to other sweeps. At age 42, cohort members were presented with a visual prompt: a card with a list of religions, and they were asked if they were a member of any of the religions on the card. At previous sweeps at age 23 and 33, however, cohort members were asked to state whether they belonged to a religion and the religion to which they belong. No list of religions was presented. It is possible that the spike in reported religiosity at age 42 sweep is the result of being presented with a list of religions to choose from.

This is further supported when considering the breakdown of religions reported. Figure 3.9 shows that reporting belonging to a religion increased across all religions, and most notably in Christian, no denomination. It appears unlikely that the increased reporting of religiosity is due to a genuine increase in religious belief at age 42, but instead is the result of this change in survey instrument. At age 50 (sweep 8) cohort members were asked whether they practiced a religion, which was then followed up by a question specifying which religion. This excludes those

who may have considered they belonged to a religion but did not practice, explaining the decline in reported religiosity at age 50.

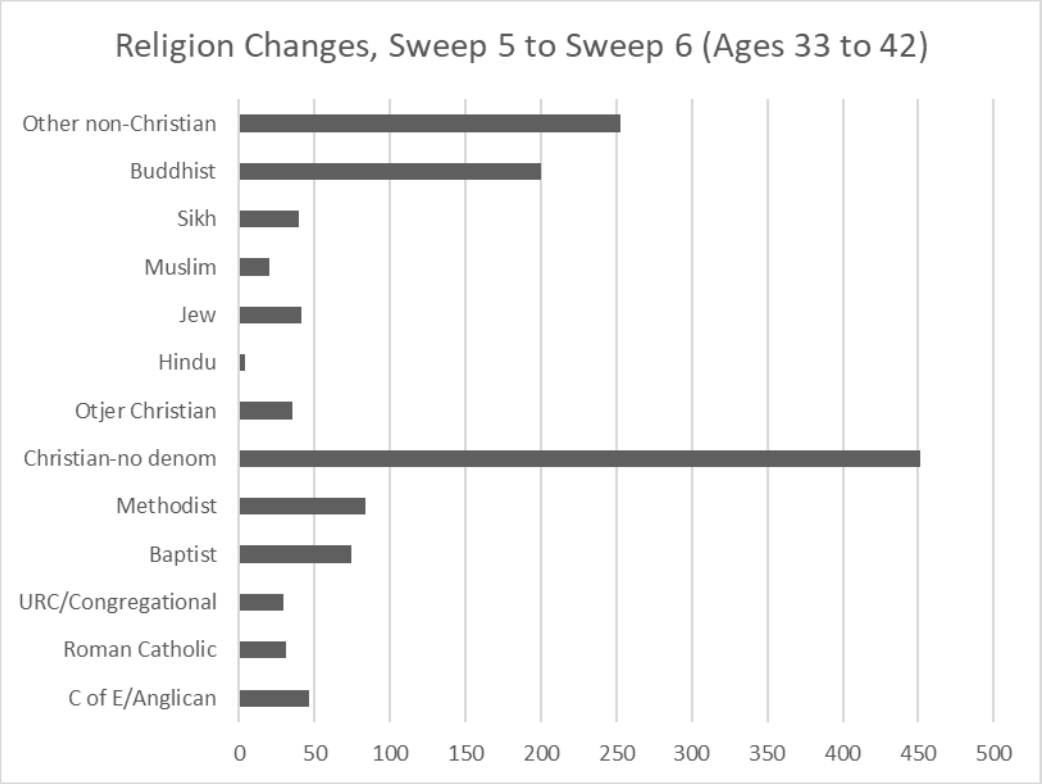

Figure 3.9: Differences in religions reported between Sweep 5 and Sweep 6 (pre-Multiple Imputation, n=11,367)

Marital Status

Marital status is the first of two variables included in the analysis that assesses family composition. It is included in this analysis as existing research has offered contrasting results regarding the relationship between social participation and marital status. On the one hand, marital status has been shown to restrict social contacts (Sarkisian & Gerstel, 2015). On the other hand, the relationship between marital status and social participation has been found to be more complex and dependent on the nature of partnership (Kim & Dew, 2016). Marital status is therefore included here to determine how its relationship with social participation changes across the lifecourse.

This variable was included in all adult NCDS sweeps. At age 23, marital status was recorded as either single, married, separated, divorced, or widowed. At age 42, in 2000, cohabiting was added as an option. At age 50, in 2008, civil partnership was also included. These changes reflect social and legal changes that have occurred across the lifecourse of the NCDS cohort.

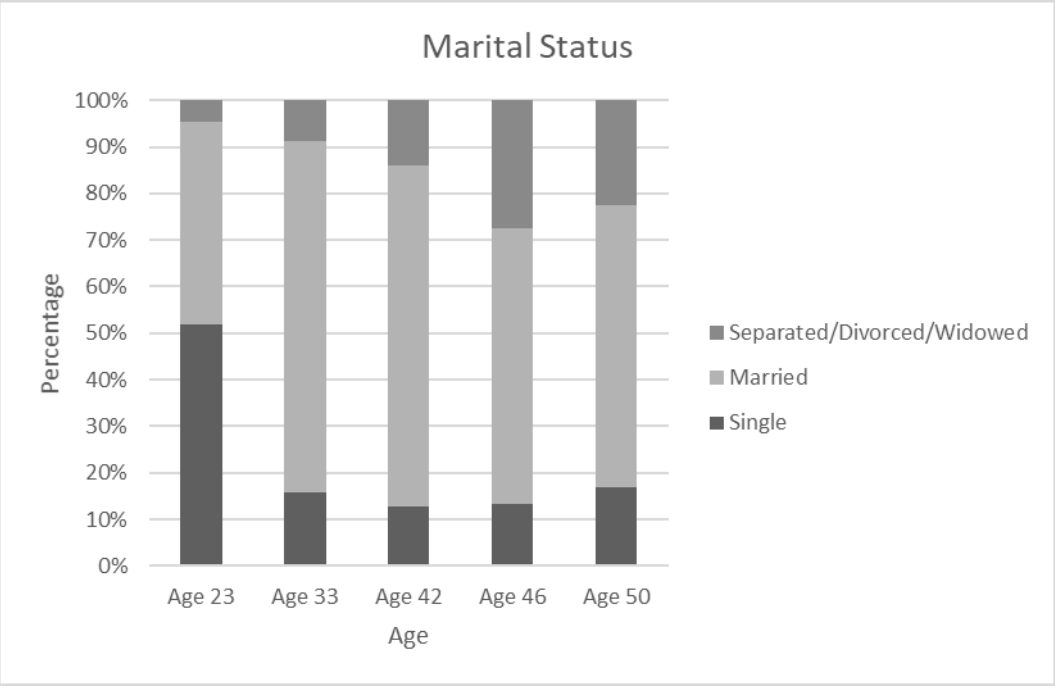

Figure 3.10: Proportion of cohort members by marital status at each sweep

As this research is concerned with the availability of resources in order to maintain consistency across the lifecourse, these variables were recoded into three groups – single, married or in a civil partnership, and separated, divorced, or widowed. Figure 3.10 shows changes in the marital status of the NCDS cohort across the

lifecourse. At age 23, a similar proportion were either single or married, with a minority (less than 5%) being separated, divorced, or widowed. By age 33 the proportion of those who were married has dominated, with only 13% being single and less than 10% being separated, divorced, or widowed. Married has since remained the dominant marital status reported by the cohort. The proportion of those reporting being separated, divorced, or widowed increased throughout the sweeps to age 46 where it reached 27%. This decreased to 22% by age 50 suggesting some cohort members remarried. Again, this increase in separation and evidence of remarriage demonstrates the social changes that occurred across the cohort's lifecourse.

Children

The second variable included in these analyses to assess family composition is age of the youngest child in the household. This determines whether the cohort member is responsible for a child and, by assessing the age of the youngest child, it also indicates the extent to which children may be dependent on the cohort member. Previous research has suggested that pre-school children can restrict the activities of their parents, while school-aged children can encourage activities (Voorpostel & Coffe, 2012; Wood et al., 2011).

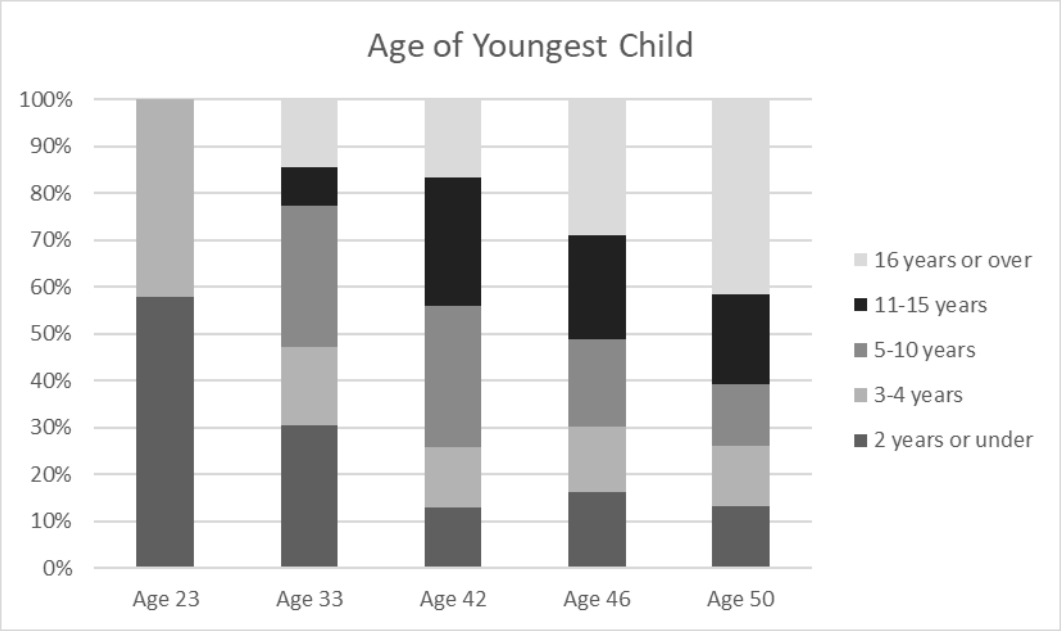

Figure 3.11: Age of the youngest child at each sweep

Figure 3.11 shows the age of the youngest child at each sweep. At age 23, the youngest child was below 4 years of age, with over 50% of the cohort having a youngest child below the age of 2. By 33 this had declined, and the proportion of cohort members with a child below the age of 4 made up less than 50% of the cohort. Meanwhile at age 33 the proportion of the cohort with the youngest child aged 5-10 was at 30%. At age 42, the youngest child was primarily of school age, with 30% being aged 5-10 years and 27% being aged 11-15. By age 46, the proportion of those whose youngest child was aged 16 became the most dominant, making up nearly 30% of the cohort. This dominance continued at age 50, with those with a youngest child aged 16 or over making up over 40% of the cohort. The increasing age of the youngest child alongside the increasing age of the cohort member highlights how the nature of the family, and the responsibilities to the family, change across the lifecourse. It also suggests that responsibilities to very young, dependent children, decrease over the lifecourse, with age 50 offering potential for social participation in relation to this change in responsibility.

Economic Activity

This analysis is also concerned with responsibilities to employment. As previously discussed, little is known about the relationship between employment characteristics and social participation (Pocock et al., 2012; Voydanoff, 2001a). Work commitments may reduce social participation as a result of competing demands on resources (Tang & Morrow-howell, 2010). On the other hand, increasing work hours has been shown to not result in a decrease in volunteering (Lup & Booth, 2018). There appears to be a more complex relationship between employment and social participation than may initially be considered. Economic activity is included in this analysis as a result of Putnam's suggestion that part-time work offers a golden balance to enable social participation (Putnam, 2000).

The economic activities that were of interest included full-time and part-time employment, both employees and self-employed. Unemployment was also of interest, as was economic inactivity due to looking after the home/family, being sick or disabled, or being retired. Figure 3.12 presents the frequencies of these economic activities across the lifecourse of the NCDS cohort. Full- and part-time self-employment were only included from age 33 onwards, and this accounts for some of the apparent decrease in full-time employment from age 23 to age 33. Full-time employment was the most common economic activity across the lifecourse, however the proportion of full-time employees decreases across the lifecourse and the economic activities reported diversifies. Part-time employment

in particular increased at ages 33 and 42. The proportion who were looking after the home/family was fairly substantial at ages 23 (15%) and 33 (13%), but decreased considerably at age 42 to around 7%, suggesting a lessened responsibility towards children. This is largely consistent with changes in the age of the youngest child discussed previously. Retirement was included from age 42, and around 10% of the cohort were retired by age 50.

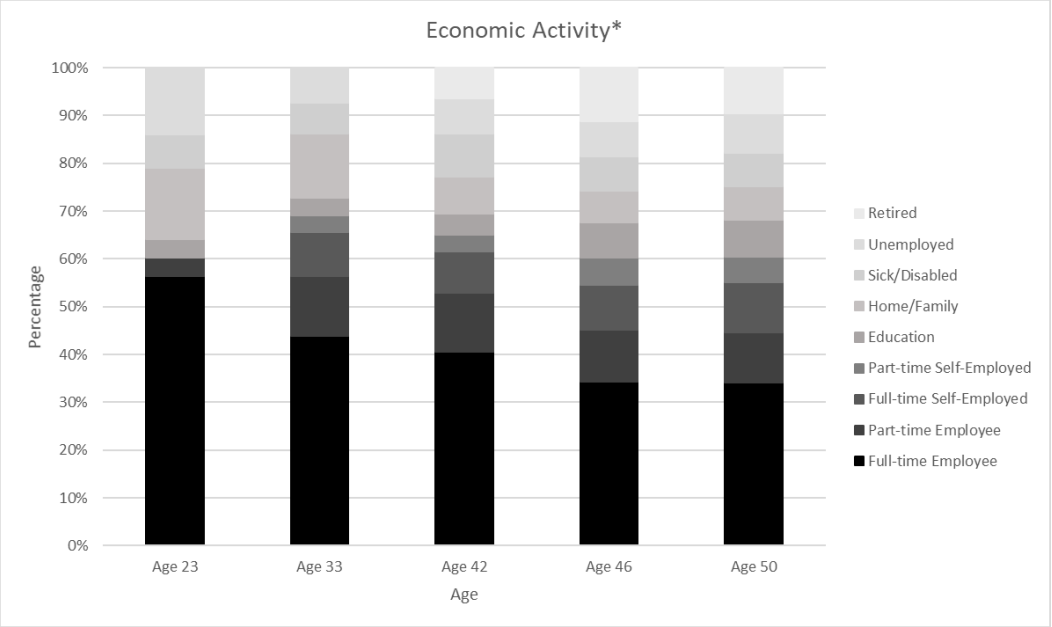

Figure 3.12: Proportion of cohort members by economic activity at each sweep

*Coloured version of Figure 3.12 available in Appendix 5.

3.6.2 Research Question 2: Analytic Strategy

Logistic Regression

In order to answer Research Question 2, which seeks to identify how social class, previous participation, and employment and family characteristics relate to social participation across the lifecourse, logistic regression was selected as the most appropriate analysis. This is because logistic regression can be used to explain the relationship between a categorical dependent variable and one of more independent variables. Logistic regression predicts the odds of an incident occurring (dependent variable) and the factors (independent variables) associated with the incident. Both binary and multinomial logistic regression are used here because, as will be demonstrated later in this chapter, some dependent variables

have two levels, as required for binary logistic regression, while others have three levels, as required by multinomial logistic regression (Sperandei, 2014).

In order to assess whether the models can be used with confidence, the likelihood ratio tests will be examined. Variables within the model will then be investigated to identify which independent variables have a significant effect on the dependent variables. Significance level will be taken to be $p<0.05$. There has been debate regarding the use of this in determining significance, with concerns being raised over non-reproducible results and the use of $p<0.05$ as an absolute threshold that defines significance (Betensky, 2019). While there have been some calls to reduce the p-value to $p<0.005$, this arguably continues issues relating to an absolute threshold of significance and as such is still disputable (Kennedy-Shaffer, 2019). Instead, the p-value should be considered in the context of other factors, such as sample size and effect size (Betensky, 2019). When interpreting results, the p-value should not be used in isolation as statistical significance based on p-value does not necessarily imply an effect exists (Wasserstein, Schirm, & Lazar, 2019). Therefore, while $p<0.05$ is the significance level used within this analysis, the reasons for significance and non-significance will be considered.

Finally, the odds ratios of these significant variables will then be used to identify whether the variable has a positive or negative association with the dependent variable. The extent of this effect will also be considered in order to demonstrate the strength of the association. An odds ratio of above 1 indicates a positive relationship while an odds ratio of below 1 indicates a negative relationship.

Models Overview

The following regression models will be constructed to identify relationships between social participation and external factors. Chapter 5 provides greater details regarding the regression models developed in order to assess the factors that relate to social participation across the lifecourse. The independent variables selected will be justified based on theoretical perspectives.

a) What childhood characteristics are associated with different lifecourse participation trajectories?

One model is used to answer this question. The dependent variable is the trajectories of social participation across the lifecourse identified by the RMLCA described previously and undertaken in Chapter 4. The independent variables measure childhood social class and childhood experiences of different social participation activities.

b) What characteristics differentiate participant levels at different ages across the adult lifecourse?

Five comparable models are used to answer this question, one at each adult sweep of the NCDS. The dependent variable is social participation, measured by whether the cohort member participates in none, one, or several organisations at each sweep. The independent variables are also largely consistent and, as described previously, measure gender, social class, religiosity, economic activity, marital status, and the age of the youngest child.

c) What characteristics differentiate participant types in midlife?

One model is used to answer this question. The dependent variable is the participation types identified by the LCA undertaken in Chapter 4. The independent variables are consistent with the previous models constructed to answer question b).

This uses quantitative analysis to answer Research Questions 1 and 2, thereby providing a greater insight into the development of social participation patterns across the lifecourse and in midlife, and the factors that influence these patterns. By considering both the level of social participation and the types of organisations engaged with, a more complete picture of social participation can be established. However, in order to provide a greater nuance in the understanding of how social participation is experienced, qualitative analysis will be undertaken.

3.7 Research Question 3: How do those with different lifecourse trajectories of social participation and from different social class backgrounds experience social participation?

This final research question aims to provide a more complete picture of social participation across the lifecourse. It uses a qualitative sub-study of NCDS, the Social Participation and Identity Study (SPIS) in order to gain insights into cohort members' experiences of social participation. The sample methods used are first discussed, followed by a brief introduction to the sample. Qualitative secondary analysis is then discussed, highlighting the advantages and disadvantages of such an approach, and finally an overview of Framework Analysis is provided, which is the method used to analyse the interview transcripts.

3.7.1 Sample Selection

220 NCDS cohort members were interviewed as part of the SPIS sub-study. Analysing all interviews was not feasible and would likely have resulted in an over-saturation of data and so a sample of the SPIS interviewees were selected and their interview transcripts analysed. While ideally, the sample would be chosen based on the results of the Repeated Measures Latent Class Analysis in Chapter 4, this would require linkage between the NCDS and SPIS which was not feasible due to implications regarding confidentiality and anonymisation.

This research uses purposeful typical case sampling in order to select SPIS cohort members based on their lifecourse participation levels and their social class background. The sample aims to identify exemplar cases that demonstrate a variety of participation experiences. The variables used to select the qualitative subsample are shown in Table 3.4.

Variable		n	Frequency
Social Mobility	Stable Service Class	37	16.8
	Downwardly Mobile	35	15.6
	Upwardly Mobile	73	33.2
	Stable Other	75	34.1
	Total	220	100
Lifecourse	Lifetime Non-Participant	21	9.5
Participation	Sporadic Participant	181	82.3
	Lifetime Participant	18	8.2
	Total	220	100
Gender	Male	110	50
	Female	110	50
	Total	220	100
Marital Status	Single & Never Married	18	8.2
	Married	165	75
	Separated/Divorced/Widowed	37	16.8
	Total	220	100
Child	Children	84	16.4
	No Children	36	83.6
	Total	220	100
Economic Activity	Full-time Employment	131	59.5
	Part-time Employment	40	18.2
	Full-time Self-Employment	27	12.3
	Part-time Self-Employment	9	4.1
	Unemployment	1	0.5
	Full-time Education	1	0.5
	Permanently Sick/Disabled	3	1.4
	Looking after Home/Family	6	2.7
	Other	2	0.1
	Total	220	100

Table 3.4: Qualitative sample selection variables

The level of lifecourse participation was prioritised when selecting the qualitative sample. The experiences of both Lifetime Participants and Lifetime Non-Participants were of particular interest to this study, and so interviewees were first selected based on their participation history. Following Brookfield et al (2014), those who reported participation in an organisation at every adult sweep of NCDS were considered Lifetime Participants and those who reported participation at no adult NCDS sweep were considered Lifetime Non-Participants. Those who reported participation in some, but not all, adult NCDS sweeps were considered to be Sporadic Participants. As this analysis is primarily concerned with the experiences of those who do and those who do not participate, the cohort members were selected from the Lifetime Participant and the Lifetime Non-Participant groups. Three of the cohort members selected were Lifetime Participants, and four were Lifetime Non-Participants.

The cohort members' social class was then considered. As this thesis is concerned with the relationship between participation and social class both in terms of social class background and current social class, the cohort members' social mobility was used to guide sample selection. Cohort members' child- and adulthood social class was used to determine their movement across social classes over their lifetimes and they were then assigned to various social class trajectories. The social mobility groups were stable service class, meaning they were of a higher social class in both adulthood and childhood, stable working class, meaning they were of a lower social class in both adulthood and childhood, and those who were mobile as they moved between higher and lower social classes. This mobile group could either be upwardly mobile as they moved up social classes over their lives, or downwardly mobile as they moved down social classes. Primarily of concern were those who had remained stable across their lives in order to identify the long-lasting influence of their childhood social class on adult participatory behaviours. Three cohort members selected were stable service class, and three were stable working class. Additionally, one cohort member was selected who was upwardly mobile in order to provide an example of how movement between social classes can influence experiences of social participation.

Lifecourse social participation and social class trajectory were therefore primary factors considered when selecting the sample, however family and employment characteristics were also considered. Those with economic activity or family structures that stood out were selected, particularly to ensure the qualitative subsample contained both those with and without children, and those who reported

part-time and full-time employment. The resulting sample included two cohort members who were in part-time employment, while five were full-time. Two of the seven cohort members selected had no children, compared to five who had children. Five were married, one was separated, and another was single. However, upon reviewing the interview transcripts, one cohort member who reported being married in the NCDS data was in fact divorced. This either indicates an error in their NCDS data, or the divorce was finalised in the time between the NCDS data collection and the SPIS interviews.

As a result of this sampling strategy, according to their NCDS records, the qualitative sample contains three Lifetime Participants and four Lifetime Non-Participants. Three cohort members were stable service class, three were stable working class, and one was upwardly mobile. Two cohort members selected did not have children. One was separated, another was single and never married, and the others were married. Five were in full-time employment and two in part-time employment. The cohort members selected are introduced in Table 3.5.

Cohort Member	Social Mobility	Participation Level	Economic Activity	Marital Status	Children
Alice	Stable Service Class	Lifetime Participant	Full-time Employment	Single	No Children
Karen	Stable Working Class	Lifetime Participant	Part-time Employment	Remarried	Children
Kyle	Stable Working Class	Lifetime Participant	Full-time Employment	Married	No Children
Matthew	Stable Service Class	Lifetime Non-Participant	Full-time Employment	Married	Children
Michael	Stable Service Class	Lifetime Non-Participant	Full-time Employment	Married	No Children
Nick	Upwardly Mobile	Lifetime Non-Participant	Full-time Employment	Separated	Children
Sharon	Stable Working Class	Lifetime Non-Participant	Part-time Employment	Married	Children

Table 3.5: Qualitative SPIS Sub-Sample

3.7.2 Research Question 3: Analytic Strategy

Qualitative Secondary Analysis (QSA)

Research Question 3 involves the qualitative analysis of interview data from the Social Participation and Identity Study (SPIS). Qualitative Secondary Analysis (QSA) describes the analysis of qualitative data that was collected for a previous project. It can be analysis by the same or different researchers who are aiming to investigate new research questions or who wish to use new analytic strategies (Ruggiano & Perry, 2019). QSA is a cost effective and convenient approach to use when rich information is required (Tarrant, 2017). There has been much discussion regarding the suitability of secondary analysis to qualitative research, however. The data used within qualitative research is typically not simply the words used by participants, although this is the case in discourse analysis, for example. Instead the context of the interview, or other data collection method, provides the researcher with rich information that is difficult or impossible to formally record. This context is not accessible by the secondary analyst and, without this, there are concerns that QSA could slide into a form of empiricism that is incompatible with the aims of qualitative research (Irwin, 2013). There is also the concern that, as data was originally collected with specific research questions in mind, the data cannot fit new research questions (Bishop, 2007). Additionally, the original data was collected under a specific set of social, political, or cultural environments. Analysing the data under a different set of environments has the potential to lead to the misinterpretation of data (Ruggiano & Perry, 2019). While these issues are certainly problematic, QSA continues to be beneficial. These issues can also be apparent in qualitative primary analysis; they are not restricted to QSA (Hammersley, 2010; Tarrant, 2017). As original researchers typically conduct multiple interviews it is entirely possible they lose sight of the original context of the interview by the end of the research process (Moore, 2007). Context is a construct and so is changeable. As such, the researcher's perception of context may change as reflexivity is limited (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003; Moore, 2007). Indeed, distance from the original context can be beneficial as the researcher cannot enter into the analysis with pre-determined ideas regarding the content and potential findings (Hinds, Vogel, & Clarke-Steffen, 1997). Distance can also enable new research directions to emerge that were not considered by the original researcher. The loss of context is therefore possible in both primary and secondary qualitative analysis and may not represent a drawback to QSA.

Instead of aiming to recreate the context of the original data, the aim of QSA should be to recontextualise the data into the new surroundings of the new research project (Bishop, 2007). New contexts can be achieved through the placing of qualitative data within quantitative data, for example (Moore, 2007). In the context of this research, SPIS data was collected with the intention of it being used for QSA. As a result, fitting new research questions is not an issue as the data is known and was used in the formulation of the research question.

Framework Analysis

The issues relating to QSA are best overcome through the use of a strategic but flexible analytic strategy (Tarrant, 2017). Developed in the 1980s by the National Council for Social Research for use in applied policy research, Framework Analysis can offer such an approach (Dixon-Woods, 2011; Srivastava & Thomson, 2009). Framework analysis uses a matrix within which coded data can be organised into themes (Dixon-Woods, 2011). It is flexible, systematic, and transparent and so is beneficial in comparison to other forms of qualitative analysis, such as Thematic Analysis which can be criticised for its lack of transparency (Barnett-Page & Thomas, 2009; Ward, Furber, Tierney, & Swallow, 2013). The aim of Framework Analysis is to identify themes prior to analysis based on existing knowledge, but also allows for additional themes to emerge throughout the analysis (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994; Ward et al., 2013). As Framework Analysis is strongly focussed on representing the experiences of participants, it is suitable for this research which aims to illustrate existing quantitative findings with the rich qualitative data that highlights the experiences of cohort members (Barnett-Page & Thomas, 2009).

Framework Analysis takes place in five main stages, although these are often not distinct and previous stages may be returned to at any point (Parkinson, Eatough, Holmes, Stapley, & Midgley, 2016). The first stage, familiarisation, is common with many forms of qualitative analysis and involves the researcher becoming immersed in the data. Through familiarisation and the use of existing knowledge, themes can emerge. Which is the second stage of Framework Analysis. The third stage involves indexing the raw data into the themes, in a similar way to coding in other forms of qualitative analysis. Once the data has been indexed it can be transferred to the matrix in order to enable comparisons between data indexed in each theme – this is stage four, charting. Finally, this data is mapped and interpreted, where the researcher presents the data in a clear manner and interprets the data in order to highlight the findings from the analysis and answer the research questions (Lacey & Luff, 2007). This well-structured but flexible

approach is suitable for the research which involves QSA and pre-determined research questions.

These qualitative interviews therefore offer the opportunity to develop a greater understanding of the experiences of social participation across the lifecourse. Using the quantitative and qualitative data together enables patterns, trajectories, and lived experiences to be established.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter has detailed the methods used within this research. The NCDS and its sub-study SPIS provide high quality, longitudinal, quantitative and qualitative data. This enables social participation to be examined in a variety of ways. The longitudinal design allows lifecourse social participation to be assessed, thus filling a gap in social participation research that has relied heavily on cross-sectional research. This longitudinal analysis will highlight lifecourse transitions, childhood experience, and the cumulative nature of advantage. The qualitative data provide the cohort members' perspectives, and can overcome issues of pre-scripted responses, thus providing richer details regarding the experiences of lifecourse social participation that may not be revealed in quantitative analysis. The way in which this data will be used to address each research question was examined here, showing the benefits of utilising this versatile data. The following chapters, chapters 4 to 6, detail the analysis undertaken and how these findings answer the research questions to develop a better understanding of social participation across the lifecourse.

Chapter 4 - Patterns of Social Participation

4.1 Introduction: Context and Aims

Research has shown that social participation behaviours may vary in response to changes that occur across the lifecourse (Nesbit, 2012; Wilson, 2012). This previous research has been limited, however, through its overreliance on cross-sectional and short-term panel data that cannot show how behaviours develop across the lifecourse. This chapter aims to address this using data from a longitudinal cohort study, the National Child Development Study (NCDS) to track the ways in which social participation fluctuates over the lifecourse. Additionally, it aims to show how participation in midlife is characterised. Midlife is often viewed as an opportunity for social participation as a result of stabilising responsibilities to the family and employment (Wilson, 2012). This chapter therefore addresses the following research question and sub-questions:

Research Question 1: What patterns of social participation are undertaken across the lifecourse and in midlife?

a) What trajectories of social participation are undertaken across the lifecourse?
b) How is participation in social organisations patterned in midlife?

The first question will be addressed using Repeated Measures Latent Class Analysis, and the second using Latent Class Analysis, as introduced in the previous methods chapter (Chapter 3). The analytic process and results will be detailed, followed by a discussion of how these results build on existing research to provide a greater understanding of the patterns of social participation across the lifecourse and in midlife. The chapter will conclude with an overview of how these findings will feed into the analysis in Chapter 5.

4.2 What trajectories of social participation are undertaken across the lifecourse?

4.2.1 Analysis

RMLCA was used to identify whether a latent variable exists that explains transitions in cohort members' organisation participation over time. In order to identify the number of levels, or clusters, on this latent variable that most accurately represented the observed NCDS data, RMLCA was run in LatentGOLD multiple times, each time adding a new cluster. This process was ended once the models contained six clusters as it was considered that, with only five variables entered into the analysis, adding any more classes would not result in adequate data reduction to justify using RMLCA (Nylund et al., 2016). Table 4.1 presents a comparison of the indices used to determine the most appropriate model for each of the six models.

Model	Clusters	NPar	L^2	BIC	AIC	Class.Err.
1	1	10	4455.58	-5097.87	2511.58	0.000
2	2	16	932.78	-8561.71	-999.22	0.14
2	**2**	**18**	**750.28**	**-8724.54**	**-1177.72**	**0.16**
3	3	22	1581.39	-7854.12	-338.68	0.27
4	4	28	1181.55	-8194.99	-726.45	0.29
5	5	34	848.65	-8468.91	-1047.35	0.28
6	6	40	2993.44	-6265.15	1109.44	0.34

Table 4.1: RMLCA Models and Model Fit Indices

The options available in LatentGOLD and used here to compare and identify the most appropriate latent model were AIC and BIC. Table 4.1 shows the most appropriate model was Model 2 as this model had the lowest AIC and BIC, indicating Model 2 fitted the data best in comparison to the other models. In order to ensure the assumption of conditional independence was met the bivariate residuals for Model 2 were investigated, highlighting two variable pairs that violated the condition of independence (Ahmed et al., 2013). These pairs were participation at ages 23 and 50 and participation at ages 33 and 42. The 2-cluster analysis was re-run with these pairs controlled for. This adjusted model is highlighted in bold in Table 4.1 and, as shown by the AIC and BIC, was the most appropriate model to represent lifecourse trajectories of participation. A full discussion of the indicators used to examine these models is available in Chapter 3.

4.2.2 Results: Longitudinal Latent Variable

Table 4.2 shows two groups of participants were identified by the RMLCA and these groups were characterised by differing likelihoods of participation at each NCDS sweep.

		Trajectory 1	Trajectory 2
	Cluster Size	*66.5%*	*33.5%*
Sweep 4 Age 23	No Organisations	0.38	0.19
	One Organisation	0.36	0.34
	Several Organisations	0.26	0.47
Sweep 5 Age 33	No Organisations	0.91	0.73
	One Organisation	0.07	0.18
	Several Organisations	0.02	0.09
Sweep 6 Age 42	No Organisations	0.93	0.58
	One Organisation	0.06	0.27
	Several Organisations	0.01	0.15
Sweep 7 Age 46	No Organisations	0.60	0.14
	One Organisation	0.27	0.27
	Several Organisations	0.13	0.59
Sweep 8 Age 50	No Organisations	0.67	0.27
	One Organisation	0.24	0.33
	Several Organisations	0.09	0.40

Table 4.2: RMLCA Model Details

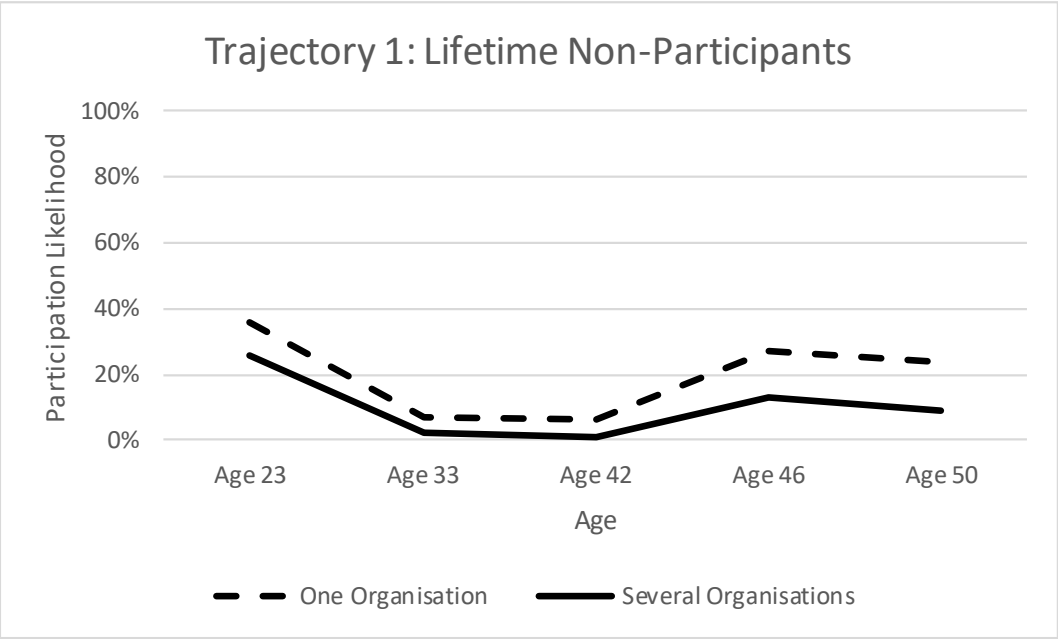

Figure 4.1: Trajectory 1, Lifetime Non-Participants

Trajectory 1, shown in Figure 4.1, is characterised by a low likelihood of participation at all ages. This group is therefore described as the "Lifetime Non-Participants" and is the largest group making up 66.5% of the NCDS cohort. At age 23, these cohort members were moderately likely to participate in at least one organisation. However, by age 33 this had decreased considerably, and this reduced likelihood of participation was maintained through age 42. However, at age 42 there was a moderate resurgence of participation, particularly for those participating in one organisation. This was largely maintained through to age 50, but there was an overall decrease in the likelihood of participation in organisations, equally affecting both the likelihood of participation in one and multiple organisations.

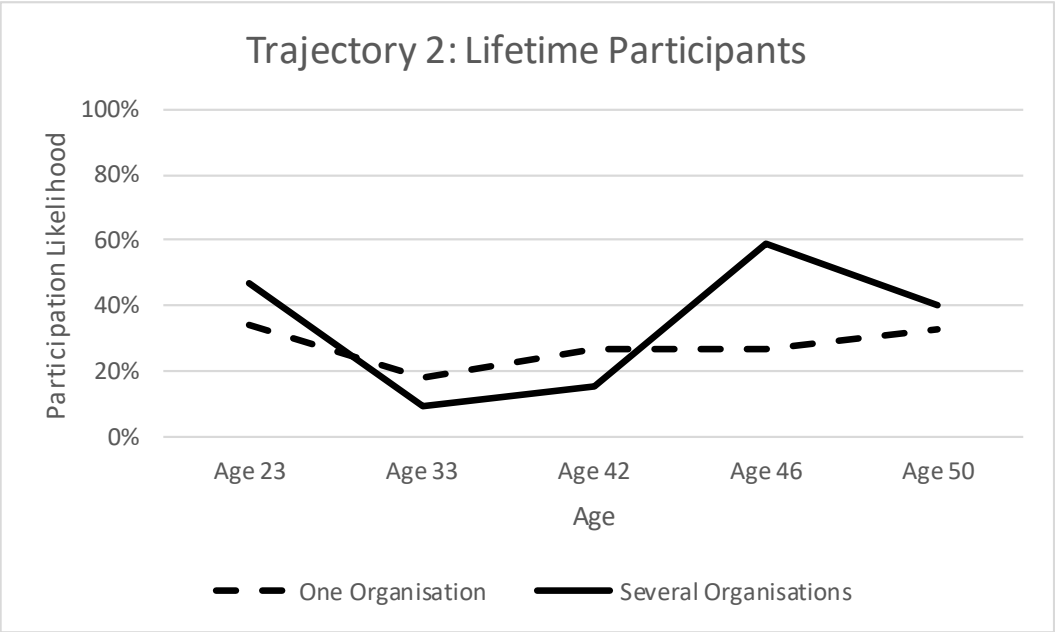

Figure 4.2: Trajectory 2, Lifetime Participants

Trajectory 2, shown in Figure 4.2, exhibits a stronger likelihood of participation, particularly at ages 23, 46 and 50. As a result, this group is considered to be the "Lifetime Participants". At age 23, these cohort members were highly likely to participate in at least one organisation, and in particular had a high likelihood of participation in multiple organisations. This decreased at age 33, although there was a small likelihood of participating in one organisation. At age 42, the likelihood of participation in one organisation increased, and individuals were almost as likely to participate as they were to not participate. At age 42 there was a sharp uptake in participation, particularly participation in multiple organisations. By age 50, the likelihood of participating decreased slightly, but the likelihood of participation was still high. The likelihood of participation at 50 was only a little less than at age 23, indicating that this group had returned to their original level of participation.

Describing Trajectory 1 as Lifetime Non-Participants and Trajectory 2 as Lifetime Participants suggests that lifecourse participation can be characterised in a rather dichotomous manner – some participate while others do not. However, considering changes in the likelihood of participation across the lifecourse in both groups suggests a more intricate view. Fluctuations in the likelihood of participation at each age were similar for both Lifetime Non-Participants and Lifetime Participants. A dip in the likelihood of participation at ages 23 and 33, followed by an increase at ages 46 and 50, was exhibited by both groups. The key difference in the patterns of participation expressed by each group is the Lifetime Participants' likelihood of

participation in one organisation is maintained, despite fluctuations in the likelihood of participation in several organisations.

4.3 How is participation in social organisations patterned in midlife?

4.3.1 Analysis

The process described previously for the RMLCA was then repeated using participation in different types of organisations at age 50. As sixteen organisation variables were included in the analysis, the process was ended once the models contained eight clusters as it was considered that adding any more would not result in adequate data reduction to justify utilising LCA (Nooner et al., 2010). Table 4.3 presents a comparison of the indices used to determine the most appropriate model for each of the eight models.

Model	Clusters	NPar	L^2	BIC	AIC	Class.Err.
1	1	16	3178.06	-86076.21	-16259.94	0.00
2	2	33	1849.46	-87248.69	-17554.54	0.11
3	3	50	1680.27	-87261.76	-17689.73	0.28
3	***3***	***52***	***1584.14***	***-87339.52***	***-17781.86***	***0.14***
4	4	67	1564.63	-87221.29	-17771.37	0.17
5	5	84	1460.15	-87169.65	-17841.86	0.27
6	6	101	1407.83	-87065.85	-17860.17	0.26
7	7	118	1354.93	-86962.62	-17879.07	0.27
8	8	135	1316.37	-86845.07	-17883.63	0.26

Table 4.3: LCA Models and Model Fit Indices

As shown in Table 4.3, the indices used here to compare and identify the most appropriate latent model were AIC and BIC. AIC did not indicate a specific class as it decreases as each new cluster is added, a noted problem when utilising AIC (Nylund et al., 2016). The BIC, however, was lowest at the 3-Cluster model (Model 3). As BIC is a more reliable measure, due to the inclusion of sample size in the equation, the BIC results were preferred and Model 3 was therefore accepted as the most appropriate latent model.

While this model offered best fit for the data, an investigation into the bivariate residuals revealed two variable pairs that violated the condition of independence (Ahmed et al., 2013). These pairs were participation in political parties and trade unions and participation in trade unions and social/working men's clubs. The 3-cluster analysis was re-run with these conditions controlled for and is presented in

bold in Table 4.3. Once this analysis was re-rerun, the following clusters were identified.

4.3.2 Cross-Sectional Latent Variable: Social Participation at age 50

This 3-Class latent model indicates an interesting patterning of organisation participation within the NCDS8 sample. Blank cells indicate a 0% likelihood of placement in a cluster.

Item	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3
Cluster Size	*65%*	*18%*	*17%*
Political Party	-	-	0.06
Trade Union	0.06	0.09	0.20
Environmental Group	-	-	0.09
Parent/School Association	0.01	0.03	0.16
Resident Group/Neighbourhood Watch	0.02	0.04	0.13
Religious Group/Church Organisation	0.05	0.03	0.13
Voluntary Service Group	0.01	0.02	0.16
Other Community/Civic Group	0.01	-	0.10
Social/Working Men's Club	0.07	0.14	0.05
Sports Club	-	0.80	0.23
Women's Institute/Townswomen's Guild	-	-	0.01
Women's Group/Feminist Organisation	-	-	0.03
Professional Organisation	0.04	0.14	0.36
Pensioners' Group/Organisation	-	-	-
Scouts/Guides Organisation	0.01	-	0.04
Other Organisation	0.04	0.04	0.14

Table 4.4: LCA Model Details

Table 4.4 shows that Cluster 1 does not exhibit a strong likelihood of participation in the activities of any organisation. Cluster 2 also does not exhibit strong likelihoods of participation in the activities of most organisations but shows a strong likelihood of participation in the activities of sports clubs. Cluster 3 on the other hand presents moderate likelihoods of participation in a range of organisations. These patterns are presented in Figures 4.3, 4.4, and 4.5.

Figure 4.3 shows the low likelihood of participation in organisation activities exhibited by those within Cluster 1. Cluster 1 is the largest group, making up 65% of the NCDS population. They are most likely to participate in Social/Working Men's Clubs, however this is only a 7% likelihood of participation. As a result of the low likelihood of participation in any organisation, this cluster of cohort members can be described as "Non-Participants".

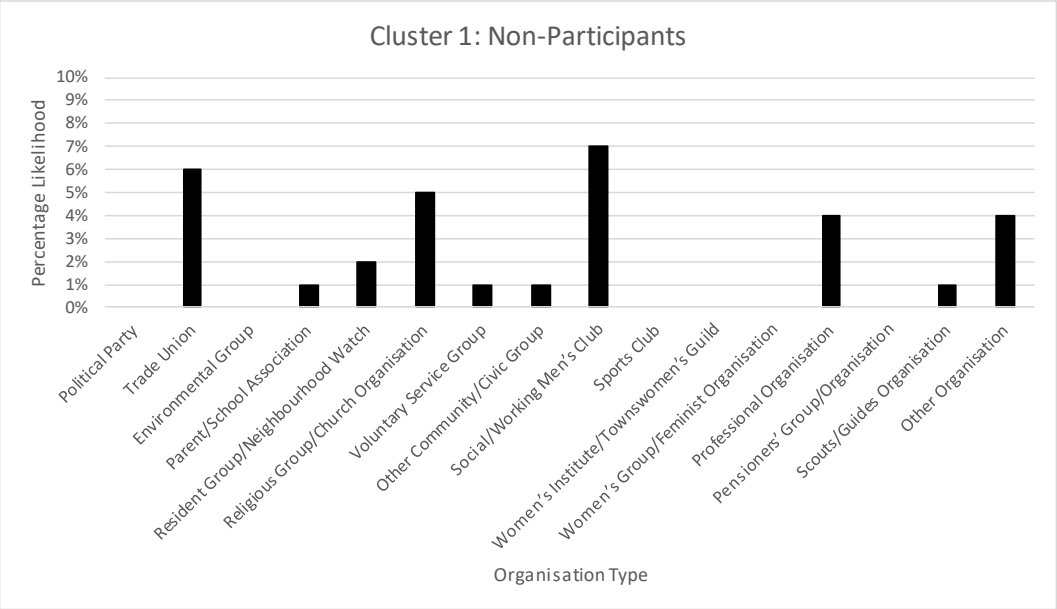

Figure 4.3: Cluster 1, Midlife Non-Participants

The remaining 35% of the NCDS cohort is evenly divided between the two participatory groups, Clusters 2 and 3. Cluster 2 makes up 18% of the NCDS population and have an 80% likelihood of participating in the activities of sports clubs, shown in Figure 4.4. Their likelihood of participating in any other organisation is low, with Professional Organisations and Social Clubs being the next most likely organisations for this cluster to participate in, with a 14% likelihood of participation in each. As a result of the high likelihood of participating in sports clubs, but not in any other organisation, Cluster 2 can be described as “Sporting Participants”.

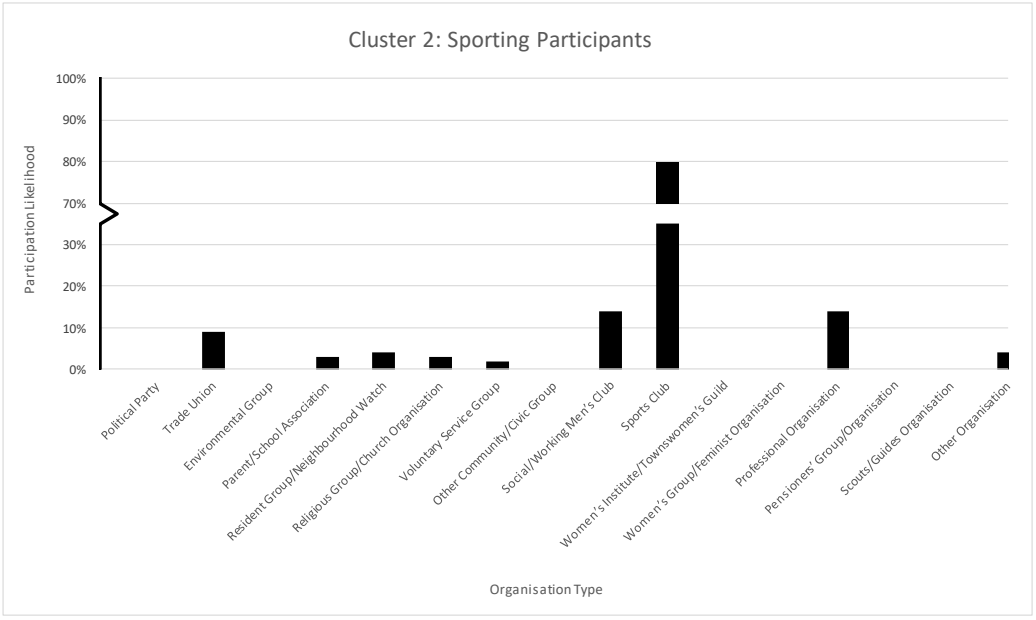

Figure 4.4: Cluster 2, Midlife Sports Participants

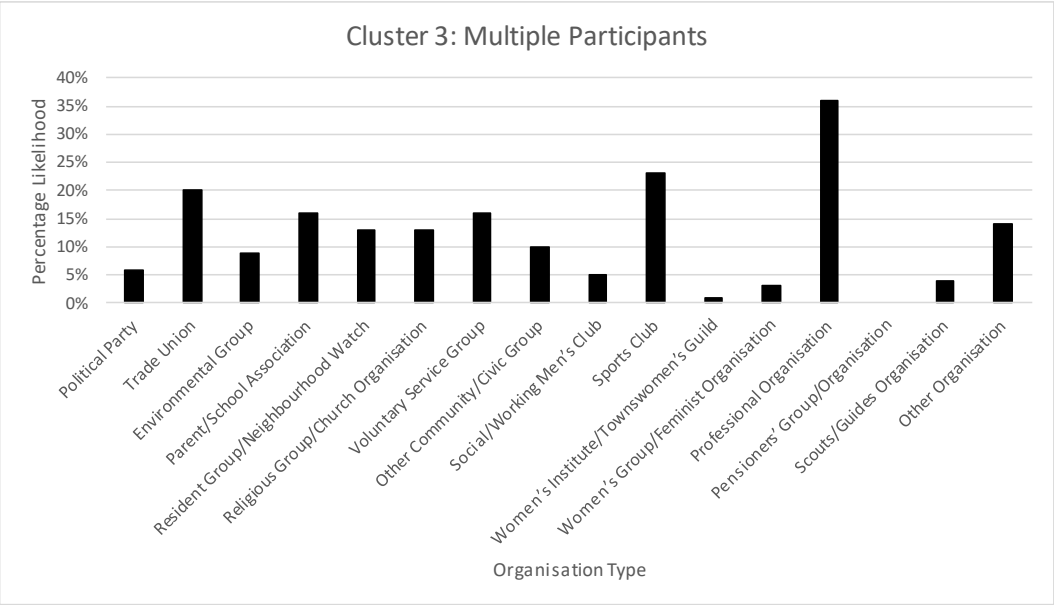

Figure 4.5: Cluster 3, Midlife Multiple Participants

Cluster 3 has a more varied pattern of social participation, with Figure 4.5 showing notable peaks in the likelihood of participating in Trade Unions, Professional Organisations, and Sports Clubs. The likelihood of participation in each organisation is moderate however, as the organisation type most likely to be participated in is Professional Organisations, with a 36% likelihood of participation. This is followed by Sports Clubs and Trade Unions, with a 23% and 20% likelihood of participation respectively. These organisations, particularly Professional Organisations and Trade Unions, indicate a connection to the workplace, suggesting that participation in midlife may be related to employment characteristics, as opposed to community-related participation. Cluster 3, at 17%, make up a similar proportion of the NCDS population to Cluster 2 and, while they may not have a high likelihood of participating in any organisation, Cluster 3 can be described as "Multiple Participants" as result of the likelihood of participating in a variety of organisations.

4.4 Discussion

4.4.1 What trajectories of social participation are undertaken across the lifecourse?

This chapter has identified diverse patterns of social participation across the lifecourse and in midlife. The longitudinal analysis investigated trajectories of lifecourse social participation by measuring the likelihood of participating in none, one, or several organisations at each of the five adult NCDS sweeps. This

longitudinal analysis found two distinct trajectories of lifecourse social participation. The first trajectory represented the participation patterns of the majority of cohort members and showed a low likelihood of participation in any organisations at every sweep. These cohort members were therefore described as Lifetime Non-Participants. Those participation patterns demonstrated by the second trajectory exhibited a higher likelihood of participation at each sweep than the first trajectory, and so were described as Lifetime Participants. These Lifetime Participants did not constantly engage in several organisations, however, and exhibited fluctuations in the likelihood of participating in none, one, and several organisations across the lifecourse.

The identification of the two trajectories, the Lifetime Non-Participants and the Lifetime Participants, exposed a gulf between those who did participate and those who did not. This supports the findings of previous research where it was shown that those who participate are typically those who have participated previously, and those who do not participate have not participated previously (Lancee & Radl, 2014). The distinction between the Lifetime Participants who participate across the lifecourse and the Lifetime Non-Participants who do not is therefore suggestive of an element of stability in patterns of social participation across the lifecourse.

Despite this overall stability, the fluctuations within the trajectories indicate variability in participation and non-participation behaviours across the lifecourse. These fluctuations are characterised by decreasing social participation from age 23 to age 42, followed by an increase in participation in at least one organisation by age 46, which is largely maintained at age 50. These fluctuations in participation are more pronounced in the patterns exhibited by the Lifetime Participants than the Lifetime Non-Participants, and are particularly notable in the Lifetime Participants' involvement in several organisations.

The Lifetime Non-Participants' likelihood of participation also fluctuates in a similar way, however. This suggests that, while the Lifetime Non-Participants have a lower likelihood of participation overall, both Lifetime Participants and Lifetime Non-Participants are potentially affected in similar ways across the lifecourse. The factors that may influence these fluctuations include economic activity and family characteristics and will be investigated more fully in Chapter 5.

Additionally, both trajectories exhibit a peak in social participation in midlife (ages 46 and 50), supporting previous research that has considered midlife to be a time of increased social participation (Hornung et al., 2017; Low et al., 2007; NVCO,

2019). This research has suggested these increased levels of social participation emerge as a result of stable roles towards the family and employment and these will be assessed in the following chapter. The midlife peak in participation is also investigated more closely by considering the types of organisations participated in, and will be discussed in Section 4.4.2.

While the Lifetime Participants' involvement in several organisations is characterised by fluctuations across the lifecourse, their participation in a single organisation remains reasonably constant. Their participation appears to have been sustained through the declines in participation in several organisations at ages 33 and 42 by continuing to engage in a single organisation. This suggests that the Lifetime Participants may reduce their participation at certain points across their lifecourse, but not to cease participation entirely. Social participation may be a habit for the Lifetime Participants that is maintained across the lifecourse despite external pressures.

The identification of these distinct trajectories of lifecourse social participation, characterised by participation and non-participation offers support for social participation behaviours resulting from the development of a habitus that inclines the individual towards participation in organisations. Previous participation experience, particularly in childhood, can aid the development of the skills and dispositions required for social participation (Bourdieu, 1984; Dean, 2016; Harflett, 2015). The following chapter will systematically investigate this by considering the relationship between social participation across the lifecourse, social class, and childhood participation experiences.

While the analysis in the chapter may not unveil reasons behind these distinctions and fluctuations in social participation across the lifecourse, they can be examined in relation to changes in the unique economic, social, and political contexts during the NCDS cohort's adult lives. In 1981, when the cohort were aged 23, they were entering the labour market at a time of considerable economic unrest. Unemployment had been increasing to 8.9% and reached 10.2% in 1981 (ONS, 2020a). Taniguchi (2006) found that unemployment can restrict social participation, particularly for men. Trade Union membership, however, was high in 1981 having reached a peak of over 13 million in 1979, representing over half of those in employment in that year (BEIS, 2019, ONS 2020a). This coincides with the moderate likelihood of participation experienced by the cohort at age 23.

As the cohort turned 33 in 1991, their participation dropped. This decrease may be related to dedication to employment and family roles that limit the ability to participate. These will be investigated in the following chapter. This decline in participation may also relate to changes in political and social contexts throughout the 1980s, whereby collectivism was replaced with individualism, demonstrated by the dismantling of the welfare state (Rubinstein, 2003). This may be related to lower levels of social participation as people may have looked towards themselves and their families rather than towards their communities. There were also problems experienced by voluntary organisations as their relationship with the state changed. While the withdrawal of the state from public services may have increased opportunities for voluntary organisations to provide services, these organisations had difficulties competing with the private sector for the government contracts required to provide these services (Savage & Pratt, 2013). This may then have affected the availability of participation opportunities. Individualism and the difficulties faced by voluntary organisations may have played a part in the decline in social participation between 1981 and 1991.

Little change was observed in social participation between the ages of 33 and 42. By 2004, when the cohort was 46, their participation had increased, and this continued through to 2008 when they were 50. This increase in participation occurred at a time of economic prosperity, with unemployment in 2004 reaching 4.7%, the lowest rate since 1975. The New Labour government had advocated a Third Way, one that lies between Thatcher's neo-liberal individualism and old Labour's social democratic principles (Ferragina & Arrigoni, 2016). The voluntary sector played an important role in this as part of the mixed economy of welfare, alongside the state and the private sector (Evers, 2013). These efforts to include the voluntary sector as a provider of services were not entirely successful due to high levels of bureaucracy that maintained the third sector's distrust in the government. Despite this, the promotion of a more communitarian ideal may have influenced individuals' interest in social participation, thus feeding into in the increase in social participation at ages 46 and 50.

The identification of these trajectories show there were two groups of participants across the lifecourse of the NCDS cohort. One was unlikely to participate at any age, and so can be described as the Lifetime Non-Participants. The other was more likely to participate at each age and so can be described as the Lifetime Participants. Despite this apparent stability, the Lifetime Participants in particular exhibited some fluctuations in their likelihood of participation. They were

particularly likely to participate at ages 46 and 50. The patterns of participation in midlife will now be examined.

4.4.2 How is participation in social organisations patterned in midlife?

Midlife has been proposed as an opportune time for social participation as a result of stability in roles towards the family and employment (Wilson, 2012). The longitudinal analysis described previously provided support for this, with a peak in participation observed at ages 46 and 50 for both the Lifetime Participants and Lifetime Non-Participants. In order to investigate the nature of social participation in midlife further, cross-sectional analysis was undertaken to identify whether there were groups who participated in certain types of organisation at age 50. This cross-sectional analysis found three groups of social participants in midlife. The largest group were the Non-Participants who were unlikely to participate in the activities of any organisations. The Sporting Participants were highly likely to participate in sports clubs but were unlikely to participate in any other organisation. Finally, the Multiple Participants indicated a likelihood, albeit a moderate likelihood of participation, in a mixture of organisations, most notably in sports clubs, professional organisations, and trade unions.

This analysis suggests that the majority of cohort members were Non-Participants at age 50 as nearly two-thirds were Non-Participants, while one-third were either Sporting Participants or Multiple Participants. This large proportion of Non-Participants mirrors existing research using NCDS that suggests the cohort is predominately characterised by low levels of organisational involvement (Brookfield et al., 2018b). While this cross-sectional analysis cannot examine whether there have been declines in participation over time, the large proportion that reports no participation may be worrying as it suggests the development of the wide range of individual-, community-, and nation-level benefits that are associated with social participation may be restricted (Edwards et al., 2014; Putnam, 2000).

These three groups of participants exhibited patterns of social participation that can be compared to the Omnivorous patterns of cultural tastes identified by Peterson (1997) and Chan and Goldthorpe (2005a, 2005b, 2007a, 2007b). The Multiple Social Participants who engaged in a variety of organisations represented a type of Social Omnivore, just as the Cultural Omnivore enjoyed many cultural forms. Cultural Omnivores were found in a variety of cultural forms, including music consumption, theatre, and reading (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2005a, 2007b).

Meanwhile, the Sporting Participants identified by this analysis had a singular interest in sports clubs and so were evidence of a group of Social Univores. Like the Sporting Participants, Cultural Univores only demonstrated an interest in a single activity. For example, Univores were found in music consumption and were solely interested in listening to popular music (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007b).

Finally, the Non-Participants reflected the Non-Consumers who, in the Cultural Omnivore Thesis, did not engage in any cultural activity. Non-Consumers were not identified in all cultural forms, however. In the context of music genres, for example, all reporting having preferences (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007b). They were identified in the visual arts as a group did not engage in any of the activities investigated, including visits to museums, exhibitions, and festivals (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007c). The patterns of social participation in midlife therefore can be characterised by Omnivorism, Univorism, and Non-Participation. The comparability between these patterns of social participation and those of the Cultural Omnivore Thesis support the notion of a Social Omnivore Thesis.

The emergence of these Omnivorous patterns, and the potential for a Social Omnivore Thesis, suggests that social participation may not be stratified by social class. As has been observed by some investigating patterns of cultural tastes, the Omnivore Thesis emerged as individualisation had resulted in the breakdown of class-based patterns of cultural taste (Peterson, 1997). The identification of a Social Omnivore Thesis suggests a similar breakdown may have occurred in the field of social participation and, as a result, social participation may no longer be heavily stratified by social class. Furthermore, just as Bourdieu's theory of cultural distinction has been considered to be irrelevant to contemporary Britain (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2005a, 2005b, 2007b, 2007c), the class-based stratification of social participation may also be outdated.

Despite this, current research continues to support the notion of a social class as a key determinant of social participation (Harflett, 2015; Low et al., 2007; NVCO, 2019). While omnivorous patterns of cultural tastes may have developed as a result of increased individualisation and the decline of class-based stratification of cultural tastes, the omnivorous patterns of social participation may have developed differently. Additionally, as the Cultural Omnivores have also been observed to be related to social class (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007b), these Omnivorous patterns may represent different class-based patterns of engagement rather than a breakdown of class differences. This will be investigated further in the following

chapter which considers the association between these groups of social participants and social class.

This differential development of comparable patterns between cultural and social activities can be observed by taking a closer look at the patterns of participation exposed by this analysis. The Multiple Participants, while they can be perceived of as a group of Social Omnivores, do not demonstrate an equally high likelihood of participating in all organisations. Chan and Goldthorpe's research (2005a, 2005b, 2007a, 2007b) showed Cultural Omnivores reported a high likelihood of engagement across all cultural forms and activities, and so the patterns of participation reported by these two types of Omnivores are not directly comparable.

Instead, the Multiple Participants show a greater likelihood of participation in some organisations than others, notably professional organisations, trade unions, and sports clubs. Professional organisations and trade unions, in particular, are usually related to careers and employment in specific professions. As a result, instead of pursuing participation in any organisation, the Multiple Participants appear to be more inclined to participate in activities that can benefit their work-lives. This group of social participants may have developed as a result of a work-related focus, rather than as a demonstration of interest in participation in a wide variety of organisations. Chapter 5 will examine the characteristics of this group in order to develop a greater understanding of who this group of participants are.

Additionally, the identification of these patterns of social participation may be critiqued in relation to methods-based issues in a similar way to the Cultural Omnivore Thesis where the use of a pre-determined list of broad musical genres has been argued to manipulate the reporting of music tastes (Atkinson, 2011). The pre-determined list of organisations included within NCDS may restrict reports of participation, as involvement in organisations not listed will remain undetected. These measures may lead to an underreporting of social participation as only participation in the organisations listed will be reported and participation in organisations not listed will also remain undetected (Brookfield et al., 2018b). Qualitative data has been shown to be capable of revealing more details regarding participation behaviours, both in cultural tastes and social participation (Atkinson, 2011; Brookfield et al., 2018a). This issue is therefore returned to in Chapter 6 where qualitative methods are used to examine social participation behaviours.

4.5 Conclusion

This analysis has advanced understandings of the patterns of social participation across the lifecourse and in midlife. Two distinct groups of Lifetime Participants were found, one more likely to participate at every age than the other. As this suggests there is a group of Lifetime Participants and a group of Lifetime Non-Participants these results indicate a degree of stability in social participation across the lifecourse that supports existing research. However, these findings also highlighted fluctuations in the likelihood of social participation across the lifecourse that are apparent in both groups. Both groups are least likely to participate at ages 33 and 42, while participation makes a resurgence at age 46. Therefore, while these two groups are distinct, they are not static.

Distinct groups of social participants were also revealed in the examination of participation patterns in midlife. These groups offered some support for the existence of a Social Omnivore Thesis. The Multiple Participants, with their participation in a variety of organisations, can be perceived to be Omnivores. The Sporting Participants can be compared to the Univores as a result of their singular interests. Finally, the Non-Participants reflect the Non-Consumers. There are discrepancies between these patterns of social participation and cultural tastes, however, suggesting there may be differences in the development of Omnivorous patterns of social participation compared to cultural tastes. As a result, this analysis has furthered knowledge of the way in which social participation in midlife is patterned.

Through the use of longitudinal data, the Latent Class Analysis and Repeated Measures Latent Class Analysis conducted here were able to identify patterns of social participation across the lifecourse and in midlife. These had not been observed in previous research which focussed on cross-sectional or short-term panel data to investigate patterns of social participation across the lifecourse. The factors that distinguish the Lifetime Participants from the Lifetime Non-Participants, and the Multiple Participants from the Sporting Participants and Non-Participants in midlife, are still unknown however. This is the focus of Chapter 5, which investigates the relationship between family and employment characteristics and social participation across the lifecourse.

Chapter 5 - Associations with Social Participation

5.1 Introduction

As a result of the analysis in Chapter 4, understandings of the patterns of social participation across the lifecourse and in midlife have advanced. While there are clear differences between Lifetime Participants and Non-Participants, the likelihood of participation fluctuates for both groups. This contrasts previous arguments that emphasise stability in social participation across the lifecourse (Lancee & Radl, 2014). The cross-sectional analysis meanwhile also revealed previously undetected patterns of social participation that reflect those observed in research regarding cultural tastes; suggesting a Social Omnivore Thesis may explain patterns of social participation in midlife. This current chapter aims to expand knowledge and understandings of the factors that distinguish between the groups of participants identified in the previous chapter and that may relate to fluctuations in social participation across the lifecourse.

Previous research has shown those who engage in social participation are more likely to be of a higher social class, and so this thesis intends to examine whether these class-based patterns of participation are consistent across the lifecourse as well as how they relate to childhood social class and prior experiences of social participation. The focus will be on whether social participation behaviours emerge as a result of a class-based habitus in a similar way to the development of class-based cultural tastes as described by Bourdieu. Additionally, this chapter aims to examine employment and family to characteristics determine whether the influence of these factors changes across the lifecourse, and how this relates to the lifecourse fluctuations in social participation identified in the previous chapter.

This chapter uses logistic regression to examine the characteristics that differentiate participation patterns. Logistic regression enables the effect of independent variables on an outcome to be established and so, as previously discussed in the methods chapter (Chapter 3), it is the most appropriate method to investigate the relationship between different characteristics and patterns of social participation. Additionally, all variables included in the analysis are nominal, further supporting the use of logistic regression. The dependent and independent variables selected for each analysis, and the justifications for their selection, were discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3 and will be reviewed here.

The characteristics that differentiate patterns of social participation in midlife and across the lifecourse will be examined using the adult sweeps of NCDS collected at ages 23, 33, 42, 46, and 50, and two childhood sweeps collected at ages 11 and 16. The second research question and following sub-questions will be answered by this analysis:

Research Question 2: How do patterns of social participation relate to sociodemographic, employment, and family characteristics?

a) What childhood characteristics are associated with different lifecourse participation trajectories?
b) What characteristics differentiate participation levels at different ages across the adult lifecourse?
c) What characteristics differentiate participant types in midlife?

5.2 What childhood characteristics are associated with different lifecourse participation trajectories?

The analysis in Chapter 4 showed that there are specific characteristics that are associated with different patterns of participation in midlife. Turning now to patterns of participation across the lifecourse, this analysis investigates the relationship between childhood experiences and the trajectories of social participation across the lifecourse. As discussed in the literature review in Chapter 2, these childhood experiences may influence the development of a class-based habitus that determines future participatory behaviour. In Chapter 4 two trajectories of social participation were identified: Lifetime Non-Participants and Lifetime Participants. Binary logistic regression is used here to examine the relationship between childhood social class and childhood experiences of social participation on lifecourse social participation trajectories. The dependent and independent variables used in this analysis will first be presented, followed by a discussion of the results.

5.2.1 Variables

The dependent variable is the trajectories of social participation identified by the Repeated Measures Latent Class Analysis (RMLCA) in Chapter 4. This variable measures participation across the adult lifecourse at ages 23, 33, 42, 46, and 50. It has two levels representing the Lifetime Participants and the Lifetime Non-Participants and so the analysis undertaken here is binary logistic regression. The Lifetime Non-Participants, who make up 66.5% of the total NCDS cohort, while the Lifetime Participants, make up the remaining 33.5%. The Lifetime Non-Participants were selected as the reference category for this analysis.

The independent variables were again selected based on their theoretical justifications. Childhood social class was measured at age 11 by their father's social class; selected as this is the age at which most childhood social participation data were collected.

Childhood experience of social participation was measured by five variables, four collected at age 11 and one at age 16. The four collected at age 11 were visits friends, is involved in a sports club, is involved in clubs outside school, and is involved in clubs within school. Participation in clubs in school, in clubs outside school, and in sports clubs measure formal social participation and so may provide the opportunity to develop participatory habits and behaviours that can enable social participation at later ages. While visiting friends does not indicate formal social participation which is the primary concern of this research, it is included here as it indicates a level of sociability in childhood that may have a bearing on future formal social participation. The variable included from age 16 measures volunteering. This variable was included because volunteering is a key type of participation and so this may influence future formal social participation, and a variable measuring volunteering was not available at age 11. All five childhood participation experience variables are measured with three categories: hardly ever, sometimes, and most days. It is expected, based on the literature discussed in Chapter 2, that being of a higher social class and having undertaken higher levels of social participation during childhood will be associated with a higher level of social participation in adulthood.

5.2.2 Findings

As the relationship with social class was the focus of this analysis, the development of this model began with social class as the only independent variable and then

adding each independent variable in turn to assess their impact on the model. The development of this model can be viewed in Appendix 1.a). As this model was developed, it became clear that the addition of a new variable appeared to have little effect on the relationship between social class and social participation. The final model is the focus here.

This model aimed to identify the childhood characteristics that are associated with higher levels of social participation across the adult lifecourse. The likelihood ratio tests indicated this model can be used with confidence as they suggest there is a significant difference ($p<0.001$) between the intercept only model and the final model containing all independent variables discussed previously. The full model can be viewed in in Table 5.1.

Those of a higher social class in childhood were more likely to be a Lifetime Participant as those from Professional and Managerial backgrounds were more than twice as likely to be Lifetime Participants than Lifetime Non-Participants. Those from Intermediate backgrounds were also more likely to be Lifetime Participants than Lifetime Non-Participants. Those from higher social class backgrounds therefore appear to be more likely to participate at higher levels across their lifecourse.

Additionally, those who participated in clubs outside school on most days were 1.5 times more likely to be Lifetime Participants than Lifetime Non-Participants, while those who participated only sometimes were 1.2 times more likely to be Lifetime Participants than Lifetime Non-Participants. Childhood participation in clubs outside school appears to lead to long lasting social participation across the lifecourse.

The likelihood of following a particular lifecourse participation trajectory was not related to any other variable included in this analysis. This includes gender and all other forms of participation undertaken in childhood. While this may appear contrary to expectations, this may be due to the types of participation indicated by each variable. Visits to friends, as discussed previously, measures informal social participation rather than formal social participation and so informal social participation in childhood does not appear to be related with formal social participation over the lifecourse. Participation in school clubs was also not significantly related to lifecourse social participation trajectory. This suggests that participation in school clubs may not develop the participatory habits required to encourage social participation across the lifecourse. Similarly, participation in

sports clubs during childhood may not encourage the development of the disposition to participate in organisations beyond the sporting sphere. It may, however, promote participation in sports clubs across the lifecourse. This is not investigated here but could be the focus of future research. Finally, volunteering had no relationship with lifecourse social participation trajectory. This finding in particular is contrary to expectations and will be discussed later in this chapter.

Model 1: Associations between childhood experiences on social participation across the lifecourse		
Lifetime Participants (ref: Lifetime Non-Participants)		
Social Class (ref: Class V)		
I	2.68	***
II	2.19	***
III	1.33	
IV	1.18	
Gender (ref: Male)		
Female	1.06	
Visits Friends (ref: Hardly Ever)		
Most Days	0.99	
Sometimes	0.96	
Clubs Outside School (ref : Hardly Ever)		
Most Days	1.51	***
Sometimes	1.21	*
School Clubs (ref: Hardly Ever)		
Most Days	0.98	
Sometimes	0.94	
Sports Clubs (ref: Hardly Ever)		
Most Days	0.94	
Sometimes	1.00	
Volunteering (ref: Hardly Ever)		
Most Days	1.07	
Sometimes	1.10	

Table 5.1: Childhood experiences and social participation across the lifecourse (Odds ratios of multinomial logit models)

Note: *** = p<0.005; ** = p<0.01; * = p<0.05

5.2.3 Conclusion: What are the childhood characteristics of Lifetime Participants?

To conclude, this analysis has shown that lifecourse social participation trajectory is related to certain childhood characteristics. While most forms of childhood participation, including participation in school clubs, visiting friends, and participation in sports clubs, appear to have no influence on lifecourse participation trajectory, those who participated in clubs outside school at age 11 were more likely to be Lifetime Participants. Additionally, those of a higher childhood social class were also more likely to be Lifetime Participants. This relationship between lifetime participation trajectory, being of a higher social class, and engaging in clubs

outside school in childhood has implications for the development of class-based patterns of social participation across the lifecourse. The next stage of this analysis questions how social participation at different points across the adult lifecourse is related to sociodemographic factors, including social class, and family and employment characteristics in order to identify the factors that may influence fluctuations and stability in patterns of social participation across the lifecourse.

5.3 What characteristics differentiate participant levels at different ages across the adult lifecourse?

The second stage of this analysis examines the factors associated with different levels of social participation undertaken at each adult sweep of the NCDS. The aim of this analysis is to identify elements of change and stability in the characteristics of those with different patterns of social participation across the lifecourse.

5.3.1 Variables

The dependent variable at each age is participation in none, one, or several organisations and so multinomial logistic regression is most appropriate for this analysis. Participation in no organisations is selected as the reference category because it is typically the largest category and also represents no social participation activities while the other categories, one and several organisations, represent social participation activity.

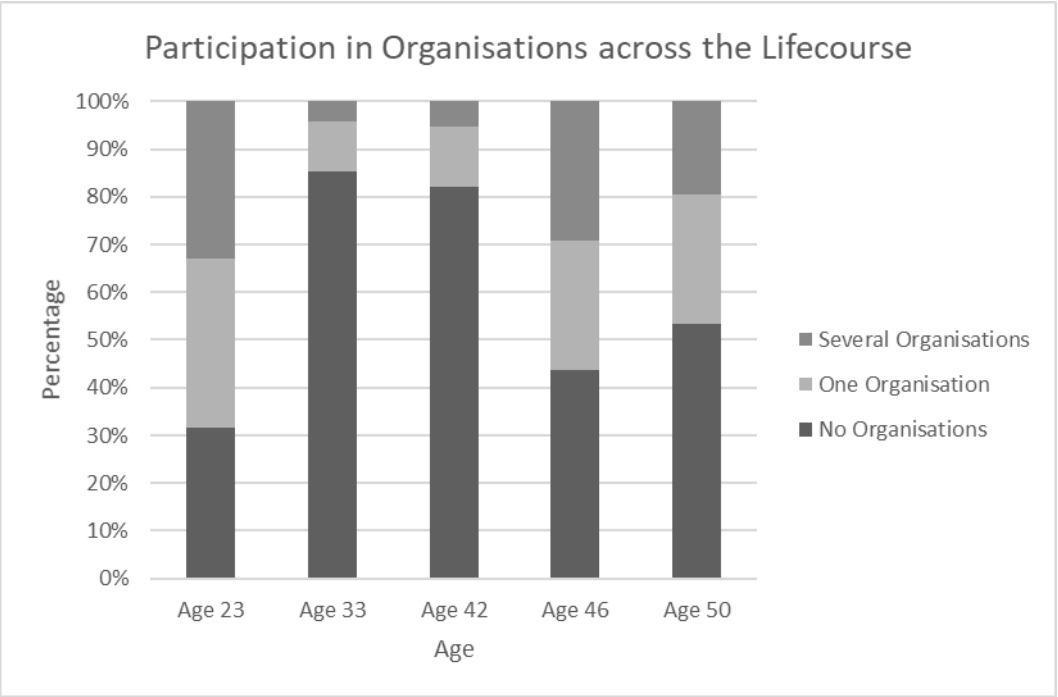

Figure 5.1: Proportion of cohort members participating in none, one, or several organisations

To recap the variables discussed in Chapter 3, Figure 5.1 shows at age 23, participation was fairly evenly split between the three levels. Of the total NCDS cohort (n=18,557) 31.5% of the total NCDS cohort did not participate in the activities of any organisation. 35.4% participated in the activities of one organisation, while 33.1% participated in the activities of several organisations. By age 33 participation levels had declined, as 85.4% did not participate in any organisation, representing a marked shift from the 31.5% at age 23. 10.4% participated in the activities of one organisation, while only 4.2% participated in several organisations. This pattern largely continued at age 42 as 82% did not participate in any organisation, while 12.7% participated in the activities of one organisation and 5.3% participated in several organisations. This suggests there was a marginal increase in the levels of participation between ages 33 and 42. The levels of participation appeared to increase from age 42 to age 46 with the proportion who did not participate declining to 43.6%, a considerable decrease from the high levels of non-participation reported at ages 33 and 42. 27.2% participated in the activities of one organisation, while 29.2% participated in several organisations. Finally, by age 50, 53.3% did not participate in any organisation. 27.2% participated in the activities of one organisation, suggesting participation in one organisation remained fairly constant from age 46 to age 50. In addition 19.5% participated in several organisations, a decline from age 46. Overall levels of social

participation declined from age 46 to age 50, however the levels remained considerably higher than those reported at ages 33 and 42.

The independent variables were selected based on theoretical justifications discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. The relationship between social class and social participation across the lifecourse was of interest in order provide an insight into whether social participation behaviours across the lifecourse can be described as class-based, and therefore offering support for an extension of Bourdieu's theory of habitus into the field of social participation.

Also of interest was the relationship between social participation at each age and factors including gender, religiosity, and employment and family characteristics. These were included in the models to develop a greater understanding of the way in which social participation can be restricted and enabled at different ages.

Finally, previous social participation was of interest as research has shown those who engaged previously are more likely to engage again at a later point. The analysis in Section 5.2 found that participation in childhood had a long-lasting relationship with social participation behaviours across the lifecourse, showing that prior participation experience can encourage participation later in the lifecourse. As such, measures of participation in previous sweeps were also included in this analysis in order to investigate the relationship with participation experiences in adulthood.

To investigate the effects of these variables on social participation across the lifecourse, a multinomial logistic regression model was developed at each age. The initial model included only social class as an independent variable. Other variables were then added individually in order to observe the relationship between each variable and social participation and to assess their impact on the relationship between social class and social participation.

Following the development of the final model, interaction effects between certain variables were investigated in order to observe whether the effects of one independent variable may in fact operate through another. For example, to determine whether the effect of gender on participation level varies by caring responsibilities and employment. The interaction effects analysed were gender by economic activity, gender by marital status, and gender by age of the youngest child in order to examine the potentially gendered nature of certain roles. The interaction between social class and participation in the previous sweep was also

investigated in order to determine the extent to which the relationship between previous and current social participation may be moderated by social class.

These models were built using imputed data as described in Chapter 3. To investigate the impact of different imputation strategies, a comparative analysis of results based on imputed data accounting for mortality and results based on non-imputed data was undertaken and is included as a paper in Appendix 4.

5.3.2 Findings

As each model was developed, it became clear that the addition of a new variable appeared to have little effect on the relationship between social class and social participation. The final models are the focus here. Details of the development of these models can be viewed in Appendix 1.b) to 1.f).

The models presented in Table 5.2 assess the relationship between gender, social class, religiosity, economic activity, marital status, age of the youngest child resident in the household, and previous participation on the number of organisations participated in at ages 23, 33, 42, 46, and 50. They aimed to answer the question “What characteristics differentiate participant levels at each NCDS sweep?”. The Likelihood Ratio Tests indicated each model can be used with confidence as they suggest there is a significant difference ($p<0.001$) between the intercept only models and the final models containing all variables. The following discussion will focus on each independent variable, highlighting how the association with social participation compares at different ages.

Models 2 to 6: Associations between sociodemographic and lifecourse characteristics and the level of social participation at each age	Age 23		Age 33		Age 42		Age 46		Age 50	
One Organisation (ref: No Organisations)										
RG's Social Class (ref: Class V)										
I	0.90		2.51	**	2.58	**				
II	1.18		2.49	***	2.18	**				
III	1.01		1.38		1.48					
IV	0.91		1.27		1.49					
NS-SEC (ref: Routine Occupations)										
Higher Administrative, Managerial, and Professional Occupations							1.14		1.54	
Intermediate Occupations							0.93		1.07	
Gender (ref: Male)										
Female	0.82	*	1.38	**	1.23		1.11		0.76	
Religiosity	1.29	***	1.34	***	1.15				2.23	
Economic Activity (ref: Full-time Employee)										
Part-time Employee	0.60	***	2.04	***	1.61	***	1.27		0.85	
Full-time Self-Employed			1.00		1.06		1.35		0.88	
Part-time Self-Employed			2.14	**	1.96	**	2.84		0.80	
Education	0.84		1.45		0.90		2.23		0.68	
Home/Family	0.35	***	2.10	***	1.21		1.27		0.61	
Sick/Disabled	0.44	**	0.85		1.03		0.96		0.58	
Unemployed	0.53	***	0.94		0.97		1.45		0.53	
Retired					2.25		2.47		0.68	
Marital Status (ref: Single and Never Married)										
Married	0.95		0.91		0.97		1.26		1.15	
Separated	0.80		0.75		0.79		1.08		0.96	
Age of Youngest Child (ref: under 2yrs)										
3-4yrs	0.98		1.23	*	1.31		0.81		1.06	
5-10yrs			1.31	**	1.43	**	1.05		1.24	
11-15yrs			1.10		0.94		0.89		1.30	
16yrs+			1.13		0.72		0.73		1.14	
Previous Participation (Age 23) (ref: No Organisations)										
Several			1.73	***	1.88	***	1.62	***	1.39	
One			1.16		1.32	**	1.36	***	1.14	
Previous Participation (Age 33) (ref: No Organisations)										
Several					3.87	**	1.16		1.52	
One					3.33	***	1.48	***	1.17	
Previous Participation (Age 42) (ref: No Organisations)										
Several							2.13		1.50	
One							1.90	***	1.31	*
Previous Participation (Age 46) (ref: No Organisations)										
Several									1.94	*
One									1.76	**

Several Organisations (ref: No Organisations)												
RG's Social Class (ref: Class V)												
I	1.73		2.68		2.05							
II	2.47	***	2.69		1.50							
III	1.41		1.40		0.70							
IV	1.01		0.88		0.73							
NS-SEC (ref: Routine Occupations)												
Higher Administrative, Managerial, and Professional Occupations							1.67		2.39	*		
Intermediate Occupations							1.01		1.10			
Gender (ref: Male)												
Female	0.72	**	1.57		1.23		0.80		0.61			
Religiosity	2.56	***	1.31		0.88				3.15	*		
Economic Activity (ref: Full-time Employee)												
Part-time Employee	0.55	***	1.53		1.60		1.27		0.73			
Full-time Self-Employed			1.16		1.20		1.35		0.97			
Part-time Self-Employed			2.26		3.25	*	2.84		1.06			
Education	0.67		2.52		2.07		2.23		0.87			
Home/Family	0.17	***	2.95	**	1.77		1.27		0.59			
Sick/Disabled	0.34	**	0.65		1.26		0.96		0.38			
Unemployed	0.30	***	0.97		1.65		1.45		0.49			
Retired					4.37		2.47		0.48			
Marital Status (ref: Single and Never Married)												
Married	0.79	*	0.64		0.77		1.52		0.95			
Separated	0.66	**	0.37	**	0.53		1.51		0.80			
Age of Youngest Child (ref: Under 2yrs)												
3-4yrs	1.06		1.44		1.71		1.26		1.19			
5-10yrs			1.72		1.65	*	1.78		1.65			
11-15yrs			1.12		1.14		1.19		1.59			
16yrs+			1.70		0.78		0.78		1.23			
Previous Participation (Age 23) (ref: No Organisations)												
Several			2.50		2.10	**	2.07	***	2.18	***		
One			1.48		1.15		1.35		1.47	**		
Previous Participation (Age 33) (ref: No Organisations)												
Several					9.50	***	2.62	**	2.71	*		
One					4.04	***	2.46	***	1.60	***		
Previous Participation (Age 42) (ref: No Organisations)												
Several							6.48	***	2.66	*		
One							3.95	***	1.81	***		
Previous Participation (Age 46) (ref: No Organisations)												
Several									3.85	***		
One									2.10	***		

Table 5.2: Associations between sociodemographic and lifecourse characteristics and social participation across the lifecourse (Odds ratios of multinomial logit models)

Note: *** = p<0.005; ** = p<0.01; * = p<0.05

Social Class

Social class at age 23 was not related to the likelihood of participating in one organisation. Those who participated in several organisations were, however, nearly 2.5 times more likely to be in Intermediate Occupations than in Unskilled Occupations. By age 33, those in Professional or Managerial Occupations or Intermediate Occupations were around than 2.5 times more likely to participate in one organisation compared to those in Unskilled Occupations. There was not a significant relationship between social class and participating in several organisations at age 33, however. Similarly, at age 42, those in Professional and Managerial Occupations were more than 2.6 times more likely, and those in Intermediate Occupations were more than twice as likely, to participate in one organisation compared to those in Unskilled Occupations. As at age 33, a significant relationship between social class and participation in several organisations was not identified at age 42.

This shifted by age 46 however, with no significant relationship between social class and participation in one or several organisations being identified. The details of the build of model 5 assessing social participation at age 46, shown in Appendix 1.e), shows that being of a higher social class was significantly related to social participation in several organisations at age 46, prior to the inclusion of previous participation in the model. This suggests that prior participation experience has a stronger relationship with social participation at age 46 than social class. By age 50, those of a higher social class, in Higher Managerial, Administrative, and Professional Organisations were more likely to participate in several organisations than those in the lowest, Routine Occupations. Note that, at age 46, the social class measure used switched from Registrar General's Social Class to NS-SEC which, as discussed previously in Chapter 3, may have implications for the comparability of these results with previous sweeps.

Those of a higher social class were therefore consistently more likely to participate in at least one organisation at every age assessed here, with the exception of age 46.

Gender

At age 23, those who participated in one organisation were less likely to be female than they were to be male with an odds ratio of 0.82. Those who particiapated in several organisations were also less likely to be female with an odds ration of 0.72. By age 33, those who participated in one organisation were instead more likely to

be female and there was not a significant relationship between gender and those who participated in several organisations. Gender was also not related to social participation at ages 42, 46, or 50. This suggests that at age 23, the earliest age the NCDS cohort were interviewed as adults, participants were more likely to be men, with women becoming more likely to be participants by age 33, with gender having no significant effect on the likelihood of participation at any later age.

Religiosity

At age 23, religious cohort members were approximately 1.3 times more likely to participate in one organisation and over 2.6 times more likely to participate in several organisations than their non-religious counterparts. At age 33, those who were religious were 1.3 times more likely to participate in one organisation, while participation in several organisations was not significantly related to religiosity. Religiosity was not significantly related to social participation at age 42. As discussed in Chapter 3, no question was included at age 46 that offered a consistent measure of religiosity and so it was not included in the analysis. Religiosity was also not associated with participation in one organisation at age 50, however those who were religious were nearly 3 times more likely to participate in several organisations.

While the lack of significance between religiosity and social participation at age 42 may appear contradictory to expectations, particularly in the context of the results from other sweeps where religiosity was included, it may relate to the way in which the religiosity question was asked at age 42 (Sweep 6) in comparison to the other sweeps. As discussed in the methods chapter (Chapter 3), at age 42 cohort members were shown a card with a list of religions and asked what their religion is. This contrasts with the questions asked at ages 23 and 33 (Sweeps 4 and 5) in which the cohort member was asked if they considered themselves to belong to a particular religion and, if they answered yes, they were asked which religion they belong to. The use of a visual prompt at age 42, and the removal of the term “belonging” may have resulted in a larger number of cohort members responding “yes” to being religious. Indeed, the frequency of cohort members reporting religiosity at age 42 increased considerably from age 33 to 42, supporting this. This surge in NCDS cohort members reporting religiosity may have weakened the relationship between religiosity and social participation at age 42, potentially influencing the lack of significance of religiosity in this model.

Where religiosity is significantly related to social participation it appears to increase the likelihood of participating in organisations. Fluctuations in the significance of the relationship between religiosity and social participation, as discussed, may relate to differences in the measures of religiosity used.

Economic Activity

At age 23, those who worked part-time, who were looking after the home or family, who were sick or disabled, or unemployed were less likely to participate in either one or several organisations compared to full-time workers. Meanwhile, those looking after the home or family were least likely to participate in either one or several organisations, with odds ratios of 0.35 and 0.17 respectively. This shifted at age 33, with those looking after the home or family being nearly twice as likely to participate in either one or several organisations, compared to full-time employees. Those working part-time, either as an employee or self-employed, were also more than twice as likely to participate in one organisation at age 33. This is maintained, in part, at age 42 where part-time employees were more than 1.5 times as likely and the part-time self-employed were more than twice as likely to participate in one or several organisations compared to full-time employees. Economic activity was then not significantly related to participation in either one or several organisations at ages 46 or 50.

The economic activity associated with social participation fluctuates across the lifecourse, with those who do not work full-time at age 23 being less likely to participate. This had shifted entirely by age 33, where those who worked part-time or were looking after the home or family were more likely to participate, and this was largely maintained at age 42. By age 46, and maintained at age 50, the economic activity of those who participated had shifted again, with economic activity no longer having a significant relationship with social participation. The economic activity of those who participate is therefore not stable across the adult lifecourse.

Marital Status

Marital status was not significantly related to participation in one organisation at age 23, yet those who were married or separated at age 23 were less likely to participate in several organisations than those who were single, with an odds ratio of 0.79 and 0.66 respectively. By age 33 those who were separated were less likely to participate in several organisations compared to those who were single, with an

odds ratio of 0.37. From age 42 onwards, marital status had no significant relationship with social participation in either one or several organisations.

Participation was unlikely from those who were married or separated at age 23, while only those who were separated at age 33 were unlikely to participate. Marital status had no relationship with social participation at any other age.

Age of Youngest Child

At age 23, there was no significant relationship between the age of the youngest child and participation in either one or several organisations. This shifted by age 33 as those with their youngest child aged 5-10 or 3-4 years old were more likely to participate in one organisation than those with a child aged 2 years or under, with an odds ratio of 1.23 and 1.31 respectively. The age of the youngest child was not significantly related to participation in several organisations at age 33 however. At age 42, those with the youngest child aged 5-10 years old were around 1.5 times more likely to participate in either one or several organisations than those with a child aged 2 years or below. This again shifted at ages 46 and 50, where the age of the youngest child in the household no longer had a significant relationship with participation in either one or several organisations.

The association between social participation and the age of the youngest child in the household therefore fluctuated across the lifecourse. The age of the child had no significant relationship at 23, while those with children aged between 3 and 10 at age 33 were likely to engage in one organisation. This association continued and at age 42, where those who had a child aged between 5-10 were more likely to participate in either one or several organisations. From age 46 onwards however, the age of the youngest child in the household was no longer significantly related to social participation.

Previous Social Participation

The final variable included in these models was the level of social participation undertaken at previous adult NCDS sweeps. This builds on analysis undertaken in Section 5.2 which showed lifecourse social participation trajectory is related to some forms of childhood social participation. As such, no variable was included in the age 23 model as it was the first adult sweep investigated here. In the age 33 model, participation at age 23 was included. In the age 42 model, participation at ages 23 and 33 were included, and this continued for each sweep investigated.

The results in Table 5.2 show previous social participation had a positive relationship with social participation at most ages. Those who participated in one

organisation at age 33 were 1.7 times more likely to have participated in one organisation at age 23 than to have participated in none, while participation in several organisations at age 33 did not have a significant relationship with participation at age 23. The relationship becomes more extensive at age 42. Those who participated in one organisation at age 42 were likely to have participated in one or several organisations at age 23, with an odds ratio of 1.3 and 1.9 respectively. They were also likely to have participated in one or several organisations at age 33, with an odds ratio of 3.87 and 3.33 respectively.

Those who participated in several organisations at age 42 were more than twice as likely to have participated in several organisations at age 23. They were also more than four times as likely to have particiapted in one organisation and 9.5 times more likely to have participated in several organisations at age 33. The difference between the odds ratios suggest that participation at age 42 had a stronger relationship with participation at age 33 than with more historic participation at age 23. This shows that the relationship between previous participation and current participation is stronger depending on how recent the previous participation occurred, and the intensity of this previous participation.

At age 46, those who participated in one organisation were nearly 1.4 times as likely to have participated in one organisation at age 23, 1.5 times as likely to have participated in one organisation at age 33, and just under twice as likely to have participated in one organisation at age 42. They were also 1.6 times more likely to have participated in several organisations at age 23. This again suggests that more recent social participation has a stronger relationship with current participation than historic participation. Meanwhile, participation in several organisations at age 46 was likely to be undertaken by those who had participated in one organisation at ages 33 and 42, with odds ratios of 2.46 and 3.95 respectively. It was also likely to be undertaken by those who participated in several organisations at age 23 with an odds ratio of 2.07, at age 33 with an odds ratio of 2.62, and at age 42 with an odds ratio of 6.48. These results at age 46 therefore support the notion that more recent participation of a higher intensity has a stronger relationship with current social participation. However, they also show that historic participation does not lose its significance, with participation at age 23 continuing to have a relationship with participation at age 46.

Finally, at age 50, participation in one organisation was related to participation in one organisation at age 42 and at age 46, with odds ratios of 1.31 and 1.76

respectively. Those who participated in one organisation at age 50 were also more likely to have participated in several organisations at age 46 with an odds ratio of 1.94. Participation at ages 23 and 33 were not significantly related to participation in one organisation at age 50, suggesting that historic participation had less of a relationship with participation in one organisation at this age than more recent participation.

The relationship between historic participation of a higher intensity is apparent in the results relating to participation in several organisations at age 50. Those who participated in several organisations at age 50 were nearly 1.5 times as likely to have participated in one organisation at age 23. The size of the odds ratio for the relationship between previous participation in one organisation and participation in several organisations at age 50 increased at each age, with those who participated in one organisation at age 46 being more than twice as likely to participate in several organisations at age 50.

A similar pattern emerged in the relationship between previous participation in several organisations and participation in several organisations at age 50. Those who participated in several organisations at age 23 were more than twice as likely to also participate in several organisations at age 50. Those who participated in several organisations at age 46 were 3.85 times more likely to participate in several organisations at age 50. This further supports the notion that the more historic and more intense participation has an increasingly stronger relationship with current social participation.

The large odds ratios reported here indicate that current participation is strongly related to previous social participation, with the strongest relationships appearing to be with most recent and intense participation. Participating earlier in life is also related to current social participation, however, highlighting the importance of a history of participation on maintaining social participation across the lifecourse. This pattern was most observable in the relationship between previous participation and current participation in several organisations.

Interaction Effects

As stated previously, the interaction effects analysed were gender by economic activity, gender by marital status, gender by age of youngest child, and social class by social participation in the previous sweep.

Table 5.3 shows the interaction between age of youngest child and gender was significant, however it only had a significant effect on participation in one

organisation at age 33. It did not have a significant relationship with social participation at any other age. At age 33, women with children aged between 3-4 years old were more likely to participate in one organisation than men with the same aged children. This suggests that mothers of children between these ages may be more likely to participate than other cohort members. Meanwhile, the other interactions investigated – gender by economic activity, gender by marital status, and social class by previous social participation - did not have a significant relationship with social participation at any age. These are presented in Appendix 2.a) to 2.c). The variables included in these models appeared to be directly related to social participation rather than via interactions between independent variables.

Models 2 to 6: Associations between sociodemographic and lifecourse characteristics and the level of social participation at each age
Interaction Effects: Age of youngest child by gender

	Age 23		Age 33		Age 42		Age 46		Age 50	
One Organisation (ref: No Organisations)										
RG's Social Class (ref: Class V)										
I	0.90		2.52	**	2.58	**				
II	1.18		2.49	***	2.18	**				
III	1.01		1.38		1.48					
IV	0.91		1.27		1.49					
NS-SEC (ref: Routine Occupations)										
Higher Administrative, Managerial, and Professional Occupations							1.16		1.56	
Intermediate Occupations							0.94		1.01	
Gender (ref: Male)										
Female	0.79	*	1.20		1.13		1.11		0.76	
Religiosity	1.29	***	1.33	***	1.15				2.23	
Economic Activity (ref: Full-time Employees)										
Part-time Employee	0.60	***	1.98	***	1.59	***	0.97		0.85	
Full-time Self-Employed			1.00		1.06		1.09		0.88	
Part-time Self-Employed			2.12	**	1.95	**	1.79		0.80	
Education	0.85		1.44		0.90		1.04		0.68	
Home/Family	0.36	***	2.07	***	1.21		0.92		0.61	
Sick/Disabled	0.44	**	0.85		1.03		0.77		0.58	
Unemployed	0.53	***	0.94		0.97		0.92		0.53	
Retired					2.26		1.76		0.68	
Marital Status (ref: Single and Never Married)										
Married	0.94		0.91		0.97		1.25		1.15	
Separated	0.80		0.75		0.79		1.08		0.95	
Age of youngest child (ref: Under 2yrs)										
3-4yrs	0.94		0.91		1.29		0.82		1.06	
5-10yrs			1.12		1.34		1.05		1.24	
11-15yrs			1.12		0.90		0.89		1.29	
16yrs+			1.15		0.69		0.73		1.14	
Previous Participation (Age 23) (ref: No Organisations)										
Several			1.74	***	1.88	***	1.62	***	1.39	
One			1.16		1.32	**	1.36	***	1.14	
Previous Participation (Age 33) (ref: No Organisations)										
Several					3.88	**	1.17		1.53	
One					3.32	***	1.48	***	1.17	
Previous Participation (Age 42) (ref: No Organisations)										
Several							2.32		1.50	
One							2.17	***	1.31	*
Previous Participation (Age 46) (ref: No Organisations)										
Several									1.78	
One									1.81	**
Age of youngest child * Gender (ref: Under 2yrs * Male)										
3-4yrs	1.09		1.64	*	1.05		0.90		1.07	
5-10yrs			1.28		1.15		0.79		0.92	
11-15yrs			0.99		1.11		1.00		1.25	
16yrs+			0.95		1.08		0.95		1.02	

Several Organisations (ref: No Organisations)												
RG's Social Class (ref: Class V)												
I	1.73		2.67		2.04							
II	2.47	***	2.67		1.50							
III	1.42		1.39		0.70							
IV	1.01		0.87		0.73							
NS-SEC (ref: Routine Occupations)												
Higher Administrative, Managerial, and Professional Occupations							1.73		2.29	*		
Intermediate Occupations							1.04		0.90			
Gender (ref: Male)												
Female	0.68	**	1.80		0.97		0.80		0.61			
Religiosity	2.56	***	1.31		0.88				3.16	*		
Economic Activity (ref: Full-time Employees)												
Part-time Employee	0.56	***	1.44		1.56		1.26		0.73			
Full-time Self-Employed			1.16		1.19		1.34		0.97			
Part-time Self-Employed			2.19		3.22	*	2.81		1.06			
Education	0.67		2.46		2.05		2.21		0.88			
Home/Family	0.18	***	2.79	**	1.74		1.26		0.59			
Sick/Disabled	0.34	**	0.64		1.26		0.95		0.38			
Unemployed	0.30	***	0.96		1.64		1.43		0.49			
Retired					4.40		2.46		0.48			
Marital Status (ref: Single and Never Married)												
Married	0.79	*	0.65		0.77		1.52		0.95			
Separated	0.66	**	0.37	**	0.53		1.51		0.80			
Age of youngest child (ref: Under 2yrs)												
3-4yrs	0.99		1.21		1.47		1.26		1.19			
5-10yrs			1.77		1.37		1.78		1.65			
11-15yrs			1.31		1.07		1.19		1.59			
16yrs+			2.18		0.83		0.78		1.23			
Previous Participation (Age 23) (ref: No Organisations)												
Several			2.50		2.09	**	2.07	***	2.17	***		
One			1.47		1.14		1.35		1.47	**		
Previous Participation (Age 33) (ref: No Organisations)												
Several					9.55	***	2.62	**	2.71	*		
One					4.06	***	2.46	***	1.60	***		
Previous Participation (Age 42) (ref: No Organisations)												
Several							7.97	**	2.65	*		
One							4.49	***	1.81	***		
Previous Participation (Age 46) (ref: No Organisations)												
Several									3.32	***		
One									2.05	**		
Age of youngest child * Gender (ref: Under 2yrs * Male)												
3-4yrs	1.14		1.31		1.33		0.79		1.18			
5-10yrs			0.94		1.49		0.81		0.95			
11-15yrs			0.75		1.18		0.81		1.42			
16yrs+			0.62		0.93		0.93		1.27			

Table 5.3: Interaction effects between gender and age of youngest child in the household on the association between sociodemographic and lifecourse characteristics and social participation across the lifecourse (Odds ratios of multinomial logit models)

Note: *** = p<0.005; ** = p<0.01; * = p<0.05

5.3.3 Conclusion: What characteristics differentiate participant levels at different ages across the adult lifecourse?

The second stage of this analysis aimed to answer the question "What characteristics differentiate participant levels at different ages across the adult lifecourse?". The regression results using multinomial models highlight movements in the variables associated with social participation at each age. These models enable profiles of social participants at each age to be identified.

At age 23, participants in a single organisation were most likely to be male, religious, and in full-time employment. Those who participated in several meanwhile were also likely to be of a higher social class.

This shifted at age 33, with those likely to participate in a single organisation being female, of a higher social class, and religious. They were also likely to be working part-time or looking after the home or family, to have a youngest child aged between 3 and 10 years old, and to have participated in several organisations at age 23. Those with higher levels of participation at age 33 were additionally less likely to be separated.

This was maintained in part at age 42, with those who participated in a single organisation being of a higher social class, working part-time, and have a youngest child aged between 5 and 10 years old. They were also likely to have participated at ages 23 and 33, in either one or several organisations. Those who participated in several organisations at age 42 shared some characteristics with those who participated in a single organisation, notably that they were also likely to be working part-time, have a child aged between 5 and 10 years old, and to have engaged in participation activities at every sweep prior to age 42.

By age 46 the profile of social participants shifted again, with those who participated in either one or several organisations being likely to have participated in organisations at previous sweeps. No other variable included in the analysis predicted social participation at age 46, however. Similarly at age 50, those who participated in either one or several organisations were likely to have participated at previous sweeps. Those who participated in several organisations at age 50 were also more likely to have been of a higher social class and religious.

While the influence of employment, the family, and gender fluctuate across the lifecourse, this analysis has shown that those of a higher social class are consistently more likely to participate in social organisations than those of a lower

social class. This, again, has implications for the distinction of social participants, and the relationship with Bourdieu's concept of habitus. These results will be returned to and discussed towards the end of this chapter in relation to literature regarding the relationship between social participation, social class, employment, and the family.

5.4 What characteristics differentiate participant types in midlife?

The previous chapter identified three groups with diverse patterns of participation in social organisation in midlife. Based on these patterns, these groups were described as Non-Participants, Sporting Participants, and Multiple Participants. The final stage of the analysis described in this chapter aimed to identify the characteristics that differentiate these groups in order to enable a greater understanding of the motivators and barriers to social participation in midlife. Once again, multinomial logistic regression was used to examine these characteristics.

5.4.1 Variables

The dependent variable is the groups of participants identified by the Latent Class Analysis conducted in the previous chapter. This variable has three levels, demonstrating the need for multinomial logistic regression. These three levels were Non-Participants, making up 65% of the NCDS cohort at age 50 (n=6363), Sporting Participants, making up 18% of the NCDS cohort at age 50 (n=1762), and Multiple Participants, making up the remaining 17% of the NCDS cohort at age 50 (n=1664). In this way, this analysis investigates participation type at age 50, while the analysis described in Section 5.3 investigated participation level.

The Non-Participant group was selected as the reference category for this regression as it represented the largest category on the dependent variable. It also represents not undertaking any social participation activity, whereas the other categories represent undertaking some form of social participation.

The independent variables were the same as those used in the previous analysis. The relationship between social class and social participation was the central focus of investigation, and so this was the focus of the initial model. Each variable was then added into the model in order to observe the effects of these variables on the relationship between social class and social participation. The other variables

measured sociodemographic, employment, and family characteristics, and the participation levels exhibited at previous NCDS sweeps.

Finally, the same interaction effects were investigated here as in the previous models: gender by economic activity, gender by marital status, gender by age of youngest child, and social class by social participation in the previous sweep.

5.4.2 Findings

In contrast to the analysis in Section 5.3, throughout the development of this model to assess the variables that relate to participation type at age 50, it became clear that the addition of new variables to this model resulted in some changes in the significance of other variables already within the model. Details of this can be seen in Table 5.4. In particular, following the addition of previous participation to the model, a positive relationship between being a Sporting Participant and having children aged over 5 years of age emerged. Additionally, economic activity no longer had a significant effect on the model following the introduction of age of the youngest child. This highlights the importance of previous participation and children on the likelihood of participation at age 50 as the relationships between social participation and other variables are altered when these variables are added to the model.

The model in Table 5.4 shows the relationship between gender, social class, religiosity, economic activity, marital status, and children resident in the household on the patterns of participation in midlife. It aims to answer the following question: "What characteristics differentiate participant types in midlife?". The Likelihood Ratio Tests indicated this model can be used with confidence as they suggest there is a significant difference ($p<0.001$) between the intercept only model and the final model containing all independent variables discussed previously. The following discussion will show how this model has revealed the characteristics of those exhibiting different patterns of participation in midlife. The variables significantly associated with being a Sporting Participant will then be discussed, followed by the variables that were significantly associated with being a Multiple Participant. As part of this discussion, the similarities and differences between Sporting and Multiple Participants will be considered.

Type of Organisation: Sweep 8, 2008, Age 50																
	Original Model		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6		Model 7		Final Model	
Sporting Participants (ref: Non-Participants)																
NS-SEC (ref: Routine Occupations)																
Higher Admin., Man., and Prof. Occupations	2.59	***	2.59	***	2.59	***	2.57	***	2.55	***	2.56	***	2.22	***	1.93	***
Intermediate Occupations	1.49	***	1.54	***	1.54	***	1.52	***	1.52	***	1.35		1.3		1.23	
Gender (ref: Male)																
Female			0.41	***	0.42	***	0.39	***	0.4	***	0.41	***	0.42	***	0.44	***
Religiosity					0.98		0.99		0.97		0.99		0.82		0.76	*
Economic Activity (ref: Full-time Employee)																
Part-time Employee							1.19		1.16		1.21		1.1		1.07	
Full-time Self-Employed							0.99		0.99		1.11		1.06		1.11	
Part-time Self-Employed							1.16		1.15		1.47		1.31		1.27	
Education							0.56		0.6		1.13		1.36		1.74	
Home/Family							0.95		0.93		0.95		0.75		0.58	
Sick/Disabled							0.13	***	0.13	***	0.21		0.25		0.3	
Unemployed							0.81		0.84		0.86		0.91		1.04	
Retired							1.64		1.63		1.51		1.42		1.55	
Marital Status (ref: Single and Never Married)																
Married									1.26		1.12		1.07		0.96	
Separated									1.2		1.07		1.05		0.93	
Age of Youngest Child (ref: Under 2yrs)																
3-4yrs											1.82		1.83		2.55	
5-10yrs											2.14		2.06		3.32	*
11-15yrs											2.44		2.21		3.47	*
16yrs+											2.2		2.27		3.62	*
Previous Participation (Age 46) (ref No Organisations)																
Several Organisations													2.98	***	1.78	***
One Organisation													2.05	***	1.32	*
Previous Participation (Age 42) (ref: No Organisations)																
Several Organisations															1.07	
One Organisation															0.86	
Previous Participation (Age 33) (ref: No Organisations)																
Several Organisations															0.75	
One Organisation															0.9	
Previous Participation (Age 23) (ref: No Organisations)																
Several Organisations															2.83	***
One Organisation															2.01	***

Non-Participants vs Multiple Participants																		
NS-SEC (ref: Routine Occupations)																		
Higher Admin., Man., and Prof. Occupations	6.19	***	6.19	***	5.61	***	5.52	***	5.5	***	5.05	***	4.04	***	3.59	***		
Intermediate Occupations	1.97	***	1.98	***	1.78	***	1.57		1.55		1.31		1.2		1.18	***		
Gender (ref: Male)																		
Female			0.98		0.8		0.73	***	0.74	***	0.88		0.87		0.76	*		
Religiosity					5.3	***	5.3	***	5.3	***	5.52	***	4.28	***	3.39	***		
Economic Activity (ref: Full-time Employee)																		
Part-time Employee							1.29		1.3		1.31		1.22		1.14			
Full-time Self-Employed							1.15		1.17		1.21		1.19		1.22			
Part-time Self-Employed							2.14	***	2.16	***	2.22	***	1.73		1.64			
Education							3.38		3.32		4.74		6.94		5.06			
Home/Family							1.16		1.18		1.41		1.11		1.2			
Sick/Disabled							0.3		0.3		0.31		0.3		0.36			
Unemployed							0.58		0.58		0.52		0.58		1.13			
Retired							1.69		1.68		3.61		2.7		1.63			
Marital Status (ref: Single and Never Married)																		
Married									0.69	***	0.64		0.6		0.67			
Separated									0.52	***	0.49		0.5		0.6			
Age of Youngest Child (ref: Under 2yrs)																		
3-4yrs											2.69		2.18		3.49			
5-10yrs											2.82		2.93		6.2	*		
11-15yrs											2.87		2.82		5.87	*		
16yrs+											1.7		2		3.98			
Previous Participation (Age 46) (ref: Under 2yrs)																		
Several Organisations													5.54	***	1.78	**		
One Organisation													2.01	***	1.43			
Previous Participation (Age 42) (ref: No Organisations)																		
Several Organisations															2.82	***		
One Organisation															1.64	***		
Previous Participation (Age 33) (ref: No Organisations)																		
Several Organisations															4.06	***		
One Organisation															2.06	***		
Previous Participation (Age 23) (ref: No Organisations)																		
Several Organisations															3.27	***		
One Organisation															1.59	**		

Table 5.4: Sociodemographic and lifecourse characteristics and social participation in midlife (Odds ratios of multinomial logit models)

*Note: *** = p<0.005; ** = p<0.01; * = p<0.05*

Who are the Sporting Participants?

Sporting Participants were nearly twice as likely to be in a higher administrative, managerial, and professional occupation than Non-Participants. They were also more than 3 times as likely to have a youngest child aged over 5 years old. They were twice as likely to have participated in a single organisation at age 46, and nearly 3 times as likely to have participated in several organisations at age 46. Additionally, they were 1.3 and 1.8 times more likely to have participated in one and several organisations respectively at age 23. Participation at ages 33 and 42 were not significantly related to being a Sporting Participant at age 50. They were however, less likely to be female and less likely to be religious. Sporting Participants therefore appeared to be men, who were not religious, of a higher social class, who had some history of previous social participation, and had a youngest child aged over 5 years old.

Who are the Multiple Participants?

Multiple Participants were more than 3.5 times as likely to be in a higher administrative, managerial, and professional occupation than Non-Participants, and were also more likely to be in intermediate occupations. They were more than three times as likely to be religious and they were approximately 6 times as likely to have a youngest child aged between 5 and 15 years old. They were also more likely to have participated in either one or several organisations at every previous NCDS sweep, with odds ratios ranging from 1.59 to 4.06. They were less likely to be female, however. Overall, the Multiple Participants were similar to Sporting Participants as they are also likely to be men of a higher social class, but differ as they are more likely to be religious, with a long history of social participation, and with a youngest child specifically aged between 5 and 10 years old.

Economic activity was not significantly related to the type of social participant in the final model presented in Table 5.4. It was significant, however, prior to the addition of a full history of participation, also shown in Table 5.4. Multiple Participants were more than twice as likely to be part-time self-employed in Model 7 which included all variables with the exception of previous social participation at ages 23, 33, and 46. This relationship was not maintained in the final model suggesting that, while economic activity may be related to social participation, the association between previous social participation and being a Multiple Participant in midlife is stronger.

Interaction Effects

Interaction effects were also investigated here in order to highlight whether the relationships identified by this model operate via another variable. Again, the interaction effects considered were gender by economic activity, gender by marital status, gender by child in the household, and social class by social participation at the previous sweep (in this case, participation level at age 46). The interactions between gender and economic activity, gender and marital status, and gender and age of youngest child did not have significant relationships with social participation, and are presented in Appendix 2.d) to f).

The interaction between social class and social participation in the previous sweep (age 46) did have a significant effect on the model, shown in Table 5.5. As marital economic activity and marital status were not significant in this model they are not presented in Table 5.5. The full model, with these variables included, can be seen in Appendix 2.g). Those who were in either higher managerial, administrative and professional occupations or in intermediate occupations and who participated in one organisation at age 46 were less likely to be Sporting Participants than they were to be Non-Participants in Routine Occupations. This may appear to be contradictory to other evidence presented in this chapter that has found both being of a higher social class and having previously participated to be positively related with current participation. This contrast may be due to the lack of consistency between the single organisation participated in at age 46 and being a Sporting Participant. Sporting Participants participated specifically in sports clubs, while those who participated in one organisation may have participated in any one of the organisation types listed in the age 46 survey.

Meanwhile, those in Intermediate Occupations who participated in one organisation at age 46 were more likely to be Multiple Participants at age 50 compared to those in Routine Occupations who did not participate in any organisation. The odds ratio for this interaction was 5.59, indicating a strong relationships. The interaction between previous participation and being in Higher Administrative, Professional, and Managerial occupations did not have a significant relationship with the likelihood of being a Multiple Participant at age 50, however. This suggests the effect of social class on social participation in midlife varies by the level of previous social participation.

Type of Organisation: Sweep 8, 2008, Age 50 Interaction Effects: Social Class by Previous Participation.	Final Model	
Sporting Participants (ref: Non-Participants)		
RG's Social Class (ref: Routine Occupations)		
Higher Administrative, Managerial, and Professional Occupations	2.78	***
Intermediate Occupations	1.46	
Gender (ref: Male)		
Female	0.44	***
Religiosity	0.77	*
Age of Youngest Child (ref: Under 2yrs)		
3-4yrs	2.62	
5-10yrs	3.30	*
11-15yrs	3.49	*
16yrs+	3.63	*
Previous Participation (Age 23) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	1.76	***
One Organisation	1.31	*
Previous Participation (Age 33) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	1.08	
One Organisation	0.86	
Previous Participation (Age 42) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	0.76	
One Organisation	0.90	
Previous Participation (Age 46) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	4.18	***
One Organisation	2.85	***
NS-SEC * Previous Participation (Age 46) (ref: Routine Occ. * No Orgs.)		
Higher * Several	0.57	
Higher * One	0.56	*
Intermediate * Several	0.71	
Intermediate * One	0.82	
Multiple Participants (ref: No Organisations)		
RG's Social Class (ref: Routine Occupations)		
Higher Administrative, Managerial, and Professional Occupations	4.60	***
Intermediate Occupations	0.52	
Gender (ref: Male)		
Female	0.75	*
Religiosity	3.39	***
Age of Youngest Child (ref: Under 2yrs)	0.51	
3-4yrs	3.72	
5-10yrs	6.09	*
11-15yrs	5.94	*
16yrs+	4.03	
Previous Participation (Age 23) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	1.75	**
One Organisation	1.41	
Previous Participation (Age 33) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	2.93	***
One Organisation	1.63	***
Previous Participation (Age 42) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	4.10	***
One Organisation	2.03	***
Previous Participation (Age 46) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	4.60	***
One Organisation	1.16	
NS-SEC * Previous Participation (Age 46) (Routine Occ. * No Orgs.)		
Higher * Several	0.56	
Higher * One	1.02	
Intermediate * Several	1.66	
Intermediate * One	5.59	**

Table 5.5: Interaction effects between social class and previous participation on the association between sociodemographic and lifecourse characteristics and type of social participation at age 50 (Odds ratios of multinomial logit models)

Note: *** = p<0.005; ** = p<0.01; * = p<0.05

5.4.3 Conclusion: What characteristics differentiate participant types in midlife?

This final stage of the quantitative analysis aimed to answer the question “What characteristics differentiate participant types in midlife?”. Multinomial logistic regression was used to identify the relationship between a series of theoretically justified independent variables and the dependent variable, the midlife participation clusters identified in the previous chapter. This dependent variable had three levels each representing a pattern of participation in organisations: Multiple Participants, Sporting Participants, and Non-Participants. This analysis aimed to identify that characteristics that distinguish those who exhibit these participation types. The characteristics considered were gender, social class, religiosity, employment, and family characteristics. These were selected as previous research has noted their influence on the dispositions or resources available that can enable or restrict social participation. This analysis has shown that social participants in midlife, whether they are Sporting Participants or Multiple Participants, can be profiled as men, of a higher social class, and religious. Both are likely to have youngest children aged over 5 years old, however the Multiple Participants are likely to have a youngest child aged between 5 to 15 years old. Additionally, both Sporting and Multiple Participants are likely to have participated at previous NCDS sweeps. Sporting Participants were likely to have participated at age 23 and age 46, while the Multiple Participants were likely to have participated at every age.

5.5 Key Results

These regression models have shown a number of consistencies and differences in factors that are associated with the likelihood of undertaking social participation across the lifecourse. Some variables included here indicated a stability in lifecourse participation. Social class is consistently related to higher social participation. Being of a higher social class in childhood and throughout adulthood increased the likelihood of participation in social organisations. Those of a higher social class were also more likely to either be a Sporting or Multiple Participant in midlife. This suggests social participants are distinct from non-participants based on their social class, and this distinction begins in childhood.

Previous participation was also consistently and strongly associated with social participation across the lifecourse. Participation in clubs outside school was related to being a Lifetime Participant, and participation at previous ages during adulthood

were consistently strongly related with participation at later ages. This highlights the importance of obtaining social participation experiences in encouraging future participation. Finally, religiosity was also related to social participation at many NCDS sweeps, and both Sporting and Multiple Participants were likely to be religious. These factors – social class, previous participation experience, and religiosity therefore appear to increase the likelihood of social participation across the lifecourse.

Other factors, however, fluctuated in their relationship with social participation at different ages. At age 23, participants were likely to be male and in full-time work. Additionally, they were unlikely to be unemployed, sick or disabled, or looking after the home or family. By age 33, and largely maintained at age 42, participants were more likely to be female, in part-time work or looking after the home or family, with a youngest child aged over 3 years old under 10 years old. At ages 46 and 50, social participation was not related to gender, economic activity, marital status, or age of the youngest child. The relationship between these factors and social participation changes across the lifecourse, suggesting there is an element of fluctuation in the predictors of social participation. Lifecourse social participation is therefore not only characterised by consistency, but also by contrast.

Finally, elements of consistency and contrast in the characteristics of social participants in midlife were identified depending on whether participation was measured by the number of organisations participated in, as in Section 5.3, or the types of organisation participated in, as in Section 5.4.

These findings will now be discussed alongside existing literature, in order to show how they provide a more detailed understanding of the patterns of social participation across the lifecourse, and how participation fluctuates in relation to sociodemographic, employment, and family characteristics.

5.6 Discussion

5.6.1 The Distinction of Social Participants

Social class emerged in the analysis described in this chapter as having a positive relationship with social participation. This relationship persisted across the adult lifecourse suggesting that social participants were distinct as a result of their social class. Age 46 is an exception, where the significant relationship between social class and social participation was no longer apparent following the addition of previous participation history to the model suggesting that, at this age, previous participation had a stronger relationship with social participation than social class. The relationship between being of a higher social class and higher levels of social participation across the lifecourse was shown to be rooted in childhood social class, with those from higher social class backgrounds being more likely to be Lifetime Participants. Additionally, this analysis found childhood social participation experiences to be related to higher levels of participation across the adult lifecourse as those who participated in clubs outside school at age 11 were more also more likely to be Lifetime Participants.

These findings that highlight social class as a factor that distinguishes those who participate from those who do not offers support for evidence from the National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO, 2019). Previous research has found that participation in a wide variety of spheres, including voting, online participation, and charitable giving is positively related to social class (Brodie et al., 2009). Those of a higher socioeconomic status have also been shown to be more likely to be formal volunteers and, in particular, to hold committee positions (Low et al., 2007). Previous research has largely focussed on the relationship between social class and volunteering which, as discussed in Chapter 3, is a specific type of formal social participation (Morrow-Howell, 2010; Wilson, 2012). The analysis here enhances existing research by showing those who engage in formal social participation, measured by participation in organisations, are distinct from those who do not in relation to their social class. Through the use of longitudinal data, this analysis has also been able to expand knowledge regarding the relationship between social participation and social class by highlighting that the class-based distinction between participants and non-participants is maintained across the lifecourse.

This class-based distinction in social participation also reflects the patterns in cultural preferences observed by Bourdieu (1984) suggesting that, just as high culture is the preference of the higher social classes, so too is formal social

participation. He argued that those of a higher social class enjoy more complex cultural forms, such as classical music, while those of a lower social class instead prefer less complex forms (Bourdieu, 1986). Formal social participation can be viewed as a more complex form of engagement as it requires resources such as time, planning, organisation, finances, and social connections. It also requires the development of certain social skills and dispositions in order to engage. The skills and dispositions required to engage in formal social participation indicate the existence of a habitus that results in social participation behaviours.

Bourdieu argued that the development of habitus leads to preferences for high culture, such as classical music, by those of a higher social class. This habitus is developed through education and socialisation during childhood, whereby children from higher social class backgrounds experienced high culture and learnt how to understand it. Harflett (2015) argued a similar process of education and socialisation occurs in social behaviours that results in the class-based distinction between volunteers and non-volunteers. She did not consider those of a higher social class to be more likely to participate only as a result of their greater access to financial, time, and social resources, but also as a result of prior experiences of volunteering that means participatory behaviours are incorporated into their habitus. The analysis undertaken here also offers support for this argument as social participation at previous sweeps emerged as a factor that consistently distinguished participants from non-participants. Prior experiences of social participation are fundamental in enabling future participation.

Furthermore, the analysis here found the distinction between participants and non-participants originates in childhood, with the Lifetime Participants typically having higher social class backgrounds and to have engaged in clubs outside school during childhood. This expands on Hietanen et al's (2016) findings that showed social class in childhood influences informal contacts and volunteering in early adulthood and midlife. The development of these skills and dispositions through social participation experiences in childhood may be evidence of the development of a class-based habitus that results in participatory behaviours across the adult lifecourse (Bourdieu, 1984). This class-based participation experience in childhood may be a central mechanism through which the class-based distinction between participants and non-participants is developed across the adult lifecourse.

The Lifetime Participants were specifically more likely to have participated in clubs outside school in childhood, while participation in school clubs, seeing friends

outside school, and sports clubs at age 11, and volunteering at age 16 were not related to social participation across the lifecourse. Involvement in clubs outside school requires parental interest in developing their child through access to certain experiences. Lareau (2011) describes this as concerted cultivation and she observes this is more identifiable in the way in which middle class parents raise their children. Based on interviews with middle class and working class parents, she observed that middle class parents appeared to be concerned with how their children developed relationships with others, while working class parents less commonly viewed organised leisure activities as essential. Middle and upper class parents have been found to encourage their children to undertake extra-curricular activities, such as volunteering, in order to signal social advantage (Ball & Vincent, 2007; Bennett & Parameshwaran, 2013). By undertaking extra-curricular activities in childhood, young people from higher social class backgrounds develop the skills and dispositions sought by volunteer recruiters, thus enabling further participation (Dean, 2016). The development of social participation behaviours appears to be encouraged to a greater extent by middle class parents, and these findings suggest this can influence social participation across the lifecourse. Preference for different activities, the concern for demonstrating certain values, and how this relates to social participation behaviours will be examined in further detail in the next chapter.

The social class distinction between social participants and non-participation therefore appears to have its origins in childhood social class and social participation experiences. This can have important policy implications. A key aim of the Civil Society Strategy (2018) was to encourage a lifetime of contribution through encouraging participation from young people, notably from teenagers. These results offer some support for this, as experiences during childhood are related to higher social participation across the lifecourse. However, as stated previously, children from higher social class backgrounds may have greater access to opportunities to develop the dispositions required for participation roles, and so there is a risk that attempts to encourage involvement from young people may reinforce these class-based divisions between participants and non-participants. The role of the class-based habitus in social participation behaviours must be taken into account in order to open up participation opportunities to individuals from a wider range of social backgrounds.

Social participation has been shown to be positively related to social class and previous social participation, and this is highly consistent across the lifecourse. The distinction between Lifetime Participants and Lifetime Non-Participants appears to

be class-based, and this class-based distinction has its origins in childhood. Experiences of social participation in childhood and across adulthood enable upper and middle class children to develop the skills and dispositions, or the habitus, that results in these class-based social participation behaviours across the lifecourse. The social classes appear to be distinct as a result of their patterns of social participation, in addition to their cultural tastes as observed by Bourdieu. However, while social participation patterns have been shown to be somewhat consistent across the lifecourse, relating to social class differences, this analysis also identified fluctuations in social participation. The factors that relate to these fluctuations were also investigated and will now be discussed.

5.6.2 The Shifting Profiles of Social Participants across the Lifecourse

This analysis revealed three profiles of social participants that relate to different stages in the fluctuations of lifecourse social participation. The first profile, observed at age 23, indicated that social participants were male, in full-time employment, and of a higher social class. Those who were in part-time employment, unemployed, sick or disabled, or looking after the home or family were unlikely to be social participants. The second profile represents social participants at ages 33 and 42, and suggested participants were female, in part-time work or looking after the home or family, with a youngest child aged between 3 and 10 years old. They were also of a higher social class and had engaged in participation at previous ages. Finally, the third profile exhibited at ages 46 and 50, showed there were no family or employment factors that related to social participation, with only being of a higher social class and having previous social participation experience being related to social participation.

At age 23, social participants were unlikely to be working part-time, unemployed, sick or disabled, or looking after the home or family. While full-time employment can be viewed as a restriction on social participation, with Tang, Morrow-Howell, & Choi (2010) finding that competing demands from employment were a major reason for disengaging from volunteering, these results offer an alternative perspective. They indicate that, at least in some circumstances, employment can enable social participation. This is supported by research undertaken by Lup & Booth (2018) who found that increases in hours at work do not necessarily reduce volunteering. Instead, the meanings attached to employment and volunteering roles can mediate the relationship between employment and social participation

(Ba, 2010). Rodell (2013), for example, identified that those with high levels of job satisfaction were more likely to participate. The intensity of employment roles and the meanings attached to them can both relate to how social participation is undertaken. This highlights the complex nature of the relationship between employment and social participation that goes beyond a balance of time resources.

Furthermore, employment has been argued to be beneficial in encouraging social participation. Oesterle et al (2004) argued that employment can provide skills and opportunities that enable participation, despite the commitment of time resources. In addition, there are certain organisations that are connected to the workplace, with Trade Unions being one such example. As discussed in the previous chapter, when the cohort were 23 in 1981, Trade Union membership was high, having reached a peak of 13 million two years earlier (BEIS, 2020). This profile of social participants at age 23, being male and in full-time work, may be reflecting this high level of Trade Union membership that existed in 1981.

Unemployment had been increasing since 1975, reaching 10.2% in 1981, and continued to rise throughout the early 1980s (ONS, 2020a). These results show that those who were unemployed in 1981 were less likely to engage in social organisations. This supports previous research that found unemployment to have a particularly negative relationship with men's participation (Taniguchi, 2006). The economic conditions of the early 1980s may have been related to involvement in social participation activities during this time.

Social participants at age 23 were also not typically looking after the home or family. This indicates there may be a gendered element to participation as women were more likely to be looking after the home or family than men. Women's participation has been found to be closely linked to their children, with pre-school, dependent children being restrictive on participation while school-aged children can offer opportunities to become involved (Voorpostel & Coffe, 2012). As women were less likely to participate at age 23 than men, and those looking after the home and family were also less likely to participate, this suggests that women may have been restricted in their ability to participate as a result of being comformative to traditional gender roles. The importance of gender roles and the gendered nature of social participation will be returned to later.

In sum, the first profile identifies participants at age 23 were men, in full-time employment, and of a higher social class. This highlights the complex relationship between employment and social participation and may reflect the economic and

social conditions in 1981, including the high level of Trade Union membership. The second profile differed considerably from the first and suggests that at ages 33 and 42 participants were female, working part-time, with a youngest child aged between 3 and 10 years of age. They were also more likely to be of a higher social class and to have engaged in participation at earlier ages.

As discussed previously, the relationship between social participation and employment is complex, as it can absorb time resources while also offering opportunities to develop skills and engage in social participation (Oesterle et al, 2004). Due to this mix of restrictions and opportunities, Putnam (2000) considered part-time work to offer a balance between the positive and negative effects of employment on the ability to engage in social participation. Putnam published *Bowling Alone* at a similar time to the age 42 NCDS sweep being collected, and it is interesting these results suggest that, at ages 33 and 42, part-time emplyoyment does enable social participation.

In a similar manner, the influence children can have on their parents' ability to participate is not straightforward. On the one hand, they occupy a large proportion of their parents' time and energy, however Wood et al (2011) also found they can act as catalysts for participation. Voorpostel and Coffe (2012) argued the nature of the relationship between having a child and parents' social participation changes as children grow up. They found that pre-school children who are highly dependent can restrict their parents' participation, yet when they reach school age they can encourage participation as parents can become engaged in their children's activities. The results of this analysis support this as higher levels of participation were engaged with by those who had children aged between 3 and 10 years old.

This evidence indicates social participation may be gendered at these ages which can be seen to be family-oriented. It is further supported by the interaction identified between gender and age of the youngest child at age 33, which suggests that social participation is more likely to be undertaken by mothers with children aged between 3 and 5 years old. The roles women undertake may therefore have an influence on their social participation at age 33 and 42. Bryson, Warner-Smith, and Fray (2007) highlight how the expectations of women to undertake both employment and caring roles have increased, thus increasing demands on their time resources. Putnam (2000) was concerned by this issue of time resources. He considered the increasing movement of women into the labour force was a key driver for the declines in social participation in America as social participation

activities had been predominately undertaken by women. Research by Rotolo and Wilson (2007) also offered some support for this as they found women who were not involved in the labour market and had school-aged children were most likely to volunteer. This suggests conflicting employment and family roles may affect the ability to participation, particularly for women.

In order to balance their caring and employment roles, many women work part-time. As discussed previously, Putnam (2000) saw part-time work as offering a balance between the demands and opportunities relating to employment. During the 1990s, more than 40% of women in employment were in part-time employment, compared to less than 10% of men (ONS, 2020b). Contrasting Rotolo and Wilson's research, Taniguchi (2006) found that part-time work can have a positive influence on women's volunteering. This analysis builds on this by exposing the participation of women alongside their part-time employment and caring roles, suggesting that social participation appears to constitute an additional role maintained by women at this age.

The results indicated social participation at ages 33 and 42 was strongly tied to women's roles as caregivers and part-time workers. However, the final profile once again demonstrated a shift from this. At ages 46 and 50, social participation was not related to any employment or family characteristics. Instead, social participants were likely to be of a higher social class and to have reported social participation at previous sweeps. This provides support for research undertaken by Gil-Lacruz et al (2017) and Wilson (2012) who both found midlife to be a time of increased social participation as a result of stability in roles and a greater availability of free time. Social participants in midlife therefore did not appear to be influenced by responsibilities towards family or employment as they had been at previous ages.

New evidence in this research reveals the lifecourse changes that relate to fluctuations in social participation. Previous research had provided contrasting evidence regarding the influence of employment and family characteristics on social participation. This analysis has shown these contrasting influences appear to relate to different stages of the lifecourse. The first profile, observed in young adulthood, supports research that shows full-time employment promotes participation, particularly for men. The second profile supports a different body of research that suggests employment can encourage participation, but only if it is undertaken part-time, and family responsibilities can promote participation. This profile highlights women as most likely to be participants at these ages and

indicates that gender roles can lead to greater participation from women who are responsible for children and in part-time employment. The final profile, representing participation in midlife, contrasts both previous profiles and supports research that considers employment and family responsibilities to have little relationship with participation at this age, resulting in a peak in participation during midlife. By examining social participation across the lifecourse using longitudinal data this research has empirically demonstrated that, while there may be conflicting evidence regarding the relationship between social participation, employment, and the family, this evidence may be representative of shifts that occur across the lifecourse.

5.6.3 The Profile of Participants in Midlife

The different types of organisation engaged in at age 50 were also examined in the previous chapter and identified three types of participants. The Multiple Participants engaged in a variety of organisations, the Sporting Participants only engaged in the activities of Sports Clubs, while the Non-Participants did not engage in the activities of any organisation at age 50. The relationship between these participant types and sociodemographic, employment, and family characteristics was also investigated in order to identify a profile of these different participant types.

The previously discussed profile of participants in midlife, based on the level of participation, showed participants were likely to be of a higher social class and to have participated at previous sweeps. No relationship was identified between employment or family characteristics and social particiaption in the final model at age 50. The characteristics of participants involved in different types of organisations, the Sporting Participants and the Multiple Participants, revealed some differences to this.

The Multiple Participants and Sporting Participants were found to be of a higher social class and to have participated at previous sweeps. This is consistent with the profile of midlife participants based on participation level discussed previously regarding their social class and religiosity. The profiles of Multiple and Sporting Participants contrasted the profile of participants in midlife discussed previously, however, as they were both more likely to be men and to have a youngest child aged over five years of age. Additionally, the Multiple Participants were more likely to be religious, while the Sporting Participants were less likely to be religious. As

such, the class-based distinction of social participants is supported by the profiles of the Multiple and Sporting Participants, but they also differed in some characteristics.

The Sporting Participants were only likely to engage in a single organisation and were unlikely to be religious, while the Multiple Participants engaged in several organisations and were likely to be religious, these results offer support for research undertaken by Johnston (2013). He argued religious participation can result in wider engagement as religious organisations acted as feeders into non-religious organisations. However, religious organisations were not one of the organisations the Multiple Participants were most likely to engage in. This suggests that it may be religious values that encourages participation as opposed to participation in a religious organisation. The importance of values in social participation behaviours is discussed in the next chapter.

These results show that Sporting Participants have a child aged over 5 years of age, while the Multiple Participants have children aged between 5 and 15 years old. Previous research has also highlighted the differences a child's age can have on their parents' participation. Young children who are heavily dependent on their parents have been shown to restrict participation, while school-aged children encourage engagement from their parents (Voorpostel & Coffe, 2012). The results of this analysis suggest that older children, aged 16 and over may also have an influence on social participation as they differentiate the Multiple Participants from the Sporting Participants. Little is known about how adult children impact their parents' engagement in formal social participation activities and so this is worthy of future investigation. This is particularly of interest as children increasingly stay or return to their parents home during early adulthood.

The profiles of the Multiple and Sporting Participants can be compared with the profiles of cultural tastes identified by the Cultural Omnivore Thesis. In Chapter 4 it was observed that the Multiple Participants can be described as Social Omnivores, while the Sporting Participants can be likened to Univores. Like the Cultural Omnivores and Univores, the Multiple Participants and Sporting Participants were more likely to be of a higher social class, with the Multiple Participants having a stronger relationship with social class than the Sporting Participants. The Social Omnivore Thesis appears to be socially stratified by social class in a similar way to the Cultural Omnivore Thesis (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007b).

These results offer support for the existence of a Social Omnivore Thesis that is consistent with the Cultural Omnivore Thesis.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has furthered understandings of how sociodemographic, employment, and family characteristics relate to social participation patterns across the lifecourse and in midlife. It has supported the notion of a class-based habitus that has its origins in childhood experiences of social participation that result in participatory behaviours in adulthood. It builds on previous research that has highlighted the relationship between social class and social participation to show the long-lasting impact of social class origins and prior experiences of social participation on engagement in social participation across the adult lifecourse.

Aside from social class, this analysis has provided a more comprehensive account of the factors related with social participation. The factors associated with social participation at each age were found to shift. This analysis, through the use of longitudinal data, has again contrasted previous research that has shown participation to be stable (Lancee & Radl, 2014). It has also observed no typical participant who participates consistently across their lifecourse, reflecting the findings of research undertaken by Brodie et al (2009) who did not observe a typical participant who engages across a variety of participation types. In particular, the gendered nature of social participation across the lifecourse has been revealed, with women being more likely to participate alongside their roles towards employment and the family. This analysis has built upon existing knowledge to develop a better understanding of the factors that are associated with social participation, and how these change over the lifecourse.

Chapter 4 and 5 have therefore furthered understandings of the way social participation across the lifecourse and in midlife are patterned. They have also revealed nuances in the factors that are associated with social participation at different ages and across the lifecourse as a whole. Social class and previous social participation experience appear to have a consistent relationship with social participation across the lifecourse, lending support for the existence of a class-based habitus that promotes social participation, while the relationship between social participation and family and employment characteristics appears to fluctuate.

The patterns of social participation exhibited across the lifecourse of the NCDS cohort and the fluctuations in the characteristics of those who participate and those who do not have become clearer through this analysis. Despite this, questions remain as this quantitative analysis can only reveal patterns in the cohort as a whole. It cannot explore the way in which cohort members experience social participation. Qualitative data is better suited to the investigation of such experiences, and the next chapter examines the accounts of a sample of cohort members who were interviewed as part of the Social Participation and Identity Study, a sub-study of the National Child Development Study. The qualitative analysis, as we shall see, builds on the previous quantitative findings by providing a deeper insight into how individuals experience and value their activities.

Chapter 6 – Experiences of Social Participation

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapters have developed understandings of how social participation is patterned across the lifecourse and in midlife, and how factors associated with social participation can shift across the lifecourse. Responsibilities towards family and employment appeared to be related to fluctuations in social participation across the lifecourse, yet the social class divide between participants and non-participants was maintained. This analysis has showed how social participation activities are unequally distributed between cohort members, and how this unequal division originates in childhood, thus supporting Bourdieu's notion of distinction through habitus development.

These patterns of participation cannot, however, explore how social participation is experienced by individuals of different social classes. It is the intention of this chapter to investigate these experiences using qualitative data from the Social Participation and Identity Study (SPIS), a sub-study of the NCDS. The final research question is the focus of this chapter:

Research Question 3: How do those with different lifecourse trajectories of social participation and from different social class backgrounds experience social participation?

Investigated here are the accounts of cohort members who offer exemplar cases that supplement the findings of the previous quantitative analysis. This chapter will begin by reviewing the sample and analytic strategy, Framework Analysis, both of which were described in detail in Chapter 3. The findings from this analysis will then be discussed in relation to previous literature. Finally, the conclusion to this chapter will show how this analysis has improved understandings of experiences of social participation across the lifecourse, and how these experiences can be related to social class differences.

6.2 Analysis

The sampling selection was described in Chapter 3. The focus was on finding cohort members whose accounts offered examples of different social participation experiences. The sample is made up of seven cohort members. The details of these cohort members is shown in Table 6.1, alongside information regarding their economic activity, marital status, and whether they have children as these characteristics were investigated in the previous quantitative analysis and found to have fluctuating relationships with social participation across the lifecourse.

Cohort Member	Social Mobility	Participation Level	Economic Activity	Marital Status	Children
Alice	Stable Service Class	Lifetime Participant	Full-time Employment	Single	No Children
Karen	Stable Working Class	Lifetime Participant	Part-time Employment	Married	Children
Kyle	Stable Working Class	Lifetime Participant	Full-time Employment	Married	No Children
Matthew	Stable Service Class	Lifetime Non-Participant	Full-time Employment	Married	Children
Michael	Stable Service Class	Lifetime Non-Participant	Full-time Employment	Married	No Children
Nick	Upwardly Mobile	Lifetime Non-Participant	Full-time Employment	Separated	Children
Sharon	Stable Working Class	Lifetime Non-Participant	Part-time Employment	Married	Children

Table 6.1: Qualitative Sample Characteristics

As discussed previously, Framework Analysis was used to analyse the interviews. This provided a semi-structured approach that enabled analysis the of pre-determined questions, alongside the flexibility of uncovering unanticipated themes. Details of the stages of this analysis were covered in Chapter 3. The aim of this qualitative research was to examine how individuals describe their experiences of social participation, and what insight this may provide to the class-based nature of social participation. The original framework, which can be seen in Appendix 3.a), was based on cohort members' social participation and social class backgrounds in order to categorise responses and enable themes to emerge. This framework was then developed throughout the analysis as the cohort members' accounts were interrogated and new themes emerged that were not initially expected. In particular, the initial framework did not specifically include the type of relationships developed through social participation and other activities. However, as will be discussed, the nature of relationships was found to be important and so it was

added as a theme. The initial framework also aimed to identify examples within cohort members' accounts that could be viewed as evidence of social class differences in social participation experiences. Throughout the analysis, the importance of the way in which activities are valued by different social classes emerged as a potential mechanism in the development of social participation experiences. As a result, "Social Class Experiences" in the initial framework was renamed "Social Class and Values" in order to more accurately capture this. The final framework, with examples, can be viewed in Appendix 3.b).

The structured nature of Framework Analysis enabled accounts to be examined within the context of cohort members' characteristics, and three themes developed through this analysis. The discussion here will focus on each theme in turn, highlighting areas of consistency and contrast in the accounts of cohort members.

Themes:

a) Social Participation Experiences
b) The Nature of Relationships
c) Social Class and Values

6.3 Discussion

6.3.1 Social Participation Experiences

These qualitative accounts of social participation offer examples that demonstrate how social participation is undertaken. The accounts given by Alice, Kyle, and Karen provide narratives about how organisations are engaged with.

> Alice: “I’m involved in a local church…I’m on the leadership team, been on that for--, oh coming up to the end of nine years…that takes up quite a bit of commitment and there will be a weekly leaders’ meeting in the morning”.
>
> Kyle: “I’m involved in football… I run a younger team and they train on a Tuesday night…you organise training sessions, you organise games which takes a whole lot of time”.
>
> Karen: “my husband joined the Round Table and I joined the Ladies Circle, and from then on you had a social life…And I did chairman twice…it was so consuming, you haven’t time for anything else…I bet it was about 15 year, yeah, 15 years that we were doing that. So you went to national conferences, you went to area rallies”.

The activities undertaken by these cohort members fit definitions of formal social participation used in previous research. For example, Peter and Drobnič (2013) considered formal participation to be membership of voluntary organisations, while Elliott, Gale, Parson, and Kuh (2014) also examined the regularity of engagement. The activities described by Alice, Kyle, and Karen each represent active engagement in organisations, shown by references to intense leadership roles. These three cohort members appear to be involved in formal social participation.

In addition, Alice and Karen both cite time frames for their involvement. Alice states she has been on the leadership team of her local church “…oh coming up to the end of nine years”, while Karen was involved in the Ladies Circle for “…about 15 year, yeah 15 years”. Their participation appears to be consistent and long term, indicating they may be described as Lifetime Participants, like those identified by the Quantitative Analysis in Chapter 5. This would also support research undertaken by Lancee and Radl (2014) who found consistency in participation across the lifecourse, with some constantly participating and others never engaging. However, as these cohort members only describe the participation activities they are currently engaged in, they do not provide details of any participation activities they had undertaken prior these activities. Their status as

Lifetime Participants therefore cannot be confirmed based on their qualitative accounts alone. Despite this, these accounts offer clear examples of cohort members who are engaged in intense social participation activities.

The qualitative accounts also provide an example of a Non-Participant, Sharon, who explains her reasons for non-participation.

> Sharon: “No, I give to charities, and I give clothes and donate when I want to do it, not signed up for a regular commitment”.

Sharon dismisses the idea of commitment, while highlighting the contributions she does make. While donations are an important civic activity that are required for the maintenance of many charitable and voluntary organisations, solely making donations cannot be described as formal social participation, as it does not involve active participation in the activities of organisations (Peter and Drobnič, 2013; Elliott, Gale, Parson, and Kuh, 2014). By highlighting her contributions, Sharon indicated that she considers contributing to wider society through charitable organisations to be a valuable activity, despite her own disinterest in more formalised involvement. The way in which cohort members valued their activities, and how this related to feelings of interest and disinterest, were recurring themes in these interviews and so will be returned to in detail later in this chapter.

As these interviews were conducted alongside the age 50 NCDS sweep, there is scope to relate these accounts with the Social Omnivore Thesis detailed in Chapter 4. This identified three groups of participants, Omnivores who engage in multiple organisations, Sporting Univores who engage solely in Sports Clubs, and Non-Participants who do not engage in any organisations. Sharon, who dismisses commitment, can be described as a Non-Participant. Kyle, who describes involvement in his local football club, appears to fit the definition of a Sporting Univore. However, Alice and Karen do not report participation in Sports Clubs and so they cannot be described as Sporting Univores. They also cannot be described as Omnivores as they only describe their participation in a single organisation. As such, their accounts do not appear to fit with the Social Omnivore Thesis identified in Chapter 4. Inconsistencies in the results of quantitative and qualitative analysis is also identified by Atkinson (2011) who, in his qualitative investigations of the stratification of music tastes, did not find evidence of the Cultural Omnivore Thesis. He attributed the differences between his findings and those of Chan and Goldthorpe (2007a) to the prescriptive nature of quantitative methods that do not enable the flexibility to respond in ways that accurately represent interests and

behaviours. It is possible that a similar issue is present in the reporting of social participation behaviours in the quantitative NCDS surveys, and so social participation may be underrepresented in the NCDS. It is also possible however that, in their qualitative interviews, Alice and Karen only provided detail about their main participation activities, but did not discuss any additional activities they may engage in. These cohort member accounts may therefore not reflect all activities engaged in. Examining a greater number of qualitative interviews may expose the extent to which the qualitative results offer consistency, or otherwise, with the Social Omnivore Thesis.

These interviews provide examples that offer support to the quantitative analysis conducted in Chapters 4 and 5 by exposing distinctions between social participants and non-participants. Other qualitative accounts, however, presented examples of participation that are more divergent to their quantitative data. These accounts, from Nick, Michael, and Matthew, indicated that those who did not report any social participation in their responses to the NCDS, and so could be described as lifetime non-participants in Chapter 4, may have in fact undertaken some participation activities.

> Nick: “when I was working in {PLACE13}, and I had a flat up there, I ended up running the…the residents’ association”
>
> Nick: “probably the biggest thing [I’ve ever] I’ve thrown myself most into…was an old sort of tuberculosis isolation hospital out there…they turned it into a full bail hostel--,…we were getting rapists and murderers and etc., in before their trial, so I got fairly involved in an active campaign to stop that”
>
> Nick: “work do a lot of charitable things, so, we have a--, we have a charity challenge… So, I’ll support events and charities at work, you know our office…as one of the senior managers I’ll put up prizes for a raffle and stuff like that”
>
> Michael: “first thing I remember is horticultural society, does that count?... We like--, like to go to National Trust, we look at the houses, we like the gardens, we like the countryside”
>
> Matthew: “I was a member of the golf club… but then when the children went to university I dropped the membership of that to help fund the girls

through university, it was a chunk of money that I could dedicate to education instead of golf. [laughs]."

These cohort members, despite not reporting participation in the NCDS survey, did report engagement in participation activities in their qualitative accounts. This suggests the levels of non-participation exposed in Chapter 4 may be overestimates as cohort members may not necessarily report their participation activities in the NCDS. The underreporting of social participation in the NCDS was also identified by Brookfield, Parry, and Bolton (2018b) in their research assessing social participation in the SPIS. They considered this underreporting to be due to the narrow, predetermined organisation options used in the NCDS that did not enable cohort members to accurately record their behaviours. This reflects Atkinson (2011)'s argument attributing the difference in the findings of qualitative and quantitative research regarding music tastes to be due to prescriptive and inflexible quantitative methods that cannot accurately capture activities and behaviours. The qualitative SPIS interviews therefore appear able to provide details of social participation activities undertaken by cohort members that were not reported in the quantitative NCDS surveys.

Despite this, in their SPIS interviews some cohort members reported participation in organisations that would have been included in the list of organisations in NCDS, yet they did not report this participation in their NCDS survey. Nick, for example, had previously run a residents' association "…I had a flat up there, I ended up running the…the residents' association". Residents' Associations were explicitly included in the NCDS organisation options at ages 33, 42, and 50, yet the participation undertaken by Nick was never recorded. As he provides no time frame for his involvement in the Residents' Association it is possible that his participation did not coincide with data collection for these NCDS sweeps and, as such, his participation was not recorded. The NCDS sweeps only provide a snapshot of activities at each age and so events occurring between these sweeps may not be captured. This offers further support for the argument that the underreporting of social particiaption in quantitative studies may relate to the inflexibility of quantitative methods.

Quantitative methods are therefore arguably limited in their ability to capture a nuanced picture of social participation across the lifecourse. However, these limitations may not be the sole explanation for the underreporting of social participation. These qualitative accounts provide evidence of a difference in the

way cohort members recognise and place value on their participation activities. This is evidenced by the accounts of Alice, Karen, and Kyle.

Alice: “that takes up quite a bit of commitment”

Kyle: “I put a lot of input into it as well, you know”

Karen: “it was so consuming, you haven’t time for anything else”

This suggests these cohort members identify their activities as social participation and are able to detail the commitments they make. This contrasts, in particular, the account of Michael who asks:

Michael “first thing I remember is horticultural society, does that count?”

His comment “first thing I remember” suggests he must take time to reflect on his activities to determine whether he has undertaken anything that can be considered to be social participation, with his question “does that count?” confirming his uncertainty regarding whether his engagement is of the type that the interviewer is expecting. This uncertainty regarding what counts as social participation is reflected in literature where inconsistent definitions of social participation have also emerged. The issues surrounding these inconsistent definitions were detailed in Chapter 2 and the activities that can be described as social participation were highlighted. For some, the term social participation purely describes structured activities such as organisation membership (De Piccoli and Rollero, 2010). Others take a broader definition, viewing social participation as any activity that connects an individual to others (Serrat et al, 2015). The activities that may be classed as social participation are therefore diverse, and Michael’s uncertainty is reflective of this.

Each of these cohort members, Alice, Kyle, Karen, and Michael reported some social participation, yet the way in which they report their engagement differs widely, with Michael’s uncertainty not being shared by Alice, Kyle, and Karen. This suggests that, even though they have reported some participation, Michael, alongside Matthew and Nick do not value their activities in the same way as Alice and Kyle. The value cohort members place on their activities will be discussed later. Their accounts also provide some insights into the factors that restrict their ability to participate, and these will first be examined.

The cohort members largely cited a lack of time as restricting their ability to engage in activities. They felt their employment and family lives maintained a monopoly on

their time that meant they were unable to partake in activities that they may otherwise choose.

> Matthew: “I travel a lot with my job, we sell into Europe, we sell into Asia, and I travel a lot. In one year I actually flew 96 times and was away from home an awful lot…if you’re travelling with your job for a week at a time you don’t do anything else, you know, there’s no family time, there’s no relaxation time”
>
> Michael: “it takes up so much of our life and it--, it leaves me feeling, as I’m getting older I find it harder to do things in my--, in the evenings if you see what I mean and what we refer to as school days there is no social life really because we just can’t do it these days, I just need to sleep [laughs].”
>
> Nick: “the husband often loses his friends over a longer marriage. So… You know, friends from school days and university and things like that, pretty much, and, hmmm, something I’ve let happen and something that’s happened to me, so”
>
> Sharon: “When I had the children small, obviously your activities fall into your children, you haven’t got much time. It was only when the children got older that I started doing everything like that, because I find I had more time.”

These accounts offer support for research on the importance of time availability in enabling social participation. For example, Low et al (2007) found that a lack of time is a common reason for non-participation, while Tang, Morrow-Howell, and Choi (2010) argued that obligations to other productive activities, such as work, is a key reason for dropping out of volunteering roles. Additionally, Sarkisian and Gerstel (2015) note that obligations to family, including to partners, can restrict the activities undertaken. Non-participation, or low participation, from these cohort members can be attributed to obligations towards employment or the family.

Sharon references the ages of her children and how they affect her activities differently – “when I had the children small” versus “when the children got older”. This provides further evidence that suggests the ages of children can affect the relationship between having children and undertaking other activities. This supports previous research that found parents’ activities to be restricted most when their children were young and heavily dependent, yet this lessens as children grow up and become less dependent (Wood et al, 2011). It also provides evidence that

supports Voorpostel and Coffe's (2012) findings that the age of children on parents' activities can have a particular influence on mothers' social participation. Finally, Sharon's account also provides some qualitative evidence for the results of Chapter 5 which found children aged between 3 and 10 can promote social participation, while children of other ages did not. The changing relationship between children's ages and parents' social participation highlights the way in which social participation is not a stable activity but undergoes fluctuations across the lifecourse in to events such as having children.

These accounts suggest that obligations to employment and the family can act as restrictions on the activities undertake. However, they also provide evidence that suggest, instead of formal participation in organisations, these cohort members engage in informal participation, with a particular focus on family relations. Sharon, as described previously, feels her activities are tied deeply in with her family. Matthew, in describing the intensity of his work schedule, states "there's no family time". It appears that, should his employment become less intense, he may prefer to spend any gains in time with his family. Finally, in Michael's description of how he feels his work monopolises his energy, he regularly refers to "us" and "our" – "it takes up so much of our life" and "we just can't do it these days", for example. Michael has no children, but is very close to his partner, and his emphases on "us" and "our" indicate he is focussed on his relationship. These cohort members' focus on their engagement with their informal networks contrasts the accounts offered by Alice, Kyle, and Karen who engage heavily in formal social participation.

Some cohort members engage heavily in formal social participation while others present a greater concern for their informal relationship with family. However, the nature of the relationships developed both within formal social participation and in other spheres such as employment emerged as an important theme across the accounts examined here, regardless of whether the cohort member was a participant or a non-participant, according to their quantitative data. The development of relationships with others, the form these relationships take, and what the cohort members gain through these relationships will now be discussed.

6.3.2 The Nature of Relationships

The accounts analysed here have shown some cohort members prefer formal activities while others prefer informal. This suggests cohort members may value different types of social participation. Relationships with family members were indicated by Matthew, as what he would wish to improve, should his obligations to employment lessen, while Sharon recounted how her activities revolved around her children.

> Matthew: “if you’re travelling with your job for a week at a time you don’t do anything else, you know, there’s no family time, there’s no relaxation time”
>
> Sharon: “When I had the children small, obviously your activities fall into your children, you haven’t got much time. It was only when the children got older that I started doing everything like that, because I find I had more time.”

Informal social participation is clearly of considerable importance to many cohort members. However, the nature of friendships and the types of connections sought also offered elements of contrast within the cohort members’ accounts. Some cohort members appeared to consider their networks as acquaintances. Alice describes those she meets through her participation in her church group, while Matthew and Michael discuss their colleagues:

> Alice: “if I’m going to meet individually, probably from a church pastoral perspective, not that I don’t get on with them, but it would be in that context that I would tend to meet, and we meet once a week so that’s tonight. So we meet as, you know, as friends but as a sort of step back”.
>
> Matthew: “How would you describe the people you work with?...A work colleague. Our--, all of these people here that I see every day we’re all very friendly and we get along very well… But i’ve tended not to do that just because of my position, if I was a peer of theirs then I would definitely be more friendly, it’s just the way it sort of works out.”
>
> Michael: “And are there work related social events at all that you take part in? I don’t take part in anything like that… I don’t socialise with people I work with.”

These cohort members, despite the differences in where they obtain their networks, highlight the importance of maintaining an emotional distance between

themselves and others. Meanwhile Nick and Karen discuss their contacts in a wholly different manner:

> Nick: “Pretty much all my friends at the moment are previous colleagues at work, but they’re good friends, because they’ve been beyond colleagues for quite a number of years”.
>
> Karen: “when I got divorced I backed away from it {Ladies’ Circle}, because it was very much a thing that my husband was in, my ex-husband was in…I was let down by quite a number of people, people that you think are close to you, you know, said to me “Well do something about it,” and when I did they weren’t there for me. So I backed away from it”

Karen’s comment here elucidates her disappointment in her friends not living up to her expectations, and this will be discussed further later. Both Karen and Nick appear to have developed an emotional connection with those they have met through their participation and employment. Nick describes his colleagues as friends, in direct contrast to Matthew’s comments above. Friendship can be a challenging concept to define, with previous research highlighting unclear definitions of friendship, consisting of contested elements such as their voluntary nature or the companionship offered (Perlman, Stevens, & Carcedo, 2015). Spencer and Pahl (2006) observe that many different relationships can be described as friends and, while friends often have something in common, offer emotional or practical support, or share similar backgrounds, this is not always the case. Friendships, they argue, can be characterised by differing levels of emotional attachment and commitment. Nick and Karen seek and identify friends, and Alice, Matthew, and Michael maintain distance. The individuals described by these cohort members can be seen to occupy important but different positions within their informal networks.

As noted previously, Karen’s statement indicates that while she considered those she met through her involvement in the Ladies’ Circle to be friends, they did not meet her definition of friendship. She appeared to rely on them for support as her and her ex-husband divorced and, despite their apparent prior support for this divorce, they were not forthcoming with emotional or practical support at the time Karen stated she need it. It was observed in Chapter 3 that, at age 50, 22% of the NCDS cohort were divorced or separated, and this includes Nick who was also included in this sample. An additional number, like Karen, were remarried. Karen is therefore not alone in experiencing divorce however her account highlights the

impact divorce can have on friendship groups. Her account supports research undertaken by Spencer and Pahl (2006) who identified lifecourse events, such as divorce, as being a primary cause of friendship breakdown. Despite the Divorce Act passing in 1969 when the cohort was 11, and the increasing rates of divorce that followed, the reaction of those Karen considered to be friends suggest it continued to not be considered socially acceptable to divorce in some networks.

Karen's eventual negative experience of social participation after fifteen years of participation provides a contrasting experience of social participation to the accounts offered by Alice and Kyle. The nature of the organisation Karen participated, and the way in which she began her involvement may provide some insight into this negative experience.

> Karen: "my husband joined the Round Table and I joined the Ladies Circle, and from then on you had a social life…

Karen refers to her participation in relation to her ex-husband's participation. The Ladies Circle and the Round Table are related organisations, with the Ladies' Circle originating as an organisation for the wives of Round Table members. This indicates that membership of the Ladies' Circle may be strongly related to marital status and divorce can break the norms underpinning membership. By getting divorced, Karen may have broken these norms and, as a result, found herself expelled. As such, Karen's negative experience can be seen as evidence of the dark side of social capital as described by Portes (1998). Portes argued that social capital is not a universally positive concept but can also have negative effects. This is particularly notable when networks are highly exclusive, have restrictive membership rules, and can exert control over members' behaviours. Karen's exclusion from this network following her divorce may therefore be an example of the dark side of social capital

The social participation activities described and the nature of relationships developed by the cohort members bring new light to an array of experiences of participation that span both the formal and the informal domains. The social participation activities of these cohort members have been shown to only offer partial consistency with the patterns identified in the quantitative analysis in Chapter 4. The development of different types of relationships with others was also shown to be diverse with some seeking emotional closeness while others maintain distance. While it is not possible to identify reasons for this diversity in participation experiences using this data, these accounts do offer evidence on the differences

in these experiences in relation to social class. This relationship with social class will now be discussed.

6.3.3 Social Class and Values

The accounts investigated here reveal some cohort members, such as Alice and Kyle, were heavily engaged in formal social participation. Others, including Michael and Sharon, were focussed on informal participation, particularly with their families. This difference in focus and interest indicates these cohort members may value different activities, and this different valuing of activities may relate to social class differences.

The accounts investigated here offer a mix of participation behaviours across those from different social class backgrounds. For example, Alice is a Lifetime Participant and of a higher social class, while Sharon is a Lifetime Non-Participant and of a lower social class. As such, their accounts are consistent with the expected class-based patterns of social participation. On the other hand, Kyle is a Lifetime Participant and of a lower social class while Michael is a Lifetime Non-Participant and of a higher social class, and so their accounts contrast the expected patterns. These accounts therefore provide examples of a variety of participation behaviours that go beyond the class-based distinctions in social participation observed previously.

Alice and Kyle are both Lifetime Participants who are heavily involved in formal social participation. There were differences in their accounts, however, that offer an insight into what they get out of their participation.

> Alice: “often what happens there is if I’m on a nightshift on a Wednesday then--, so I could have been up all day Wednesday, worked Wednesday night and then have a leaders’ meeting in the morning from, sort of, half past eight ‘til about ten, then I go home to go to bed [laughs].”
>
> Kyle: “I need an out from my work, my work’s high pressure so I see it as an out, you know, I’m under pressure every day at work, you know…it’s a relief to me, you know, I mean it’s a good out for me the football.”

Alice and Kyle’s experiences of formal social participation can be related to Bourdieu’s (1984) argument that those of a higher social class enjoy classical music as it requires knowledge and understanding, while the working classes enjoy mass produced popular music because it is functional and more easily accessible.

Alice, who is from a higher social class background, demonstrates that she has developed time management skills through her participation while Kyle, who is from a lower social class background, describes achieving functional goals in the form of "relief" from "high pressure work". These cohort members may both engage in formal social participation, but they appear to gain different things from their participation, and this may relate to their social class backgrounds.

The types of connections developed by cohort members also offer some evidence of class-based divisions. As described previously, Nick and Karen, both from working class backgrounds, highlighted the importance of emotional closeness in their accounts. Alice, Matthew, and Michael, on the other hand, were from higher social class backgrounds, and described attempts to maintain an emotional distance between themselves and those they interacted with.

> Nick: "Pretty much all my friends at the moment are previous colleagues at work, but they're good friends, because they've been beyond colleagues for quite a number of years".
>
> Karen: "when I got divorced I backed away from it {Ladies' Circle}, because it was very much a thing that my husband was in, my ex-husband was in…I was let down by quite a number of people, people that you think are close to you, you know, said to me "Well do something about it," and when I did they weren't there for me. So I backed away from it".

Walker (1995) considered the working class to focus primarily on relationships that are based on reciprocity and interdependence that enable the sharing of material goods and services. This can also be viewed in relation to Bourdieu's notion that the working classes seek activities that perform some function (Bourdieu, 1984). The emotional closeness highlighted in Nick and Karen's accounts suggests they seek strong connections with their friends that enable this reciprocity. As discussed, Karen in particular notes that she expected some form of support from her friends, although in her case it was not forthcoming. On the other hand, Walker (1995) suggested that middle class friendships were more likely to be based on shared leisure activities between large groups that offer enhancements to individuality. This can be considered in relation to Alice's point that those she knows through her church group are "friends but as a sort of step back". While the individuals she refers to may hold an important place in her network through sharing their social participation activities, they are maintained solely within this

context. These accounts provide evidence of differences in the ways informal ties are valued by individuals, and these differences may relate to social class.

Some of the accounts investigated here offered examples of cohort members who did not report social participation in their NCDS surveys but who did report some experience of participation in their SPIS interviews. These included Matthew who reported participation in a golf club, Michael who was a member of the National Trust, and Nick who had a varied history of involvement in local campaigns, charity appeals, and led a Residents' Association. As discussed previously, this may relate to an uncertainty regarding "what counts" as social participation. However, by not reporting their activities, these cohort members indicate they may not place value on their social participation in the same way as Alice, Kyle, and Karen who each readily reported their social participation in both their NCDS and SPIS data. Furthermore, Nick and Sharon do not only not cite their activities, they actively describe disinterest in social participation.

> Nick: "I get involved when it suits, I don't--, I don't like getting too tied in, and I'm not the, you know, secretary, treasurer, things like that…I don't feel I need to belong to organisations".
>
> Sharon: "No, I give to charities, and I give clothes and donate when I want to do it, not signed up for a regular commitment".

This suggests that both Nick and Sharon are aware of "what counts" as social participation, but they do not see it as an activity that they would engage in, due to not feeling the need to belong or commit. Both Nick and Sharon are from lower social class backgrounds, and their reported disinterest may relate to class-based experiences of social participation. Sayer (2005) argues that those of a lower social class may lack the resources to undertake activities valued by those of a higher social class. However he argues this lack of resources is not highlighted by individuals, instead they focus on a lack of interest. Nick and Sharon may not have had the opportunities to engage, particularly during childhood where the skills and dispositions, or the habitus, to participate is developed. Their accounts may be evidence of a lack of resources, in the form of skills and experience, that they present as a lack of interest in social participation.

Despite their reported lack of interest in social participation, both Nick and Sharon's accounts offer evidence that they may place some value on social participation. Sharon pre-empts her statement of disinterest by highlighting her donations to charity. While she may not engage in formal social participation and does not see

it as an activity that has value for herself, she mentions her donations as an indication that she recognises it as an activity often valued by others. Nick, meanwhile, has an active history of social participation. He reports engagement with a variety of organisations at different times of his life. By participating in an activity that he attests to be disinterested, Nick indicates that, at times at least, he has viewed formal social participation as an activity of value. These accounts, from two non-participants from lower social class backgrounds, suggests some level of shared values may exist between the social classes.

This does not necessarily suggest that the meaning placed on social participation by the working classes is the same as that experienced by the middle classes. There is evidence that social participation is undertaken by the middle classes in order to reproduce middle class values. Previous research has found that those from higher social class backgrounds encourage their children to engage in formal social participation in order to develop middle class values. Bennett and Parameshwaran (2013) argued that middle class families consider youth volunteering to be a signal of social advantage, while research undertaken by Vincent and Ball (2007) highlighted the accumulation of middle class values as a reason for parents' encouragement of their children's participation in extra-curricular activities. These values include the appearance of ease in a variety of social situations, a demeanour which, according to Dean (2016), makes middle class youths attractive to volunteer recruiters, thus extending their opportunities to become engaged in formal social participation activities.

Nick and Sharon, who are from working class backgrounds, may be attempting to present these respectable, middle class values. This relates to the arguments of several researchers regarding the working class experience of social class. Skeggs (1997) undertook qualitative interviews with working class women and found they rarely claimed their working class identity and instead projected values that could be considered more in line with middle class values. She argued this was because working class culture, and notably the culture of working class women, had been "othered" as a result of middle class attempts to define themselves as the respectable norm. Lawler (2004; 2005) supported these arguments with evidence that highlighted the judgements made on working class women's bodies, speech, and homes. These judgements upon social and cultural differences, according to Atkinson (2011), maintain class differences. By drawing attention to the activities they engage with, while also reporting disinterest, Sharon

and Nick can be viewed as indicating that they recognise the importance of formal social participation in being seen as holding respectable, or middle class, values.

Nick has been described here as having a working class background and his account has been treated as an example of working class social participation. However, this is an oversimplification of Nick's experience as, over his lifecourse, his social class profile has been upwardly mobile. When considering this upward mobility, the contrast between his reporting of disinterest, which has been argued to relate to working class experience and valuing of social participation, and his reporting engagement in formal social participation, an activity valued by the middle classes, can be viewed differently. This contrast may instead offer evidence of what Bourdieu described as habitus clivé (Bourdieu, 1984). Bourdieu considered habitus clivé to be the result of social mobility on the habitus where dispositions developed in the original habitus become mixed with dispositions from the individual's "new" habitus. This divided habitus can produce contradictory dispositions and behaviours. As such, Nick's apparently contrasting reports of social participation experience may be seen as evidence of this divided habitus.

Overall, cohort members' accounts provide evidence that suggests experiences of social participation may relate to social class and, in particular, the way in which activities are valued by different social classes. Even those who were not active social participants may indicate they value the activity. Despite this potential for shared values across social classes as the same activities may be undertaken by individuals of different social classes, they may be valued for different reasons.

6.4 Conclusion

The qualitative analysis conducted here has enabled the nature of social participation experiences to be better understood, particularly in relation to how these experiences provide insight into the values placed on certain activities by those from different social class backgrounds. This analysis found some support was found for a distinction to be made between those who engage in formal social participation and those who do not, as observed in Chapter 4. However, this support is only partial as the SPIS accounts suggest there may be an underreporting of social participation in the NCDS as result of a lack of knowledge about “what counts” as social participation and a lack of value placed on the activities undertaken. This chapter has also found that the development of relationships with others was important both for those who focussed on informal participation and those who were heavily engaged in formal social participation. The nature of these relationships varied, with some seeking acquaintances while others aimed to develop a greater degree of emotional closeness. Finally, while social participation may be undertaken for different reasons, these accounts offered evidence that showed social participation to be widely valued by those from diverse social class backgrounds, and by those who did not report participation. This suggests that formal social participation may be undertaken by those of a higher social class to maintain social class distinctions. Using qualitative data from the Social Participation and Identity Study (SPIS), it has been possible to investigate the experiences of social participation and uncover examples of how social participation can reflect social class differences. This chapter has complemented the previous chapters that identified the patterns of social participation across the lifecourse by detailing the importance of social class and class-based values on the experiences of social participation.

Chapter 7 - Social Participation across the Lifecourse

This thesis has advanced our understandings of the way in which social participation is engaged with across the lifecourse. It has demonstrated the persistence of social class in distinguishing those who participate from those who do not. Social participation across the lifecourse was found to vary in relation to family and employment characteristics, and in particular the gendered nature of these relationships was revealed. Participation in midlife was found to take three distinct forms, described as the Social Omnivore Thesis. By detailing these patterns of participation this research has developed an original extension of existing theories of cultural distinction.Finally, the way in which different social activities are valued highlighted the importance of social participation in maintaining social class distinctions. Through the use of longitudinal data and a qualitative sub-study, this thesis has advanced knowledge regarding the patterns of social participation across the lifecourse. In this final chapter, the research aims will be reviewed, and the key contributions of each analytic chapter will be examined. To end, the implications of this research for policy directions will be considered.

7.1 Research Aims

Existing research investigating social participation, reviewed in Chapter 2, overwhelmingly used cross-sectional or short-term panel data (for example, Lancee & Radl, 2014). This is limited at best as it cannot track developments in behaviours across the lifecourse nor can it identify the effect of the changing role of family and employment characteristics on social participation. There was also contrasting evidence in the relationship between family and employment characteristics and social participation. Some research argued marriage restricts participation (Sarkisian & Gerstel, 2015), while others observed participation to be encouraged by the presence of a spouse (Kim & Dew, 2016). Additionally, the experiences of employment and family characteristcs had been found to shape different outcomes in relation to social participation, for example husbands whose wives viewed them as their soulmate were less likely to volunteer (Kim & Dew, 2016). This implies a great deal of complexity in these relationships.

The intensity of the relationship between social participation and social class was of central concern to this thesis as social class has been identified as the single most important factor in determining who is likely to participate (NVCO, 2019). This is particularly concerning as it implies only a minorty of society, that already typically benefits from higher incomes and education levels, is able to reap the individual-level benefits associated with social participation. Additionally, as a large portion of society is excluded from participation and its individual benefits, they are also unable to assist in producing the society-level benefits that result from social participation. This is arguably inefficient, especially within the context of concerns over the declines in social participation observed by Putnam and the continued emphasis on social participation and community engagement within UK policy.

The reasons for this class-based distinction between participants and non-participants were also questioned within the literature review in Chapter 2. An emerging trend in social participation research linked class-based social participation behaviours with Bourdieu's notion of habitus, which he originally based on class distinction within cultural tastes. Bourdieu argues that children from higher social class backgrounds are educated and socialised to be comfortable in a range of situations and this forms a habitus, or dispositions, that some have argued result in social participation later in life (Ball & Vincent, 2007; Bennett & Parameshwaran, 2013; Dean, 2016). To formally test this empirically, this thesis examined how social class and participation in childhood shape participation later in life, and the relationship this has with employment and family characteristics.

In order to examine social participation across the lifecourse, the influence of social class and the complexities in the relationship with employment and family characteristics this research used the National Child Development Study (NCDS), a longitudinal cohort study that has followed cohort members since their birth in 1958. It offered a unique and rich source of longitudinal data that enabled trajectories of participation across the lifecourse to be investigated. It also enabled participation behaviours at each age to be more closely examined. As the literature review in Chapter 2 also identified midlife as a time commonly considered to be an opportunity for social participation, and the most recent NCDS sweep available at the time of analysis was collected when the cohort was age 50, this age was investigated cross-sectionally in detail. Additionally, at age 50, a sample of NCDS cohort members were included in a qualitative sub-study, the Social Participation and Identity Study (SPIS). These qualitative data are ideal for a more thorough examination of the experiences of social participation.

This thesis aimed to provide answers to the following research questions:

1. What patterns of social participation are undertaken across the lifecourse and in midlife?
2. How do patterns of social participation relate to sociodemographic, employment, and family characteristics?
3. How do those with different lifecourse trajectories of social participation and from different social class backgrounds experience social participation?

7.2 Findings

7.2.1 What patterns of social participation are undertaken across the lifecourse and in midlife?

Chapter 4 systematically analysed the patterns of social participation across the lifecourse and in midlife. The trajectories of social participation across the adult lifecourse, from early twenties to age 50, were first investigated. This analysis examined the level of participation at each NCDS sweep, measured by the number of organisations participated in – none, one, or several. Using Repeated Measures Latent Class Analysis (RMLCA), two trajectories of social participation emerged. The dominant trajectory was characterised by a largely consistent low likelihood of participation, and so represented the participation patterns of the Lifetime-Non-Participants. The less prevalent trajectory was characterised by a higher likelihood of participation, albeit with greater fluctuations, and so represented the participation patterns of the Lifetime Participants. The identification of these trajectories are consistent with research that found that current social participation is predicted by previous participation (Lancee & Radl, 2014). As such, these two trajectories indicated a high level of stability in participation across the lifecourse as they distinguished between those who do participate across their lifecourse and those who do not.

Fluctuations in participation across the lifecourse were also observed, particularly in the social participation patterns of the Lifetime Participants. These fluctuations indicated a peak in social participation at ages 46 & 50, which supports research that considers midlife to be a time of increased social participation (Low et al., 2007; NVCO, 2019). The factors responsible for these fluctuations merited further investigation, which was the focus of Chapter 5.

This second stage of the analysis described in Chapter 4 investigated the patterns of social participation in midlife in order to identify greater details in the nature of social participation at this age. To do so, instead of examining the levels of participation, the types of organisations engaged with was assessed. At age 50, cohort members were asked about their participation in a list of sixteen organisations. Latent Class Analysis (LCA) was conducted to identify whether a latent variable exists that explains the patterns of participation in these organisations. Three clusters of social participants were identified. The largest group exhibited a low likelihood of participating in any organisation listed and so were described as the Non-Participants. The second were highly likely to engage in the activities of Sports Clubs but in no other organisations, and so were described as the Sporting Participants. The final group were likely to participate in a variety of organisations, and so were described as the Multiple Participants. The Sporting Participants and Multiple Participants represented a similar share of cohort members.

These patterns of social participation in midlife were shown to be comparable to the Omnivore Thesis, a theory developed by Peterson and Kern (1996) and Chan and Goldthorpe (2005a; 2005b; 2007a) in response to Bourdieu's notion of class-based distinction in cultural tastes. The Multiple Participants with their varied patterns of social participation can represent Omnivores, while the Sporting Participants with their singular focus can be described as Univores. The Non-Participants meanwhile represent Non-Consumers. This clear parallel between patterns of social participation and the Omnivore Thesis may indicate that social participation, like cultural tastes, may have moved beyond patterning based on social class distinction.

As social participation in the cross-sectional analysis assessed the types of organisation participated in, while the longitudinal analysis measured the number of organisations engaged with, the cross-sectional and longitudinal analyses results are not directly comparable. It may be pertinent for future research to assess the types of organisation engaged in at each NCDS sweep, despite the differing organisations included in each survey. Additionally, critics of the Omnivore Thesis argue the omnivorous patterns emerge as a result of the methods used that force respondents to fit their tastes into pre-defined categories (Atkinson, 2011). This may also be an issue in the measures used here to assess the organisation types participated in. The Social Omnivore Thesis may therefore be, in part, a product of the methods used.

In conclusion, social participation across the lifecourse is characterised by stability, as those who participate are likely to continue to do so, but also by fluctuations within each trajectory as obligations towards the family and employment change across the lifecourse. Meanwhile, participation in midlife is characterised by groups of participants who engage with differing types of organisations, and these may represent Omnivorous participation preferences.

7.2.2 How do patterns of social participation relate to sociodemographic, employment, and family characteristics?

In Chapter 5, logistic regression models were estimated to identify the factors that influence social participation across the lifecourse and in midlife. The relationship between childhood factors, notably social class origin and childhood participation experiences, and lifecourse social participation trajectory were investigated.

The relationship between factors including social class, gender, and employment and family characteristics on the likelihood of participating in different levels of social participation at each adult NCDS sweep were also examined. The association with participation at previous ages was also investigated here.

This analysis found social participants were distinct based on their social class. Those of a higher social class were more likely to participate at every adult NCDS sweep, and those of a higher social class background were more likely to be Lifetime Participants. Additionally, those who participated in clubs outside school in childhood were more likely to be Lifetime Participants and those who participated in organisations at earlier sweeps were more likely to also participate at later sweeps. This suggests prior experience of social participation, both during childhood and at previous ages across the lifecourse can enable the development of the class-based habitus that encourages further social participation in the future. An extension of Bourdieu's notion of habitus from cultural tastes into patterns of social participation is therefore supported.

While the association between social class, previous participation, and social participation appeared to be stable across the lifecourse, this analysis also showed that other factors fluctuate greatly as those who engage in social participation had different characteristics at different ages. At age 23, social participation was most likely to be undertaken by males working full-time. This may have been related to the high levels of Trade Union membership in 1981.

By ages 33 and 42, social participants were most likely to be women, working part-time, with a youngest child aged between 3-10 years old. This particularly highlights the gendered nature of social participation, where women's participation is tied in with their caring and employment roles. Social participation appears to be an additional role that women maintain alongside their caring and employment roles. This is contrary to Putnam's (2000) concerns that women entering the labour market was a key driver in the decline in social participation, but consistent with his argument that part-time work offers a balance between the demands of work and the ability to engage.

Finally, by ages 46 and 50, employment and family responsibilities were largely no longer related to social participation. This indicates that the complexities and contradictions identified by previous research in relation to employment and family characteristics may relate to different stages of the lifecourse. In sum, social participation appears to be undertaken by different people at different ages, but they are similarly of a higher social class.

The relationship between sociodemographic, employment, and family characteristics on the likelihood of being a Multiple or Sporting Participant in midlife were also investigated in Chapter 5. The profiles of the Multiple and Sporting Participants contrast the profile of participants at age 50 based on participation level. While the profile of participants at age 50 based on participation level indicated no relationship with employment or family characteristics, being a Multiple or Sporting Participant at age 50 was found to be associated with these characteristics. Multiple Participants were likely to be males, in part-time employment, and had few family responsibilities. Considering these Multiple Participants were most likely to engage in Professional Organisations, Trade Unions, and Sports Clubs, this indicates that this group may involve work-focussed participation. Meanwhile, the Sporting Participants were also likely to be males, but were more likely to be married. This suggests Sporting Participants are engaged in a leisure activity alongside their responsibilities to their family. The contrast between the two profiles of participation at age 50 highlights the importance of considering the measures used as different methods can clearly elucidate considerably different results.

Social participants across the lifecourse are therefore from higher social class backgrounds, who are able to maintain higher class positions across their adult lives. They have also had previous experience of participation that originates in

childhood. The profile of social participants shifts across the lifecourse in terms of employment and family characteristics, and these shifts relate to the fluctuations in the levels of social participation identified in the previous chapter. Finally, the measures of social participation used can greatly influence results and offer alternative perspectives regarding who participates.

7.2.3 How do those with different lifecourse trajectories of social participation and from different social class backgrounds experience social participation?

The final analytic chapter focussed on the experiences of social participation and how these compared between cohort members with differing social participation histories and social class backgrounds. A sub-sample of the cohort members interviewed for the Social Participation and Identity Study (SPIS) was selected based on their NCDS records of lifecourse social participation and social class to enable a variety of social class and social participation experiences to emerge from the analysis. Framework analysis was used to enable these comparisons as it offers a structured yet flexible approach that allows pre-defined themes to be investigated and themes that emerge through the analysis process to be included.

This qualitative analysis identified some consistencies with the previous quantitative analysis as some accounts clearly demonstrated high levels of social participation, while others did not, supporting the persistent divide between participants and non-participants. However, other accounts indicated a grey area between these two groups. Some did not appear sure what was meant by social participation, and others had a varied history of social participation yet this was not picked up in their NCDS records. As a result, this analysis supports previous research that suggests participation activities may be underreported in the NCDS (Brookfield, Parry, & Bolton, 2018a). These discrepancies between the activities reported in quantitative and qualitative studies has been identified as limitation in studies examining the Cultural Omnivore Thesis (Atkinson, 2011). Quantitative studies only allow a restricted range of tastes to be reported and this inflexibility may not enable respondents' tastes to be accurately reflected. This may also be the case in this research on the Social Omnivore Thesis. A more extensive investigation of the qualitative accounts may be able to reveal the extent to which the Social Omnivore Thesis represents the social participation activities reported in the SPIS.

The nature of the relationships developed through social participation and other activities also emerged as being of importance to these cohort members. Some developed close personal friendships, while others maintained some emotional distance. This highlights the diversity of the relationships that can be defined as friendships, with connections valued for many different reasons. This analysis also identified evidence of the dark side of social capital, that emerges when the behavioural norms of a network are not adhered to (Portes, 1998). In the example here, the cohort member divorced her husband and, despite initially receiving support from those she viewed as friends, soon found herself excluded from the group. The nature of the group indicated that marriage may be an important prerequisite for membership and so, by getting divorced, she broke these norms. As a result, she ceased her formal participation. This example highlights the importance of the relationships developed through social participation in maintaining engagement.

This chapter's main contribution, however, is to the understanding of how social participation is valued, by those from diverse social backgrounds, including both those who participate and those who do not. It was argued that social participation is an activity that can represent and maintain social class distinctions. Those who reported social participation appeared to enjoy their activities for different reasons, with examples of social participation enabling skills to be developed and offering a relief from work pressures. These accounts also offered evidence that showed cohort members recognised the value of social participation, but did not engage themselves. Atkinson (2011) argues that these judgements of differences in social and cultural preferences are used to maintain social class differences. By judging middle class activities, such as social participation, to have a high value (Sayer, 2005), the distinction between the respectable middle class who participate, and the working class who do not, can be maintained. As a result, those from working class backgrounds may present these values in order to be judged as respectable and avoid the negative judgements often placed on working class culture (Skeggs, 1997; Lawler, 2004; 2005). Social participation was established in previous chapters to be an activity primarily undertaken by those of a higher social class, and these accounts provide evidence of how it is valued differently by those from different social class backgrounds.

In sum, this chapter demonstrated the importance of methodological pluralism and the need to use multiple and alternative methods to capture social phenomena, such as patterns of social participation. As such it supports calls for qualitative and

mixed methods research in investigating social participation behaviours. It has provided a greater understanding of how activities are valued. Social participation can be valued for different reasons by those who engage, while some who engage do not appear to place great value on their engagement. Others appear to understand the value of social participation but this does not lead to their own participation. This highlights how typically middle class activities, like social participation, are valued by those from a range of social class backgrounds, and thus engaging in such activities can be a way in which distinction between social classes is demonstrated.

7.3 Limitations and implications for future research

This research has exploited a unique and rich longitudinal data source to advance our understanding of the nature of social participation across the lifecourse, and the shifting associations with characteristics such as gender, social class, family, and employment. However, as with most research, there are limitations to this study that require acknowledgement.

Firstly, the generalisability of these findings is limited. Using a cohort study, this research has been able to track developments in social participation across the lifecourse of individuals of the same age. However the lifecourse experiences and social participation of later cohorts may be substantially different as they are exposed to different social, economic, and political conditions that shape outcomes. For this reason, future research could examine the lifecourse fluctuations in social participation using data from other longititudinal studies, such as the British Cohort Study, who were born in 1970, and the Millennium Cohort Study, born in 2000. Comparing these cohorts would enable the cohort and period effects that can influence patterns of social participation to be investigated. It would also enable Putnam's theory that generational change is at least partially responsible for declines in social participation over time to be tested.

A related issue is the representativeness of the NCDS cohort. They are not representative of the UK population, particularly in terms of ethnicity. As discussed in Chapter 2, the association between social participation and ethnic origin is complex and those from different ethnic origins appear to exhibit different participation preferences (Low et al., 2007). The NCDS cohort is made up of those born in the UK in a week of March 1958 and, while it contains a boost sample of cohort members born outside the UK, it does not have a distribution of ethnicities

that is representative of the UK population. It is therefore not possible to investigate how ethnicity may shape social participation across the lifecourse. There are limited data available that is both longitudinal and includes an ethnicity profile representative of the UK population and so represents a limitation of this research.

This research has focussed on the relationship between social participation and social class specifically in order to investigate whether Bourdieu's distinction can be observed in social participation in addition to cultural tastes. Chan and Goldthorpe (2007a) argued that social status and education may be more closely linked to cultural tastes than social class. Social status and education were not included in this analysis in order to focus on social class and employment and family characteristics. Chapter 4 identified groups of social participants that appeared to mirror Chan and Goldthorpe's Omnivore Thesis. As a result, it would be of considerable interest to investigate how different measures of social stratification – social class, social status, and education – relate to these groups of social participants. Future research could focus on these in order to investigate further the stratification of participant types.

Finally, this research used a small sub-sample of semi-structured interviews, and there are disadvantages associated with conducting secondary analysis of qualitative data. While this research has been the first to investigate the participation experiences of cohort members with a variety of social participation histories and from differing social class backgrounds, much context can be lost through a lack of connection with the interviewees. The accounts of social participation given by cohort members in these interviews may therefore not reflect the extent of participation activities undertaken in reality. Some may overstate their involvement while others may downplay their actions. Future research could take a different approach, perhaps with an ethnographic component, in order to gain a more intimate insight into the daily lives of those with differing patterns of social participation.

7.3.1 Policy Challenges

The Civil Society Strategy published in 2018 set out the government's commitment to encouraging engagement in activities that create social value. The Strategy focussed on how people and communities, alongside the charity, private, and public sectors can produce positive outcomes for the individual and society. The findings of this thesis offer support for some directions taken within the Strategy,

but also sheds light on elements overlooked by the Strategy that limit its effectiveness.

One aim of the Civil Society Strategy is to encourage a lifetime of participation and, as a result, enabling opportunities for young people to become engaged in their communities is a central aim of the Strategy. This recognition that the dispositions that lead to community participation are developed early in life is supported by this thesis' findings that show lifetime participation behaviours are rooted in childhood. However, this thesis particularly noted the distinction between participants and non-participants to be based on social class as those from higher social class backgrounds were more likely to participate. The Strategy failed to consider the importance of social class background in increasing the likelihood of social participation. While the Strategy does include measures targeting disadvantaged young people, these measures are primarily aimed at assisting these young people into work, not to encouraging engagement in social participation. As such, these measures do not target the class-based inequality between participants and non-participants.

The Civil Society Strategy also drew attention to the need for flexible opportunities that are adaptable in order to fit alongside other responsibilities. This thesis investigated the relationship between social participation and employment and family responsibilities, and found this relationship shifted over the lifecourse. This indicates that flexible and adaptable opportunities are indeed necessary to respond to these shifting responsibilities. In addition, this thesis detailed the gendered nature of social participation alongside employment and family responsibilities. However, no guidance or support is offered by the Strategy regarding the form these opportunities could take or how they should be developed. Without further guidance, community organisations may struggle to achieve these goals and the gendered nature of social participation may persist.

Finally, this thesis identified that the largest proportion of NCDS cohort members were non-participants. The Civil Society Strategy also offered no guidance regarding how to promote social participation opportunities to this majority who do not participate. The Strategy notes the importance of self-confidence and skills in engaging in civil society. Its focus, however, is on the development of skills and confidence through participation, without consideration of the skills and confidence required to initiate participation. Without certain skills and a level of self-confidence, individuals feel they cannot begin to engage.

Additionally, the interpersonal skills and dispositions required to participate have been found to be class related as they are developed in childhood by children from higher social class backgrounds (Dean, 2016). Indeed, the qualitative analysis undertaken in this thesis highlighted disinterest in the commitment required to participate as a barrier to participation, particularly for those from lower social class backgrounds. This indicates the class-based distinction between participants and non-participants may be the result of an unequal development of the skills and dispositions required to participate. Again, by not considering the relevance of social class in encouraging social participation, the Strategy cannot tackle the class-based inequality between participants and non-participants.

To conclude, the Civil Society Strategy 2018 recognises the importance of early habit formation in encouraging a lifetime of participation, and the findings of this thesis supports this approach. However, by failing to recognise the underlying class-based inequalities in the ability to develop these habits, the Strategy will be limited in enabling the participation of those from diverse social backgrounds.

7.4 Distinctions and Variations in Social Participation

The central aim of this thesis was to advance the field of research in social participation across the lifecourse. In doing so, it has enhanced the existing body of scholarship by investigating the factors that enable and restrict social participation using data from a longitudinal cohort study and a qualitative sub-study. The four key findings of this research are:

1. Social participants are distinct from non-participants based on their social class and prior participation experiences. These divergences originate in childhood and support the notion that habitus, developed through childhood experience and early socialisation, maintain class-based inequalities in social participation behaviours across the lifecourse.

2. The characteristics of social participants differ across the lifecourse, in relation to changes in employment and family responsibilities. This was found to particularly relate to women's participation as they manage competing commitments between the family, employment and social participation.

3. Social participation in midlife can be conceptualised through the Social Omnivore Thesis that consists of three types of participant. The Omnivore participates in a range of organisations, the Univore in a single organisation, and

the Non-Participant in no organisations. As these patterns were not observed in the qualitative analysis, further qualitative investigations are needed to determine the extent to which the Social Omnivore Theory accurately reflects experiences of social participation.

4. Social participation is valued widely, but in different ways. This reflects class-based concerns regarding being perceived as respectable in the face of moral judgements made based on social and cultural differences that maintain social class distinctions.

This research has therefore illuminated our understandings of the patterns of social participation by demonstrating the lifelong impact of childhood social class and experience. It has shown how employment and family responsibilities shape the fluctuations in lifecourse participation and laid bare the gendered nature of social participation. Finally, it has generated new insight into the experiences of social participation by drawing attention to how different forms of social participation are valued and how these values can be used to demonstrate social class distinctions. An acknowledgement of the diversity of social participation experience is required in order to recognise the value of contributions from those with different social class backgrounds.

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Appendix 1: Details of Model Build

1.a) Model 1: Longitudinal Participation Trajectory

Longitudinal Participation Trajectory	Original Model		Model 2		Final Model	
Lifetime Participant (ref: Lifetime Non-Participant)						
RG's Social Class (ref: Class V)						
I	2.73	***	2.74	***	2.68	***
II	2.23	***	2.23	***	2.19	***
III	1.36	*	1.36	*	1.33	
IV	1.19		1.19		1.18	
Gender (ref: Male)						
Female			1.07		1.06	
Meets friends out of school (ref: Hardly Ever)						
Most Days					0.99	
Sometimes					0.96	
Goes to clubs outside school (ref: Hardly Ever)						
Most Days					1.51	***
Sometimes					1.21	*
Goes to school clubs (ref: Hardly Ever)						
Most Days					0.98	
Sometimes					0.94	
Plays Sport (ref: Hardly Ever)						
Most Days					1.00	
Sometimes					0.95	
Does Voluntary Work (ref: Hardly Ever)						
Most Days					1.07	
Sometimes					1.10	

Odds ratios of multinomial logit models

*Note: *** = p<0.005; ** = p<0.01; * = p<0.05*

1.b) Model 2, age 23

Sweep 4, 1981, Age 23	Original Model		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Final Model	
One Organisation (ref: No Organisations)												
RG's Social Class (ref: Class V)												
I	1.16		1.15		1.13		0.91		0.90		0.90	
II	1.50	**	1.59	***	1.56	**	1.19		1.18		1.18	
III	1.18		1.23		1.22		1.00		1.00		1.01	
IV	0.86		0.91		0.90		0.90		0.90		0.91	
Gender (ref: Male)												
Female			0.68	***	0.66	***	0.81	*	0.81	*	0.82	*
Religiosity					1.23	***	1.29	***	1.29	***	1.29	***
Economic Activity (ref: Full-time Employment)												
Part-time Employment							0.59	***	0.60	***	0.60	***
Education							0.81		0.83		0.84	
Home/Family							0.35	***	0.36	***	0.35	***
Sick/Disabled							0.44	**	0.44	**	0.44	**
Unemployed							0.54	***	0.54	***	0.53	***
Marital Status (ref: Single and Never Married)												
Married									0.95		0.95	
Separated									0.80		0.80	
Age of Youngest Child (ref: under 2yrs)												
3-4yrs											0.98	
Several Organisations (ref: No Organisations)												
RG's Social Class (ref: Class V)												
I	2.78	**	2.75	**	2.55	**	1.78	*	1.72	*	1.73	
II	3.83	***	4.12	***	3.88	***	2.48	***	2.43	***	2.47	***
III	1.90	**	2.02	**	1.92	**	1.38		1.40		1.41	
IV	0.99		1.06		1.03		0.99		1.00		1.01	
Gender (ref: Male)												
Female			0.60	***	0.54	***	0.71	***	0.72	**	0.72	**
Religiosity					2.38	***	2.53	***	2.56	***	2.56	***
Economic Activity (ref: Full-time Employment)												
Part-time Employment							0.53	***	0.55	***	0.55	***
Education							0.66		0.67		0.67	
Home/Family							0.15	***	0.17	***	0.17	***
Sick/Disabled							0.35	***	0.34	***	0.34	**
Unemployed							0.30	***	0.30	***	0.30	***
Marital Status (ref: Single and Never Married)												
Married									0.79	***	0.79	*
Separated									0.66	**	0.66	**
Age of Youngest Child (ref: Under 2yrs)												
3-4yrs											1.06	

Odds ratios of multinomial logit models

*Note: *** = p<0.005; ** = p<0.01; * = p<0.05*

1.c) Model 3, age 33

Sweep 5, 1991, Age 33	Original Model	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Final Model
Participation in No Organisations vs Participation in One Organisation							
RG's Social Class (ref: Class V)							
I	2.10 **	2.39 **	2.34 **	2.72 ***	2.69 ***	2.76 ***	2.51 **
II	2.31 ***	2.43 ***	2.36 ***	2.75 ***	2.74 ***	2.80 ***	2.49 ***
III	1.34	1.38	1.36	1.47	1.46	1.47	1.38
IV	1.28	1.29	1.27	1.32	1.31	1.31	1.27
Gender (ref: Male)							
Female		1.82 ***	1.75 ***	1.37 **	1.37 **	1.36 **	1.38 **
Religiosity			1.50 ***	1.43 ***	1.43 ***	1.44 ***	1.34 ***
Economic Activity (ref: Full-time Employee)							
Part-time Employee				1.97 ***	2.00 ***	1.96 ***	2.04 ***
Full-time Self-Employed				0.96	0.96	0.95	1.00
Part-time Self-Employed				2.07 *	2.08 *	2.10 *	2.14 **
Education				1.43	1.45	1.43	1.45
Home/Family				1.85 ***	1.89 ***	1.94 ***	2.10 ***
Sick/Disabled				0.81	0.80	0.80	0.85
Unemployed				0.90	0.90	0.90	0.94
Marital Status (ref: Single and Never Married)							
Married					0.91	0.91	0.91
Separated					0.75	0.73	0.75
Single and Never Married							
Age of Youngest Child (ref: Under 2yrs)							
3-4yrs						1.22 *	1.23 *
5-10yrs						1.23 *	1.31 **
11-15yrs						1.04	1.10
16yrs+						1.10	1.13
Previous Participation (Age 23) (ref: No Organisations)							
Several Organisations							1.73 ***
One Organisation							1.16
Participation in No Organisations vs Participation in Several Organisations							
RG's Social Class (ref: Class V)							
I	2.15	2.47	2.42	3.10	3.04	3.14	2.68
II	2.32	2.45	2.39	3.13	3.10	3.24	2.69
III	1.29	1.34	1.32	1.53	1.55	1.57	1.40
IV	0.91	0.91	0.90	0.94	0.93	0.93	0.88
Gender (ref: Male)							
Female		1.89	1.82	1.54	1.54	1.53	1.57
Religiosity			1.47 *	1.44 *	1.45 *	1.47 *	1.31
Economic Activity (ref: Full-time Employee)							
Part-time Employee				1.35	1.48	1.43	1.53
Full-time Self-Employed				1.13	1.13	1.09	1.16
Part-time Self-Employed				2.17	2.26	2.20	2.26
Education				2.58	2.67	2.45	2.52
Home/Family				2.27 *	2.51 **	2.60 **	2.95 **
Sick/Disabled				0.66	0.62	0.59	0.65
Unemployed				0.99	0.93	0.92	0.97
Marital Status (ref: Single and Never Married)							
Married					0.60	0.64	0.64
Separated					0.36 **	0.36 **	0.37 **
Age of Youngest Child (ref: Under 2yrs)							
3-4yrs						1.57	1.72
5-10yrs						1.02	1.12
11-15yrs						1.63	1.70
16yrs+							
Previous Participation (Age 23) (ref: No Organisations)							
Several Organisations							2.50
One Organisation							1.48

Odds ratios of multinomial logit models

*Note: *** = p<0.005; ** = p<0.01; * = p<0.05*

1.d) Model 4, age 42

Sweep 6, 2000, Age 42	Original Model	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Final Model
Participation in No Organisations vs Participation in One Organisation								
RG's Social Class (ref: Class V)								
I	1.72	1.78	1.78	3.69 ***	3.62 ***	3.31 **	2.84 **	2.58 **
II	1.80	1.85	1.85	3.04 **	2.98 **	2.79 **	2.43 **	2.18 **
III	1.14	1.16	1.15	1.70	1.68	1.65	1.57	1.48
IV	1.27	1.26	1.25	1.74	1.72	1.69	1.54	1.49
Gender (ref: Male)								
Female		1.40 *	1.40 *	1.24	1.24	1.30	1.20	1.23
Religiosity			1.19	1.20	1.19	1.19	1.21	1.15
Economic Activity (ref: Full-time Employee)								
Part-time Employee				1.81 ***	1.80 ***	1.66 ***	1.56 ***	1.61 ***
Full-time Self-Employed				1.05	1.05	1.02	1.03	1.06
Part-time Self-Employed				2.13 ***	2.14 ***	2.00 **	1.91 **	1.96 **
Education				0.90	0.94	0.91	0.87	0.90
Home/Family				1.18	1.18	1.10	1.13	1.21
Sick/Disabled				0.94	0.96	0.99	0.98	1.03
Unemployed				0.86	0.89	0.87	0.92	0.97
Retired				2.28	2.32	2.15	2.16	2.25
Marital Status (ref: Single and Never Married)								
Married					1.03	0.98	0.97	0.97
Separated					0.78	0.78	0.78	0.79
Single and Never Married								
Age of Youngest Child (ref: Under 2yrs)								
3-4yrs						1.21	1.30	1.31
5-10yrs						1.37 *	1.43 **	1.43 **
11-15yrs						0.95	0.93	0.94
16yrs+						0.64 **	0.66 *	0.72
Previous Participation (Age 33) (ref: No Organisations)								
Several Organisations							4.16 **	3.87 **
One Organisation							3.47 ***	3.33 ***
Previous Participation (Age 23) (ref: No Organisations)								
Several Organisations								1.88 ***
One Organisation								1.32 **

Participation in No Organisations vs Participation in Several Organisations												
RG's Social Class (ref: Class V)												
I	1.24	1.28	1.28	3.01		2.97		2.76		2.29		2.05	
II	1.00	1.03	1.03	2.17		2.16		2.04		1.70		1.50	
III	0.39	0.39	0.40	0.79		0.79		0.77		0.74		0.70	
IV	0.63	0.62	0.62	0.87		0.87		0.85		0.75		0.73	
Gender (ref: Male)													
Female		1.40	1.41	1.28		1.29		1.35		1.19		1.23	
Religiosity			0.89	0.92		0.92		0.92		0.95		0.88	
Economic Activity (ref: Full-time Employee)													
Part-time Employee				1.81	*	1.83	*	1.69		1.53		1.60	
Full-time Self-Employed				1.18		1.18		1.14		1.16		1.20	
Part-time Self-Employed				3.53	*	3.55	**	3.38	*	3.15	*	3.25	*
Education				2.22		2.30		2.21		1.99		2.07	
Home/Family				1.67		1.69		1.58		1.61		1.77	
Sick/Disabled				1.27		1.27		1.29		1.19		1.26	
Unemployed				1.42		1.42		1.39		1.52		1.65	
Retired				3.99		4.00		4.23		4.12		4.37	
Marital Status (ref: Single and Never Married)													
Married						0.79		0.76		0.78		0.77	
Separated						0.51		0.50		0.53		0.53	
Age of Youngest Child (ref: Under 2yrs)													
3-4yrs								1.59		1.69		1.71	
5-10yrs								1.59		1.66	*	1.65	*
11-15yrs								1.18		1.12		1.14	
16yrs+								0.71		0.72		0.78	
Previous Participation (Age 33) (ref: No Organisations)													
Several Organisations										10.36	***	9.50	***
One Organisation										4.27	***	4.04	***
Previous Participation (Age 23) (ref: No Organisations)													
Several Organisations												2.10	**
One Organisation												1.15	

Odds ratios of multinomial logit models

*Note: *** = p<0.005; ** = p<0.01; * = p<0.05*

1.e) Model 5, age 46

Sweep 7, 2004, Age 46	Original Model	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Final Model
One Organisation (ref: No Organisations)							
NS-SEC (ref: Routine Occupations)							
Higher Administrative, Managerial, and Professional	1.15	1.16	1.26	1.26	1.24	1.19	1.14
Intermediate Occupations	0.98	0.96	0.96	0.97	0.97	0.96	0.93
Gender (ref: Male)							
Female		1.61	1.17	1.09	1.14	1.09	1.11
Economic Activity (ref: Full-time Employee)							
Part-time Employee			1.00	1.02	0.99	0.96	0.97
Full-time Self-Employed			1.12	1.11	1.07	1.07	1.09
Part-time Self-Employed			1.89	1.89	1.80	1.76	1.80
Education			1.02	1.11	1.03	1.00	0.99 ***
Home/Family			0.86	0.89	0.85	0.86	1.07 ***
Sick/Disabled			0.70	0.73	0.72	0.72	0.72 ***
Unemployed			0.86	0.90	0.86	0.87	0.76 ***
Retired			1.70	1.75	1.70	1.68	0.92 ***
Marital Status (ref: Single and Never Married)							
Married				1.19	1.26	1.28	1.26
Separated				0.99	1.03	1.06	1.08
Age of Youngest Child (ref: Under 2yrs)							
3-4yrs					0.81	0.82	0.81
5-10yrs					1.05	1.05	1.05
11-15yrs					0.92	0.90	0.89
16yrs+					0.72	0.73	0.73
Previous Participation (Age 42) (ref: No Organisations)							
Several Organisations						2.36 *	2.13
One Organisation						2.08 ***	1.90 ***
Previous Participation (Age 33) (ref: No Organisations)							
Several Organisations							1.16
One Organisation							1.48 ***
Previous Participation (Age 23) (ref: No Organisations)							
Several Organisations							1.62 ***
One Organisation							1.36 ***

Several Organisations (ref: No Organisations)												
NS-SEC (ref: Routine Occupations)												
Higher Administrative, Managerial, and Professional	1.68		1.75		2.14	*	2.16	*	2.07	*	1.85	1.67
Intermediate Occupations	1.11		1.11		1.11		1.11		1.10		1.08	1.01
Gender (ref: Male)												
Female			1.07		0.87		0.86		0.92		0.82	0.80
Economic Activity (ref: Full-time Employee)												
Part-time Employee					1.55		1.53		1.42		1.27	1.27
Full-time Self-Employed					1.39		1.41		1.33		1.29	1.35
Part-time Self-Employed					3.11		3.11		2.91		2.72	2.84
Education					2.44		2.53		2.39		2.22	2.23
Home/Family					1.20		1.19		1.10		1.13	1.27
Sick/Disabled					0.83		0.86		0.86		0.87	0.96
Unemployed					1.28		1.30		1.24		1.28	1.45
Retired					2.36		2.37		2.40		2.24	2.47
Marital Status (ref: Married)												
Separated							1.29		1.34		1.46	1.51
Single and Never Married												
Age of Youngest Child (ref: Under 2yrs)												
3-4yrs									1.24		1.28	1.26
5-10yrs									1.77		1.74	1.78
11-15yrs									1.27		1.20	1.19
16yrs+									0.76		0.79	0.78
Previous Participation (Age 42) (ref: No Organisations)												
Several Organisations											8.59	*** 6.48 ***
One Organisation											4.85	*** 3.95 ***
Previous Participation (Age 33) (ref: No Organisations)												
Several Organisations												2.62 **
One Organisation												2.46 ***
Previous Participation (Age 23) (ref: No Organisations)												
Several Organisations												2.07 ***
One Organisation												1.35

Odds ratios of multinomial logit models

*Note: *** = p<0.005; ** = p<0.01; * = p<0.05*

1.f) Model 6, age 50

Sweep 8, 2008, Age 50	Original Model	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Final Model
One Organisation (ref: No Organisations)								
NS-SEC (ref: Routine Occupations)								
Higher Administrative, Managerial, and Professional	1.65	1.73	1.70	1.77	1.74	1.72	1.64	1.54
Intermediate Occupations	1.14	1.17	1.15	1.14	1.13	1.12	1.10	1.07
Gender (ref: Male)								
Female		0.71	0.72	0.72	0.73	0.73	0.76	0.76
Religiosity			2.28	2.50	2.49	2.50	2.40	2.23
Economic Activity (ref: Full-time Employee)								
Part-time Employee				0.92	0.91	0.91	0.86	0.85
Full-time Self-Employed				0.88	0.88	0.88	0.87	0.88
Part-time Self-Employed				0.83	0.83	0.83	0.79	0.80
Education				0.67	0.72	0.72	0.66	0.68
Home/Family				0.61	0.62	0.62	0.59	0.61
Sick/Disabled				0.56	0.57	0.58	0.57	0.58
Unemployed				0.53	0.55	0.56	0.52	0.53
Retired				0.65	0.68	0.71	0.67	0.68
Marital Status (ref: Single and Never Married)								
Married					1.19	1.17	1.16	1.15
Separated					0.95	0.94	0.95	0.96
Age of Youngest Child (ref: Under 2yrs)								
3-4yrs						1.06	1.05	1.06
5-10yrs						1.22	1.24	1.24
11-15yrs						1.33	1.30	1.30
16yrs+						1.11	1.15	1.14
Previous Participation (Age 46) (ref: No Organisations)								
Several Organisations							2.15 **	1.94 *
One Organisation							1.85 **	1.76 **
Previous Participation (Age 42) (ref: No Organisations)								
Several Organisations								1.50
One Organisation								1.31 *
Previous Participation (Age 33) (ref: No Organisations)								
Several Organisations								1.52
One Organisation								1.17
Previous Participation (Age 23) (ref No Organisations)								
Several Organisations								1.39
One Organisation								1.14

Several Organisations (ref: No Organisations)												
NS-SEC (ref: Routine Occupations												
Higher Administrative, Managerial, and Professional Occupations	2.87	3.04	2.98	3.21	**	3.19	***	3.13	***	2.81	**	2.39	*
Intermediate Occupations	1.36	1.40	1.36	1.27		1.26		1.24		1.19		1.10	
Gender (ref: Male)													
Female		0.68	0.70	0.63		0.62		0.63		0.65		0.61	
Religiosity			3.23	4.32	*	4.39	**	4.37	**	3.87	*	3.15	*
Economic Activity (ref: Full-time Employee)													
Part-time Employee				0.88		0.88		0.87		0.78		0.73	
Full-time Self-Employed				1.00		1.01		1.01		0.96		0.97	
Part-time Self-Employed				1.19		1.20		1.20		1.05		1.06	
Education				0.87		0.92		0.94		0.83		0.87	
Home/Family				0.60		0.63		0.61		0.56		0.59	
Sick/Disabled				0.38		0.38		0.40		0.37		0.38	
Unemployed				0.52		0.51		0.51		0.46		0.49	
Retired				0.49		0.52		0.54		0.47		0.48	
Marital Status (ref: Single and Never Married)													
Married						0.96		0.94		0.94		0.95	
Separated						0.75		0.74		0.76		0.80	
Age of Youngest Child (ref: Under 2yrs)													
3-4yrs								1.19		1.17		1.19	
5-10yrs								1.62		1.60		1.65	
11-15yrs								1.68	*	1.56		1.59	
16yrs+								1.17		1.24		1.23	
Previous Participation (Age 46) (ref: No Organisations)													
Several Organisations										5.12	***	3.85	***
One Organisation										2.39	***	2.10	***
Previous Participation (Age 42) (ref: No Organisations)													
Several Organisations												2.66	*
One Organisation												1.81	***
Previous Participation (Age 33) (ref: No Organisations)													
Several Organisations												2.71	*
One Organisation												1.60	***
Previous Participation (Age 23) (ref: No Organisations)													
Several Organisations												2.18	***
One Organisation												1.47	**

Odds ratios of multinomial logit models

*Note: *** = p<0.005; ** = p<0.01; * = p<0.05*

Appendix 2: Interaction Effects

2.a) Models 2-6: Economic Activity by Gender

Models 2 to 6: Associations between sociodemographic and lifecourse characteristics and the level of social participation at each age
Interaction Effects: Gender by Economic Activity

	Age 23		Age 33		Age 42		Age 46		Age 50	
One Organisation (ref: No Organisations)										
RG's Social Class (ref: Class V)										
I	0.91		2.51	**	2.59	**				
II	1.19		2.49	***	2.19	**				
III	1.02		1.37		1.48					
IV	0.92		1.27		1.49					
NS-SEC (ref: Routine Occupations)										
Higher Administrative, Managerial, and Professional Occupations							1.20		1.56	
Intermediate Occupations							0.98		1.08	
Gender (ref: Male)										
Female	0.82	*	1.45	***	1.26	*	0.67	*	0.68	
Religiosity	1.30	***	1.34	***	1.15				2.20	
Economic Activity (ref: Full-time Employee)										
Part-time Employee	0.62		1.93		1.27		0.74		0.62	
Full-time Self-Employed			1.09		1.06		0.95		0.82	
Part-time Self-Employed			1.87		1.80		0.99		0.75	
Education	0.84		1.47		0.53		0.56		0.62	
Home/Family	0.33	**	1.96	*	0.94		0.65		0.57	
Sick/Disabled	0.40	**	0.99		1.10		0.58		0.47	
Unemployed	0.57	***	0.98		1.09		0.63		0.47	**
Retired					2.15		0.70		0.56	
Marital Status (ref: Single and Never Married)										
Married	0.95		0.91		0.96		1.19		1.14	
Separated	0.80		0.75		0.79		1.07		0.96	
Age of youngest child (ref: Under 2yrs)										
3-4yrs	0.98		1.23	*	1.30		0.81		1.07	
5-10yrs			1.31	**	1.42	**	1.03		1.24	
11-15yrs			1.10		0.94		0.88		1.29	
16yrs+			1.14		0.72		0.76		1.15	
Previous Participation (Age 23) (ref: No Organisations)										
Several			1.73	***	1.88	***	1.58	***	1.40	*
One			1.16		1.32	**	1.35	***	1.15	
Previous Participation (Age 33) (ref: No Organisations)										
Several					3.91	**	1.22		1.57	
One					3.34	***	1.54	***	1.18	
Previous Participation (Age 42) (ref: No Organisations)										
Several							2.22		1.52	
One							1.95	***	1.31	**
Previous Participation (Age 46) (ref: No Organisations)										
Several									1.96	*
One									1.78	**
Gender * Economic Activity (ref: Male * Full-time employee)										
Female * Part-time employee	0.96		1.03		1.27		1.87		1.51	
Female * Full-time Self-employed			0.77		1.00		1.19		1.18	
Female * Part-time self-employed			1.16		1.11		2.71		1.11	
Female * Education	1.03		0.94		1.85		3.32		1.22	
Female * Home/family	1.07		1.05		1.33		2.11		1.15	
Female * Sick/disabled	1.17		0.72		0.84		1.81		1.49	
Female * Unemployed	0.85		0.89		0.78		2.26		1.20	
Female * Retired					1.10		4.48		1.51	

Several Organisations (ref: No Organisations)												
RG's Social Class (ref: Class V)												
I	1.74	*	2.72		2.07							
II	2.48	***	2.67		1.50							
III	1.42		1.41		0.70							
IV	1.02		0.88		0.72							
NS-SEC (ref: Routine Occupations)												
Higher Administrative, Managerial, and Professional Occupations							1.72		2.46	**		
Intermediate Occupations							1.03		1.11			
Gender (ref: Male)												
Female	0.71	**	2.20	*	1.27		0.70		0.48	**		
Religiosity	2.57	***	1.30		0.88				3.27	*		
Economic Activity (ref: Full-time Employee)												
Part-time Employee	0.55	*	2.19		1.42		0.90		0.67			
Full-time Self-Employed			1.08		1.09		1.27		0.86			
Part-time Self-Employed			2.10		2.77		1.51		0.94			
Education	0.62		3.91		2.82		1.79		0.71			
Home/Family	0.16	**	4.48	*	1.78		0.99		0.49			
Sick/Disabled	0.29	**	1.05		1.35		0.88		0.29	*		
Unemployed	0.32	***	1.35		1.64		1.22		0.43	*		
Retired					4.30		1.54		0.34			
Marital Status (ref: Single and Never Married)												
Married	0.79	*	0.65		0.77		1.51		0.94			
Separated	0.66	**	0.37	**	0.54		1.44		0.83			
Age of youngest child (ref: Under 2yrs)												
3-4yrs	1.06		1.44		1.70		1.26		1.21			
5-10yrs			1.70		1.65		1.78		1.64			
11-15yrs			1.09		1.14		1.19		1.58			
16yrs+			1.64		0.78		0.79		1.23			
Previous Participation (Age 23) (ref: No Organisations)												
Several		***	2.52		2.10	**	2.09	***	2.16	***		
One		***	1.49		1.15		1.36		1.47	**		
Previous Participation (Age 33) (ref: No Organisations)												
Several					9.71	***	2.67	**	2.84	*		
One					4.03	***	2.50	***	1.63	***		
Previous Participation (Age 42) (ref: No Organisations)												
Several							6.84	***	2.70	**		
One							4.02	***	1.82	***		
Previous Participation (Age 46) (ref: No Organisations)												
Several									3.86	***		
One									2.11	***		
Gender * Economic Activity (ref: Male * Full-time employee)												
Female * Part-time employee	1.02		0.56		1.08		1.56		1.28			
Female * Full-time Self-employed			1.20		1.29		1.10		1.45			
Female * Part-time self-employed			0.85		1.15		2.40		1.41			
Female * Education	1.22		0.44		0.50		0.96		1.95			
Female * Home/family	1.05		0.52		0.94		1.41		1.54			
Female * Sick/disabled	1.38		0.31		0.80		1.14		1.75			
Female * Unemployed	0.87		0.48		1.00		1.21		1.32			
Female * Retired					0.53		1.54		2.44			

Odds ratios of multinomial logit models

*Note: *** = p<0.005; ** = p<0.01; * = p<0.05*

2.b) Models 2-6: Marital Status by Gender

Models 2 to 6: Associations between sociodemographic and lifecourse characteristics and the level of social participation at each age
Interaction Effects: Marital Status by Gender

	Age 23		Age 33		Age 42		Age 46		Age 50	
One Organisations (ref: No Organisations)										
RG's Social Class (ref: Class V)										
I	0.90		2.50	**	2.59	**				
II	1.18		2.49	***	2.19	**				
III	1.01		1.37		1.48					
IV	0.91		1.27		1.50					
NS-SEC (ref: Routine Occupations)										
Higher Administrative, Managerial, and Professional Occupations							1.14		1.54	
Intermediate Occupations							0.94		1.07	
Gender (ref: Male)										
Female	0.85		1.08		1.07		1.29		0.79	
Religiosity	1.30	***	1.34	***	1.15				2.22	
Economic Activity (ref: Full-time Employee)										
Part-time Employee	0.61	***	1.98	***	1.59	***	1.01		0.85	
Full-time Self-Employed			0.99		1.06		1.09		0.87	
Part-time Self-Employed			2.10	*	1.94	**	1.83		0.79	
Education	0.85		1.44		0.90		1.03		0.68	
Home/Family	0.36	***	2.04	***	1.20		0.94		0.61	
Sick/Disabled	0.44	**	0.85		1.02		0.77		0.58	
Unemployed	0.53	***	0.93		0.97		0.92		0.53	
Retired					2.11		1.74		0.68	
Marital Status (ref: Single and Never Married)										
Married	1.00		0.66		0.89		1.42		1.19	
Separated	0.83		0.70	***	0.72		1.08		0.95	
Age of youngest child (ref: Under 2yrs)										
3-4yrs	0.98		1.23	*	1.31		0.81		1.06	
5-10yrs			1.30	**	1.43	**	1.04		1.24	
11-15yrs			1.10		0.94		0.88		1.29	
16yrs+			1.13		0.71		0.73		1.14	
Previous Participation (Age 23) (ref: No Organisations)										
Several			1.73	***	1.88	***	1.62	***	1.39	
One			1.16		1.33	**	1.36	***	1.14	
Previous Participation (Age 33) (ref: No Organisations)										
Several					3.86	**	1.17		1.53	
One					3.30	***	1.50	***	1.17	
Previous Participation (Age 42) (ref: No Organisations)										
Several							2.15		1.51	
One							1.92	***	1.31	*
Previous Participation (Age 46) (ref: No Organisations)										
Several									1.95	*
One									1.77	**
Marital Status * Gender (ref: Single and Never Married * Male)										
Married * Female	0.90		1.38		1.18		0.78		0.95	
Separated * Female	0.93		1.23		1.19		0.94		1.01	

Several Organisations (ref: No Organisations)												
RG's Social Class (ref: Class V)												
I	1.74		2.67		2.06							
II	2.47	***	2.68		1.51							
III	1.42		1.40		0.69							
IV	1.01		0.88		0.73							
NS-SEC (ref: Routine Occupations)												
Higher Administrative, Managerial, and Professional Occupations							1.67		2.39	**		
Intermediate Occupations							1.02		1.10			
Gender (ref: Male)												
Female	0.80		1.30		1.12		1.10		0.62			
Religiosity	2.57	***	1.31		0.88				3.17	*		
Economic Activity (ref: Full-time employee)												
Part-time Employee	0.57	***	1.48		1.58		1.28		0.74			
Full-time Self-Employed			1.15		1.20		1.34		0.97			
Part-time Self-Employed			2.22		3.25	*	2.74		1.06			
Education	0.68		2.49		2.08		2.09		0.90			
Home/Family	0.18	***	2.86	**	1.76		1.26		0.60			
Sick/Disabled	0.34	**	0.65		1.24		0.95		0.38			
Unemployed	0.30	***	0.96		1.65		1.40		0.49			
Retired					4.40		2.30		0.49			
Marital Status (ref: Single and Never Married)												
Married	0.90		0.55		0.73		1.80		0.97			
Separated	0.66	*	0.32		0.52		1.62		0.77			
Age of youngest child (ref: Under 2yrs)												
3-4yrs	1.06		1.44		1.72		1.25		1.20			
5-10yrs			1.72		1.66	*	1.77		1.65	*		
11-15yrs			1.12		1.14		1.19		1.59			
16yrs+			1.70		0.78		0.78		1.23			
Previous Participation (Age 23) (ref: No Organisations)												
Several			2.50		2.11	**	2.08	***	2.18	***		
One			1.47		1.15		1.35		1.47	**		
Previous Participation (Age 33) (ref: No Organisations)												
Several					9.53	***	2.62	**	2.73	*		
One					4.08	***	2.48	***	1.61	***		
Previous Participation (Age 42) (ref: No Organisations)												
Several							6.57	***	2.67	*		
One							3.98	***	1.81	***		
Previous Participation (Age 46) (ref: No Organisations)												
Several									3.86	***		
One									2.10	***		
Marital Status * Gender (ref: Single and Never Married * Male)												
Married * Female	0.77	*	1.32		1.13		0.70		0.95			
Separated * Female	0.97		1.22		1.02		0.72		1.13			

Odds ratios of multinomial logit models

*Note: *** = p<0.005; ** = p<0.01; * = p<0.05*

2.c) Models 2-6: Previous Participation by Social Class

Models 2 to 6: Associations between sociodemographic and lifecourse characteristics and the level of social participation at each age Interaction Effects: Social Class by Previous Participation	Age 33		Age 42		Age 46		Age 50	
One Organisation (ref: No Organisations)								
RG's Social Class (ref: Class V)								
I	2.21		2.40	*				
II	2.53	**	2.09	*				
III	1.46		1.36					
IV	1.36		1.39					
NS-SEC (ref: Routine Occupations)								
Higher Administrative, Managerial, and Professional Occupations					1.16		1.56	
Intermediate Occupations					0.94		1.01	
Gender (ref: Female)								
Female	1.38	**	1.22		1.11		0.76	
Religiosity	1.34	***	1.15				2.23	
Economic Activity (ref: Full-time Employee)								
Part-time Employee	2.04	***	1.59	***	0.97		0.85	
Full-time Self-Employed	1.00		1.06		1.09		0.88	
Part-time Self-Employed	2.15	**	1.94	**	1.79		0.80	
Education	1.46		0.92		1.04		0.68	
Home/Family	2.09	***	1.19		0.92		0.61	
Sick/Disabled	0.85		1.04		0.77		0.58	
Unemployed	0.94		0.98		0.92		0.53	
Retired			2.14		1.76		0.68	
Marital Status (ref: Single and Never Married)								
Married	0.91		0.97		1.25		1.15	
Separated	0.75		0.80		1.08		0.95	
Age of youngest child (ref: Under 2yrs)								
3-4yrs	1.23	*	1.30		0.82		1.06	
5-10yrs	1.31	**	1.42	**	1.05		1.24	
11-15yrs	1.10		0.94		0.89		1.29	
16yrs+	1.13		0.74		0.73		1.14	
Previous Participation (Age 23) (ref: No Organisations)								
Several	1.53		1.85	***	1.62	***	1.39	
One	1.38		1.30	**	1.36	***	1.14	
Previous Participation (Age 33) (ref: No Organisations)								
Several			0.00		1.17		1.53	
One			2.90	*	1.48	***	1.17	
Previous Participation (Age 42) (ref: No Organisations)								
Several					2.32		1.50	
One					2.17	***	1.31	*
Previous Participation (Age 46) (ref: No Organisations)								
Several							1.78	
One							1.81	**
Social Class * Participation at Previous Sweep (ref: Class V * No Organisations)								
I * Several	1.38		2.5343E+20					
I * One	1.01		1.29					
II * Several	1.17		1.7152E+15					
II * One	0.84		1.03					
III * Several	1.12		2.6912E+15					
III * One	0.79		1.42					
IV * Several	0.98		1.7673E+15					
IV * One	0.85		1.37					
NS-SEC * Participation at Previous Sweep (ref: Routine Occupations * No Organisations)								
High * Several					0.90		1.07	
High * One					0.79		0.92	
Intermediate * Several					1.00		1.25	
Intermediate * One					0.95		1.02	

Several Organisations (ref: No Organisations)								
RG's Social Class (ref: Class V)								
I	3.14		1.95					
II	5.46		1.28					
III	2.25		0.64					
IV	1.42		0.69					
NS-SEC (ref: Routine Occupations)								
Higher Administrative, Managerial, and Professional Occupations					1.73		2.29	*
Intermediate Occupations					1.04		0.90	
Gender (ref: Male)								
Female	1.58		1.21		0.80		0.61	
Religiosity	1.31		0.89				3.16	*
Economic Activity (ref: Full-time Employee)								
Part-time Employee	1.53		1.52		1.26		0.73	
Full-time Self-Employed	1.15		1.19		1.34		0.97	
Part-time Self-Employed	2.27		3.41	*	2.81		1.06	
Education	2.51		2.17		2.21		0.88	
Home/Family	2.95	**	1.72		1.26		0.59	
Sick/Disabled	0.69		1.25		0.95		0.38	
Unemployed	0.97		1.60		1.43		0.49	
Retired			4.29		2.46		0.48	
Marital Status (ref: Single and Never Married)								
Married	0.64		0.77		1.52		0.95	
Separated	0.37	**	0.55		1.51		0.80	
Age of youngest child (ref: Under 2yrs)								
3-4yrs	1.44		1.67		1.26		1.19	
5-10yrs	1.73		1.62	*	1.78		1.65	
11-15yrs	1.12		1.13		1.19		1.59	
16yrs+	1.70		0.82		0.78		1.23	
Previous Participation (Age 23) (ref: No Organisations)								
Several	4.75		2.03	**	2.07	***	2.17	***
One	2.47		1.13		1.35		1.47	**
Previous Participation (Age 33) (ref: No Organisations)								
Several			2.03		2.62	**	2.71	*
One			2.00		2.46	***	1.60	***
Previous Participation (Age 42) (ref: No Organisations)								
Several					7.97	**	2.65	*
One					4.49	***	1.81	***
Previous Participation (Age 46) (ref: No Organisations)								
Several							3.32	***
One							2.05	**
Social Class * Participation at Previous Sweep (ref: Class V * No Organisations)								
I * Several	0.86		0.00					
I * One	0.81		2.50					
II * Several	0.44		0.00					
II * One	0.50		2.68					
III * Several	0.58		0.00					
III * One	0.64		2.54					
IV * Several	0.54		0.00					
IV * One	0.67		2.28					
NS-SEC * Participation at Previous Sweep (ref: Routine Occupations * No Organisations)								
High * Several					0.79		1.18	
High * One					0.81		0.95	
Intermediate * Several					0.81		1.42	
Intermediate * One					0.93		1.27	

Odds ratios of multinomial logit models

*Note: *** = p<0.005; ** = p<0.01; * = p<0.05*

2.d) Model 7: Economic Activity by Gender

Type of Organisation: Sweep 8, 2008, Age 50 Interaction Effects: Gender by Economic Activity	Final Model	
Sporting Participants		
NS-SEC (ref: Routine Occupations)		
Higher Administrative, Managerial, and Professional Occupations	1.94	***
Intermediate Occupations	1.25	
Gender (ref: Female)		
Female	0.44	***
Religiosity	0.77	*
Economic Activity (ref: Full-time Employee)		
Part-time Employee	0.96	
Full-time Self-Employed	1.08	
Part-time Self-Employed	1.46	
Education	67071204.35	
Home/Family	0.68	
Sick/Disabled	0.00	
Unemployed	1.60	
Retired	0.82	
Marital Status (ref: Single and Never Married)		
Married	0.99	
Separated	0.97	
Age of a Youngest Child (ref: Under 2yrs)		
3-4yrs	2.59	
5-10yrs	3.41	*
11-15yrs	3.53	*
16yrs+	3.64	*
Previous Participation (Age 23) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	1.78	***
One Organisation	1.32	*
Previous Participation (Age 33) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	1.05	
One Organisation	0.86	
Previous Participation (Age 42) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	0.75	
One Organisation	0.89	
Previous Participation (Age 46) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	2.84	***
One Organisation	2.00	***
Gender * Economic Activity (ref: Male * Full-time employee)		
Female * Part-time employee	1.12	
Female * Full-time Self-employed	1.12	
Female * Part-time self-employed	0.80	
Female * Education	0.00	
Female * Home/family	0.87	
Female * Sick/disabled	1791512.80	
Female * Unemployed	0.00	
Female * Retired	4.09	

Multiple Participants (ref: Non-Participants)		
NS-SEC (ref: Routine Occupations)		
Higher Administrative, Managerial, and Professional Occupations)	3.55	***
Intermediate Occupations	1.18	
Gender (ref: Male)		
Female	0.73	
Religiosity	3.39	***
Economic Activity (ref: Full-time Employee)		
Part-time Employee	1.31	
Full-time Self-Employed	1.12	
Part-time Self-Employed	1.49	
Education	1.68	
Home/Family	2.65	
Sick/Disabled	0.00	
Unemployed	0.89	
Retired	2.81	
Marital Status (ref: Single and Never Married)		
Married	0.67	
Separated	0.60	
Age of a Youngest Child (ref: Under 2yrs)		
3-4yrs	3.37	
5-10yrs	5.91	*
11-15yrs	5.70	*
16yrs+	3.89	
Previous Participation (Age 23) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	1.80	***
One Organisation	1.43	
Previous Participation (Age 33) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	2.84	***
One Organisation	1.63	***
Previous Participation (Age 42) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	4.06	***
One Organisation	2.05	***
Previous Participation (Age 46) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	3.29	***
One Organisation	1.59	**
Gender * Economic Activity (ref: Male * Full-time Employee)		
Female * Part-time employee	0.88	
Female * Full-time Self-employed	1.40	
Female * Part-time self-employed	1.13	
Female * Education	3.01	***
Female * Home/family	0.35	
Female * Sick/disabled	749686.22	
Female * Unemployed	1.59	
Female * Retired	0.41	

Odds ratios of multinomial logit models

*Note: *** = p<0.005; ** = p<0.01; * = p<0.05*

2.e) Model 7: Marital Status by Gender

Type of Organisation: Sweep 8, 2008, Age 50 Interaction Effects: Gender by Marital Status	Final Model	
Sporting Participants (ref: Non-Participants)		
NS-SEC (ref: Routine Occupations)		
Higher Administrative, Managerial, and Professional	1.93	***
Intermediate	1.23	
Gender (ref: Female)		
Male		
Religiosity	0.76	*
Economic Activity (ref: Full-time Employee)		
Part-time Employee	1.05	
Full-time Self-Employed	1.11	
Part-time Self-Employed	1.26	
Education	1.76	
Home/Family	0.58	
Sick/Disabled	0.29	
Unemployed	1.05	
Retired	1.55	
Marital Status (ref: Single and Never Married)		
Married	1.01	
Separated	1.11	
Age of Youngest Child (ref: Under 2yrs)		
3-4yrs	2.55	
5-10yrs	3.35	*
11-15yrs	3.50	*
16yrs+	3.64	*
Previous Participation (Age 23) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	1.78	***
One Organisation	1.32	*
Previous Participation (Age 33) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	1.07	
One Organisation	0.86	
Previous Participation (Age 42) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	0.76	
One Organisation	0.91	
Previous Participation (Age 46) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	2.83	***
One Organisation	2.00	***
Gender * Marital Status (ref: Male * Single and Never Married)		
Female * Married	0.91	
Female * Separated	0.68	

Multiple Participants (ref: Non-Participants)		
NS-SEC (ref: Routine Occupations)		
Higher Administrative, Managerial, and Professional Occupations	3.57	***
Intermediate Occupations	1.18	
Gender (ref: Male)		
Female	0.92	
Religiosity	3.40	***
Economic Activity (ref: Full-time Employee)		
Part-time Employee	1.16	
Full-time Self-Employed	1.22	
Part-time Self-Employed	1.66	
Education	5.34	
Home/Family	1.25	
Sick/Disabled	0.39	
Unemployed	1.11	
Retired	1.62	
Marital Status (ref: Single and Never Married)		
Married	0.79	
Separated	0.41	
Age of Youngest Child (ref: Under 2yrs)		
3-4yrs	3.35	
5-10yrs	5.74	*
11-15yrs	5.44	*
16yrs+	3.70	
Previous Participation (Age 23) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	1.80	***
One Organisation	1.44	*
Previous Participation (Age 33) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	2.84	***
One Organisation	1.63	***
Previous Participation (Age 42) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	4.02	***
One Organisation	2.04	***
Previous Participation (Age 46) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	3.29	***
One Organisation	1.59	**
Gender * Marital Status (ref: Male * Single and Never Married)		
Female * Married	0.76	
Female * Separated	1.59	

Odds ratios of multinomial logit models

*Note: *** = p<0.005; ** = p<0.01; * = p<0.05*

2.f) Model 7: Age of Youngest Child by Gender

Type of Organisation: Sweep 8, 2008, Age 50 Interaction Effects: Gender by Age of Youngest Child	Final Model	
Sporting Participants (ref: Non-Participants)		
NS-SEC (ref: Routine Occupations)		
Higher Administrative, Managerial, and Professional Occupations	1.93	***
Intermediate Occupations	1.23	
Gender (ref: Male)		
Female	0.00	***
Religiosity	0.76	*
Economic Activity (ref: Full-time Employee)		
Part-time Employee	1.07	
Full-time Self-Employed	1.11	
Part-time Self-Employed	1.29	
Education	1.71	
Home/Family	0.59	
Sick/Disabled	0.29	
Unemployed	1.03	
Retired	1.54	
Marital Status (ref: Single and Never Married)		
Married	0.94	
Separated	0.91	
Age of Youngest Child (ref: Under 2yrs)		
3-4yrs	2.65	
5-10yrs	3.13	*
11-15yrs	3.55	*
16yrs+	3.55	*
Previous Participation (Age 23) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	1.79	***
One Organisation	1.33	*
Previous Participation (Age 33) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	1.08	
One Organisation	0.85	
Previous Participation (Age 42) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	0.75	
One Organisation	0.91	
Previous Participation (Age 46) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	2.83	***
One Organisation	2.01	***
Gender * Age of Youngest Child (ref: Male * under 2yrs)		
Female*3-4 Years	0.11	
Female*5-10 Years	84365.00	
Female*11-15 Years	64879.07	
Female*16 Years+	74247.28	

Multiple Participants (ref: Non-Participants)		
RG's Social Class (ref: Routine Occupations)		
Higher Administrative, Managerial, and Professional	3.62	***
Intermediate	1.18	
Gender (ref: Male)		
Female	0.00	***
Religiosity	3.39	***
Economic Activity (ref: Full-time Employee)		
Part-time Employee	1.13	
Full-time Self-Employed	1.21	
Part-time Self-Employed	1.61	
Education	4.52	
Home/Family	1.20	
Sick/Disabled	0.35	
Unemployed	1.09	
Retired	1.69	
Marital Status (ref: Single and Never Married)		
Married	0.68	
Separated	0.61	
Age of Youngest Child (ref: Under 2yrs)		
3-4yrs	3.72	
5-10yrs	5.30	*
11-15yrs	5.57	*
16yrs+	4.28	
Previous Participation (Age 23) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	1.76	**
One Organisation	1.43	
Previous Participation (Age 33) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	2.89	***
One Organisation	1.66	***
Previous Participation (Age 42) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	4.10	***
One Organisation	2.07	***
Previous Participation (Age 46) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	3.23	***
One Organisation	1.59	**
Gender * Age of Youngest Child (ref: Male * 2yrs)		
Female*3-4 Years	0.04	
Female*5-10 Years	37182.87	
Female*11-15 Years	26571.55	
Female*16 Years+	21163.96	

Odds ratios of multinomial logit models

*Note: *** = p<0.005; ** = p<0.01; * = p<0.05*

2.g) Model 7: Social Class by Previous Participation, Full Model

Type of Organisation: Sweep 8, 2008, Age 50 Interaction Effects: Social Class by Previous Participation.	Final Model	
Sporting Participants (ref: Non-Participants)		
RG's Social Class (ref: Routine Occupations)		
Higher Administrative, Managerial, and Professional Occupations	2.78	***
Intermediate Occupations	1.46	
Gender (ref: Male)		
Female	0.44	***
Religiosity	0.77	*
Economic Activity (ref: Full-time Employee)		
Part-time Employee	1.06	
Full-time Self-Employed	1.11	
Part-time Self-Employed	1.27	
Education	1.66	
Home/Family	0.58	
Sick/Disabled	0.29	
Unemployed	1.05	
Retired	1.55	
Marital Status (ref: Single and Never Married)		
Married	0.95	
Separated	0.92	
Age of Youngest Child (ref: Under 2yrs)		
3-4yrs	2.62	
5-10yrs	3.30	*
11-15yrs	3.49	*
16yrs+	3.63	*
Previous Participation (Age 23) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	1.76	***
One Organisation	1.31	*
Previous Participation (Age 33) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	1.08	
One Organisation	0.86	
Previous Participation (Age 42) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	0.76	
One Organisation	0.90	
Previous Participation (Age 46) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	4.18	***
One Organisation	2.85	***
NS-SEC * Previous Participation (Age 46) (ref: Routine Occupations * No Organisations)		
Higher * Several	0.57	
Higher * One	0.56	*
Intermediate * Several	0.71	
Intermediate * One	0.82	

Multiple Participants (ref: No Organisations)		
RG's Social Class (ref: Routine Occupations)		
Higher Administrative, Managerial, and Professional Occupations	4.60	***
Intermediate Occupations	0.52	
Gender (ref: Male)		
Female	0.75	*
Religiosity	3.39	***
Economic Activity (ref: Full-time Employee)		
Part-time Employee	1.13	
Full-time Self-Employed	1.24	
Part-time Self-Employed	1.67	
Education	5.01	
Home/Family	1.15	
Sick/Disabled	0.38	
Unemployed	1.16	
Retired	1.62	
Marital Status (ref: Single and Never Married)		
Married	0.65	
Separated	0.58	
Age of Youngest Child (ref: Under 2yrs)	0.51	
3-4yrs	3.72	
5-10yrs	6.09	*
11-15yrs	5.94	*
16yrs+	4.03	
Previous Participation (Age 23) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	1.75	**
One Organisation	1.41	
Previous Participation (Age 33) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	2.93	***
One Organisation	1.63	***
Previous Participation (Age 42) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	4.10	***
One Organisation	2.03	***
Previous Participation (Age 46) (ref: No Organisations)		
Several Organisations	4.60	***
One Organisation	1.16	
NS-SEC * Previous Participation (Age 46) (Routine Occupations * No Organisations)		
Higher * Several	0.56	
Higher * One	1.02	
Intermediate * Several	1.66	
Intermediate * One	5.59	**

Odds ratios of multinomial logit models

*Note: *** = p<0.005; ** = p<0.01; * = p<0.05*

Appendix 3: Framework Analysis

3.a) Initial Framework with pre-determined themes

Cohort Member	Lifetime Participation	Social Mobility	Social Participation Experience	Social Class Experiences
Sharon	Lifetime Non-Participant	Stable Working Class		
Nick	Lifetime Non-Participant	Upwardly Mobile		
Matthew	Lifetime Non-Participant	Stable Service Class		
Michael	Lifetime Non-Participant	Stable Service Class		
Karen	Lifetime Participant	Stable Working Class		
Kyle	Lifetime Participant	Stable Working Class		
Alice	Lifetime Participant	Stable Service Class		

3.b) Final Framework with emergent themes (Social Participation Experiences example)

Cohort Member	Lifetime Participation	Social Mobility	Social Participation Experiences
Sharon	Lifetime Non-Participant	Stable Working Class	"No, I give to charities, and I give clothes and donate when I want to do it, not signed up for a regular commitment"
Nick	Lifetime Non-Participant	Upwardly Mobile	"when I was working in {PLACE13}, and I had a flat up there, I ended up running the…the residents' association"
Matthew	Lifetime Non-Participant	Stable Service Class	"I was a member of the golf club… but then when the children went to university I dropped the membership of that to help fund the girls through university, it was a chunk of money that I could dedicate to education instead of golf. [laughs]."
Michael	Lifetime Non-Participant	Stable Service Class	"first thing I remember is horticultural society, does that count?... We like--, like to go to National Trust, we look at the houses, we like the gardens, we like the countryside"
Karen	Lifetime Participant	Stable Working Class	"my husband joined the Round Table and I joined the Ladies Circle, and from then on you had a social life…And I did chairman twice…it was so consuming, you haven't time for anything else…I bet it was about 15 year, yeah, 15 years that we were doing that. So you went to national conferences, you went to area rallies".
Kyle	Lifetime Participant	Stable Working Class	"I'm involved in football… I run a younger team and they train on a Tuesday night…you organise training sessions, you organise games which takes a whole lot of time".
Alice	Lifetime Participant	Stable Service Class	"I'm involved in a local church…I'm on the leadership team, been on that for--, oh coming up to the end of nine years…that takes up quite a bit of commitment and there will be a weekly leaders' meeting in the morning".

Appendix 4: Comparing results based on imputed data accounting for mortality with results based on non-imputed data

Introduction

Missing data is an issue in many studies but is a particular issue within longitudinal cohort studies such as the National Child Development Study (NCDS). These studies are affected by mortality, emigration, and other reasons for attrition, resulting in the number of cases eligible for each sweep declining over time. As mortality within the study cohort is reflective of mortality within the wider population, this must be considered when designing a missing data strategy to ensure the cohort is representative of the population. This paper demonstrates the importance of using an appropriate missing data strategy that incorporates listwise deletion to remove cases who are not eligible for the study due to death or emigration, and multiple imputation to handle missing data in the eligible sample. Multiple regression models are conducted at age 23 and age 50 for both imputed and non-imputed, and the findings compared in order to identify the impact of using an appropriate missing data strategy on the findings and substantial conclusions. It is shown that, while there are some similarities in the findings based on imputed and non-imputed data, the differences result in considerably different conclusions being drawn. This paper therefore highlights the importance of the mindful handling of missing data when using longitudinal cohort studies such as the NCDS.

The Nature of Missing Data within the National Child Development Study

The National Child Development Study (NCDS) is a longitudinal cohort study that has followed the lives of a group of individuals born within a week of March 1958. It began as the Perinatal Mortality Study and has since expanded to cover a range of topics including health, social capital, education, and employment. These topics have been measured across the lifecourse of this cohort, enabling the development of behaviours over the lifecourse to be tracked. It is therefore a rich resource for examining a number of issues, and in particular it has contributed to

the expanding body of knowledge investigating these issues from a lifecourse perspective.

As with all longitudinal studies, the NCDS is affected by difficulties relating to non-response. As shown in Table A4.1, the total cohort is made up of 18,558 members, including a supplementary boost of migrants who were also born in 1958. By age 50, 1,459 had died and a further 1,293 had emigrated, leaving an eligible sample of 15,806. However, only 9,790 took part in the age 50 sweep, 61.9% of the eligible sample (Mostafa, Narayanan, Pongiglione, Dodgeon, Goodman, Silverwood, & Ploubidis, 2020). While this remains a large number of cohort members, the smaller sample sizes can reduce statistical power and the patterns of attrition within the cohort can lead to issues surrounding selection bias. As such, the missing data within the NCDS must be handled using principled approaches, such as multiple imputation.

Sweep	Age	Year	Total	Dead	Emigrants	Eligible Sample	Participants
0	Birth	1958	17,638	0	0	17,638	17,415
1	7	1965	18,016	821	475	16,720	15,425
2	11	1969	18,287	840	701	16,746	15,337
3	16	1974	18,558	873	799	16,886	14,654
4	23	1981	18,558	960	1,196	16,402	12,357
5	33	1991	18,558	1,049	1,335	16,174	11,469
6	42	2000	18,558	1,321	1,268	16,091	11,419
7	46	2004	18,558	1,323	1,272	15,963	9,534
8	50	2008	18,558	1,459	1,293	15,806	9,790

Table A4.2: NCDS Cohort Details, from Mosafa et al (2020)

In order to handle missing data correctly, the type of missing data must be plausibly established. Rubin (1976) observed three types of missingness – missing completely at random (MCAR), missing at random (MAR), and missing not at random (MNAR). Missing data that is a random sample of the total study sample is described as MCAR. In this case the missingness is not related to any variables in the study. Methods such as listwise deletion or mean substitution assume this to be the case. These methods are not suitable if data is MAR or MNAR. MAR is missingness relating to an observed variable, which means missing values can be estimated using these variables, as in multiple imputation. MNAR indicates that

missing values cannot be estimated by other available variables and so cannot be corrected for.

While MAR and MNAR are untestable, there is evidence that attrition and missingness in NCDS is not random and can be estimated by variables within NCDS. Those from lower working-class backgrounds, who lived in rented accommodation, and who spent time in social care were more likely to drop out from the study (Atherton, Fuller, Shepherd, Strachan, & Power, 2008). Others have found that an intention to move to a new house and marital status can also be related to missingness in later sweeps (Watson & Wooden, 2009; Plewis, Ketende, Joshi, & Hughes, 2008). As these studies identified missingness as relating to variables collected at earlier sweeps, missingness within NCDS can be described as MAR.

Of particular concern to longitudinal cohort studies, however, is the handling of missing data due to deaths. Participants in a longitudinal study will drop out for a number of reasons including refusal, non-contact, emigration, and death. While those who refuse, who are not contacted, or who emigrate may return to the study, those who die between sweeps clearly will not. Additionally, deaths are not random. Mostafa et al (2020) highlight that, in order to ensure the cohort remains representative of the population (i.e. those who were born in 1958), these deaths must be taken into account when handling missing data in longitudinal cohort studies.

Of the initial cohort, 821 cohort members died before the first NCDS sweep at age 7. A further 52 died before age 16 and 586 died between the ages of 16 and 50. Clearly, the nature of the cohort study means that the number of deaths within the cohort will increase as time passes. It is therefore of great and increasing importance that mortality within the NCDS is taken into account within missing data strategies.

Recent work undertaken by Mostafa et al (2020) have provided a method of increasing the plausibility of MAR through the use of listwise deletion, to remove cases who are missing due to mortality, and multiple imputation to restore representativeness with the population of the same age.

Through the use of a practical example of research undertaken using the NCDS, this paper aims to detail the importance of utilising an appropriate missing data strategy that takes mortality within the NCDS into account. Logistic regression models will be estimated, using data from the age 23 and age 50 sweeps of the NCDS. Each model will be fitted twice, once using complete cases, and secondly using data that have undergone multiple imputation following the removal of cases that are missing due to mortality and emigration have been removed.

The logistic regression models used as examples within this paper were estimated as part of a study investigating social participation across the lifecourse to age 50. They assess the relationship between social participation and gender, social class, religion, economic activity, marital status, and age of the youngest child. The variables used in these models are as described in Chapter 5. The exception to this is the age of the youngest child variable, which was recoded following an error in the original coding. More information on the affect this had on the models is available at the end of this appendix. The reference category for this variable in the analysis here is “No Child”, whereas the analysis in Chapter 5 used “Aged 2yrs or under” as the reference category. The same model was estimated using NCDS data from ages 23, 33, 42, 46, and 50 to examine how the relationship between social participation and these characteristics changes across the lifecourse. This paper uses the age 23 and age 50 models to show how taking mortality into account when handling missing data in a longitudinal study can affect the substantive conclusions drawn.

Missing Data Strategy

Listwise Deletion

The missing data strategy used by this study includes both listwise deletion and multiple imputation. The focus of the wider study is on the trajectories of social participation into midlife and so the cases of interest are cohort members who were still alive at age 50. The missing data strategy therefore aims to impute data for the total eligible sample at age 50. Cohort members who had died or who have emigrated are not considered part of the eligible sample. By age 50, 1,459 cohort members had died and a further 1,293 had emigrated, leaving an eligible sample

of 15,806. 9,790, or 61.9%, of the eligible sample took part in the age 50 sweep. Cohort members who had died or emigrated by age 50 were identified and removed from the analysis through Listwise Deletion. Multiple imputation was then used to handle data that was missing for reasons other than death or emigration.

Multiple Imputation

Multiple imputation involves the estimation of a plausible values to replace missing values. A number of plausible values are estimated which are then combined during analysis to produce a final estimate. (Graham, Olchowski, & Gilreath, 2007). It improves upon other methods, such as complete case analysis or mean substitution, by reducing bias and adding variability through the estimation of multiple plausible values (Little, Jorgensen, Lang & Moore, 2013; Harel et al, 2017). It's use has increased following the publication in 1987 of Rubin's *Statistical Analysis with Missing Data* and Little and Rubin's *Multiple Imputation for Non-Response in Surveys*. In particular, the use of multiple imputation has increased since its addition to several statistical softwares (Mustillo, 2012). It has been noted that multiple imputation must be used with care as bias can be introduced is models are poorly specified (Wang & Hall, 2009). In order to use multiple imputation effectively, the data should be explored in order to understand the nature of missingness, both in terms of the patterns and the mechanisms of the missing data (White & Carlin, 2010). As described above, Mostafa et al (2020) provide a method of improving the plausibility of MAR when using the NCDS through the careful treatment of missing data. An element of this is to remove cases who are missing due to death or emigration.

One consideration when undertaking multiple imputation is determining the number of imputed datasets to produce. Previously, a small number of imputations were considered to be adequate to provide efficient estimates. However, statistical power and precision can be greatly reduced when only a small number of imputations are used (Bodner, 2008). Graham, Olchowski, and Gilreath (2007) argued that, while computational power was previously a factor in deciding to undertake fewer imputations, this is now less of an issue. By undertaking simulation studies, they produced a guide to decide the number of imputations used, based on the fraction of missing data and the tolerance for a reduction in

statistical power. This was also considered in determining the number of imputations.

After removing cases who had died or had emigrated by Sweep 8 (age 50), there are 15,805 cases remaining. As shown in Table A4.1 above, this is the total eligible sample at the age 50 sweep of NCDS. This sample is therefore theoretically representative of the UK population who were aged 50 years old in 2008 (Mostafa et al, 2020). The missing data within the eligible sample, that are caused by refusal and item non-response, will be managed through multiple imputation. 3,907 cases had missing values on all variables of interest at Sweep 4 (age 23), while 1,717 cases had missing values on all variables of interest at Sweep 8. At Sweep 4, there were 28.1% missing data, while at Sweep 8 there were 37.2% missing data. According to Graham, Olchowksi, & Gilreath (2007) when there are 30-50% missing data between 20 and 40 imputations are needed in order to cause as little reduction in statistical power as is possible. 40 imputations were carried out as computational power was no issue and, following Graham, Olchowski, & Gilreath's (2007) findings, it is best to carry out as many imputations as are required based on the proportion of missing data and the tolerance of reduction in statistical power. This multiple imputation was carried out in SPSS.

Following multiple imputation, a series of logistic regression models were developed, assessing the relationship between sociodemographic, employment, and family characteristics on social participation at each NCDS sweep. Each model was built by first assessing only the relationship between social class and social participation, with other independent variables added individually to assess the effect on the relationship between social class and social participation. Presented here are the final models containing all variables at ages 23 and 50 (Sweeps 4 and 8). First, the models that are based on non-imputed data with all cases will be discussed, followed by the models based on imputed data with cases who had died or emigrated removed. The results and conclusions between the non-imputed data and the imputed data will then be compared to highlight the importance of utilising a missing data strategy that is mindful of mortality within the cohort.

Comparing Results based on Complete Case and Imputed data

Table A4.2 presents the regression models based on both complete case and imputed data. The results of these analyses will be discussed, first comparing the analysis at age 23 before comparing the analysis at age 50.

Age 23

Both the complete case analysis and the analysis based on imputed data showed those who participated in one organisation at age 23 were less likely to be female than male and were more likely to be religious than non-religious. They were also less likely to be looking after the home or family, to be sick or disabled, or to be unemployed than in full-time employment. Both also showed those who participated in several organisations at age 23 were more likely to be in professional occupations, managerial, technical, or intermediate occupations, or in skilled occupations than in unskilled occupations. They were also less likely to be female than male and more likely to be religious than non-religious. Additionally, they were less likely to be in part-time work, to be looking after the home or family, to be sick or disabled, or to be unemployed than they were to be in full-time employment. Finally, they were less likely to have a child aged 2 years old or under than they were to have no children.

The two models at age 23 also differed in some ways however, particularly in relation to participation in several organisations. The model based on complete cases indicated that those who participate in several organisations were less likely to be in education than in full-time work, whereas the model based on imputed data did not indicate a significant relationship between social participation and education. Additionally, the model based on complete case analysis did not observe a relationship between marital status and social participation. Meanwhile, the model based on imputed data indicated that those who were married or separated were less likely to participate in several organisations than those who were single.

Therefore, there is a great deal of similarity between the model based on complete cases and the model based on imputed data at age 23. This is particularly true for those who participated in one organisation at age 23, while there was some divergence in the results of the two models for those who participated in several

organisations at age 23. Overall, both models indicate that participants at age 23 are likely to be men, of a higher social class, who are religious. They are also likely to be in full-time employment and to have few family responsibilities towards a spouse or children.

Regression Models based on Complete Case and Imputed Data: Sweep 4 (Age 23) and Sweep 8 (Age 50)

	Complete Case: Age 23 n = 8,593		Imputed Data: Age 23 n = 15,806		Complete Case: Age 50 n = 4,991		Imputed Data: Age 50 n = 15,806	
One Organisation (ref: No Organisations)								
RG's Social Class (ref: Class V)								
I	0.79		0.95					
II	1.25		1.19					
III	1.09		1.00					
IV	1.01		0.91					
NS-SEC (ref: Routine Occupations)								
Higher Administrative, Managerial, and Professional Occupations					1.42	***	1.62	
Intermediate Occupations					1.04		1.08	
Gender (ref: Female)								
Female	0.68	***	0.77	***	0.69	***	0.78	
Religiosity	1.35	***	1.32	***	2.00	***	2.14	
Economic Activity (ref: Full-time Employee)								
Part-time Employee	0.67	***	0.62	***	0.87		0.88	
Full-time Self-Employed					0.84		0.85	
Part-time Self-Employed					0.61	*	0.83	
Education	0.91		0.87		0.30		0.54	
Home/Family	0.41	***	0.38	***	0.66		0.68	
Sick/Disabled	0.25	***	0.41	***	0.58		0.53	*
Unemployed	0.56	***	0.57	***	0.53	*	0.55	
Retired					1.15		0.64	
Marital Status (ref: Single and Never Married)								
Married	0.96		0.96		1.29		1.10	
Separated	0.81		0.64		1.09		0.94	
Age of a Youngest Child (ref: No Child)								
Under 2yrs	0.89		0.95		0.65		0.90	
3-4yrs	1.91				0.84		0.80	
5-10yrs					1.30		1.17	
11-15yrs					1.10		1.09	
16yrs+					1.01		1.06	
Previous Participation (Age 23) (ref: No Organisations)								
Several Organisations					1.38	***	1.43	*
One Organisation					1.12		1.17	
Previous Participation (Age 33) (ref: No Organisations)								
Several Organisations					1.65	*	1.51	
One Organisation					1.20		1.16	
Previous Participation (Age 42) (ref: No Organisations)								
Several Organisations					1.72	*	1.77	**
One Organisation					1.18		1.32	**
Previous Participation (Age 46) (ref: No Organisations)								
Several Organisations					2.33	***	1.90	*
One Organisation					2.10	***	1.89	***

Several Organisations (ref: No Organisations)								
RG's Social Class (ref: Class V)								
I	1.79	*	1.95	**				
II	2.88	***	2.50	***				
III	1.76	***	1.44	*				
IV	1.24		1.00					
NS-SEC (ref: Routine Occupations)								
Higher Administrative, Managerial, and Professional Occupations					2.67	***	2.63	***
Intermediate Occupations					1.07		1.13	
Gender (ref: Male)								
Female	0.51	***	0.66	***	0.46	***	0.67	
Religiosity	2.68	***	2.62	***	3.59	***	3.08	*
Economic Activity (ref: Full-time Employee)								
Part-time Employee	0.58	***	0.61	***	0.77	*	0.73	
Full-time Self-Employed					1.09		0.96	
Part-time Self-Employed					0.98		0.99	
Education	0.52	**	0.66		1.30		0.80	
Home/Family	0.22	***	0.22	***	0.71		0.68	
Sick/Disabled	0.20	***	0.33	**	0.56		0.31	***
Unemployed	0.29	***	0.33	***	0.68		0.54	
Retired					0.70		0.46	
Marital Status (ref: Single and Never Married)								
Married	0.90		0.84	*	0.87		0.88	
Separated	0.79		0.67	*	0.77		0.74	
Age of a Youngest Child (ref: No Child)								
Under 2yrs	0.68	***	0.71	***	0.19	**	0.85	
3-4yrs	1.13		0.83		0.55		0.80	
5-10yrs					1.26		1.43	
11-15yrs					1.19		1.28	
16yrs+					1.02		1.05	
Previous Participation (Age 23) (ref: No Organisations)								
Several Organisations					2.08	***	2.30	***
One Organisation					1.48	**	1.53	***
Previous Participation (Age 33) (ref: No Organisations)								
Several Organisations					2.65	***	2.74	***
One Organisation					1.39	**	1.55	***
Previous Participation (Age 42) (ref: No Organisations)								
Several Organisations					3.77	***	3.40	***
One Organisation					1.59	***	1.87	***
Previous Participation (Age 46) (ref: No Organisations)								
Several Organisations					5.33	***	3.80	***
One Organisation					2.61	***	2.33	***

Note: *** = p<0.005; ** = p<0.01; * = p<0.05

Table A4.17: The relationship between social participation and sociodemographic, employment, and family characteristics at ages 23 and 50 based on complete cases and imputed data

Age 50

While the models at age 23 offered great similarity, there are more differences apparent in the two models at age 50. Some similarities continue, with both the model based on complete case data and the model based on imputed data showing those who participated in one organisation at age 50 were likely to have previously participated in several organisations at ages 23, 42, and 46, and in one organisation at age 46. Both models also show those who participated in several organisations were more likely to be in higher administrative, managerial, and professional occupations than in routine occupations and were more likely to be religious than non-religious. Additionally, both models show those who participated in several organisations at age 50 were likely to have participated in one or several organisations at ages 23, 33, 42, and 46. Both models are therefore similar in their identification of previous participation, social class, and religion as factors that increase the likelihood of participation at age 50.

There are also a considerable number of differences between the models at age 50. The model based on complete cases indicates those who participate in one organisation at age 50 are less likely to be female than male, religious than non-religious, and part-time self-employed or unemployed than a full-time employee. The model based on imputed data does not show a relationship between participation in one organisation and gender, religiosity, part-time self-employment, or unemployment. The model based on complete cases also indicates that those who participated in several organisations at age 33 were more likely to participate in one organisation at age 50, while the model based on imputed data observes no such relationship.

Meanwhile, the model based on imputed data identifies relationships between variables that are not identified be the complete case model. The imputed model indicates that those who participated in one organisation at age 50 were less likely to be sick or disabled than a full-time employee and were also likely to have participated in one organisation at age 42. The complete case model did not identify these relationships.

Differences between the models were also present in relation to participation in several organisations at age 50. The complete case model indicated those who

participated in several organisations were less likely to be part-time employees than full-time employees, and also less likely to have a child aged 2 years or under than have no children. The model based on imputed data did not identify these relationships. Instead, the imputed model indicated that those who participated in several organisations were less likely to be sick or disabled than a full-time employee, a relationship the complete case model did not observe.

There are therefore clear differences between the models based on complete cases and imputed data at age 50. Overall, the model based on complete cases suggests that the characteristics of participants at age 50 were similar to those at age 23. They were likely to be men of a higher social class, who were religious. They were also more likely to be in full-time work with little responsibility towards the family. Additionally, they appear likely to have been heavily involved in participation activities across their lifecourse.

In contrast, based on imputed data, the characteristics of participants at age 50 appear distinct to those at age 23. At age 50, they were likely to be of a higher social class, religious, and to have a strong history of social participation across the lifecourse. This differs from participants at age 23 as the relationship between participation and economic activity and family responsibility that existed at age 23 does not appear at age 50.

The characteristics of social participants based on complete case analysis therefore indicates a level of stability in the types of people who participate across the lifecourse. Using imputed data, however, instead suggests the characteristics of social participants fluctuates across the lifecourse. This difference in findings demonstrates the influence of using a missing data strategy that is considerate of reducing sample sizes due to mortality within longitudinal cohort studies. The impact of the differences in findings will now be discussed, highlighting how they may affect the conclusions drawn from the analysis.

Substantive Conclusions based on Complete Case and Imputed Analysis

The models estimated using complete case analysis suggests that participants at both age 23 and 50 are likely to be men, in full-time work, with little responsibility

towards the family. As the characteristics of participants at age 23 and 50 based on this data are fairly similar, this indicates a level of stability in participation across the lifecourse. Research undertaken by Lancee and Radl (2014) suggests that volunteers are likely to have been selected into volunteering based on certain characteristics, and that these people are likely to continue to volunteer. As these results indicate the type of person who participates is stable across the lifecourse, this offers some support for Lancee and Radl's (2014) findings.

Previous research has indicated that employment and family responsibilities can create time pressures that reduce the ability of individuals to participate (Oesterle, Johnson, & Mortimer, 2004). Indeed, Low et al (2007) identified a lack of time as the most commonly cited reason for non-participation. However, these findings contrast this as they suggest that full-time work can in fact promote participation. Oesterle, Johnson, and Mortimer (2004) also highlighted that employment can help provide the skills, values, and opportunities needed for engagement. This indicates that participation may continue, despite demands on time stemming from full-time employment. Additionally, factors such as length of commute and job satisfaction, in addition to the hours relating to full-time employment, can help promote social participation (Lup & Booth, 2018; Rodell, 2013). These findings therefore offer support for this research that suggests full-time employment can promote social participation.

Furthermore, the lower likelihood of women to participate in comparison to men indicates that social participation is gendered, with women being excluded from participation. Particularly considering the social expectations facing this cohort, where women continued to be considered as the primary caregivers, despite the increase in women in the labour market. It can therefore be argued that changes in family responsibilities, due to getting married and having children were more likely to affect women's participation than men's participation. As a result, these findings offer support for research that has shown women's participation is particularly affected by their children. Wood et al (2011) argue that children can be catalysts for participation. Voorpostel & Coffe (2012) add nuance to this by arguing that children of school age may promote participation as are more independent and engage in activities themselves, however children younger than school age can restrict participation, particularly for women, as young children are more

dependent on their parents. Overall, therefore, these findings suggest that participation, for men, is promoted by full-time work, while family responsibilities can restrict participation and this may be a reason for the lower likelihood of women participating.

Participants at age 23 and 50 based on complete cases were also shown to be likely to be religious. This supports existing research that suggests religion can develop the values and provide opportunities for participation (Son & Wilson, 2012). Additionally, engaging in religious activities can act as a gateway for participation in other, non-religious activities (Johnston, 2013). These results therefore offer support for this relationship between religion and social participation.

Finally, these results suggest social participation is more likely for those who are of a higher social class. Again, this offers support for Lancee and Radl's (2014) findings that suggest individuals are selected into volunteer roles based on their characteristics. Children from higher social class backgrounds are likely to have been encouraged to undertake extra-curricular activities in order to reproduce social class and to signal social advantage (Bennett & Parameshwaran, 2013; Vincent & Ball, 2007). This enables children from these backgrounds to learn to be comfortable in a range of social situations, thus making them more likely to be recruited into volunteer roles (Dean, 2016). Through this class-based socialisation that provides experiences of volunteering and participatory activities, they develop the behaviours that can promote social participation across the lifecourse. In this way, the social class distinction of social participants can be compared to Bourdieu's theories of distinction and habitus in the development of cultural tastes (Bourdieu, 1984; 1996). These findings therefore offer support for the patterns of social class distinction in social participation to be reflective of the patterns of distinction in cultural activities observed by Bourdieu's.

By using data that is not imputed and contains all cases, including those who had passed away by age 50, these findings have shown stability in the characteristics of participants across the lifecourse. Participants at both age 23 and 50 appear to be men, who work full-time, have low family responsibilities, and are of a higher social class. This offers support for research that also promotes the idea of stability

in lifecourse social participation, as well as research that suggests employment can promote participation while family responsibilities may restrict participation. However, as we shall see, this contrasts the findings of analysis based on data that has been imputed and mortality considered by removing cases who were ineligible for the age 50 sweep due to death or emigration.

The findings based on data that has undergone multiple imputation and where cases that have died or emigrated by age 50 suggest the characteristics of those who participate fluctuates across the lifecourse. At age 23, participants are likely to be men, in full-time work, with low responsibilities towards the family, and who are of a higher social class. This reflects the characteristics of participants based on the non-imputed data. By age 50, participation does not appear to be related to employment or the family, but instead participants appear to be of a higher social class, religious, and have a long history of social participation. This contrasts the findings at age 50 based on the non-imputed data. As we shall see, the differences in the results based on imputed and non-imputed data can have considerable impact on the substantial conclusions arrived at, and the support offered for existing research.

In contrast to the findings based on non-imputed data, these findings indicate the characteristics of participation fluctuate across the lifecourse. This therefore offers support for research that suggests the likelihood of engagement in volunteering changes as roles towards employment and the family change (Nesbit, 2012). In particular, these changes produce a midlife peak in participation as employment roles stabilise and family responsibilities lessen (Gil-Lacruz, Marcuello, & Saz-Gil, 2017; Wilson, 2012). These findings suggest that, while participation at age 23 may be affected by employment and family roles, these do not affect participation at age 50. Instead, by age 50, participation is undertaken by those who have a strong history of participation, who are of a higher social class, and are religious.

While participants at age 50 based on the non-imputed data were characterised by gender, employment, and family roles, this is largely not reflected in the findings based on imputed data. The exception to this is those who were sick or disabled, who were less likely to participate in either one or several organisations. Being sick or disabled may restrict access to participation opportunities, particularly those that

involve meeting others outside the home as meeting locations may not be accessible. Additionally, participation activities that involve physical activity may be challenging to maintain, depending of course on the nature of the sickness or disability (Brodie et al, 2009).

Participants at age 50 based on imputed data were also likely to be of a higher social class, religious, and have a strong history of previous participation. As discussed previously, religiosity can be related to participation as it can assist develop the values and provide the opportunities required for participation (Johnston, 2013; Son & Wilson, 2012). Social class and previous participation experience can both be indicative Bourdieu's theories of habitus and distinction. Habitus describes the socialisation process that result in the development of certain behaviours and preferences. As these socialisation processes are class-based, the behaviours and preferences are characterised by class-based distinction (Bourdieu, 1984; 1996). These processes have been observed in social participation, with children from higher social class backgrounds encouraged to engage in extra-curricular activities and recruited into volunteer roles (Bennett & Parameshwaran, 2013; Vincent & Ball, 2007). Participation at age 50, based on imputed data, appears to be more strongly related to these processes that encourage the development of values and behaviours than to employment and family characteristics. The imputed data therefore contrasts the non-imputed data, both in terms of the patterns of participation across the lifecourse and in terms of the characteristics of participation at age 50.

Despite these contrasts, the findings based on imputed and non-imputed data are similar in some ways. At age 23, the findings based on both datasets indicate participants are likely to be men, in full-time work, with limited family responsibilities. Both sets of results therefore offer support for participation to be promoted by employment, potentially relating to job satisfaction and the opportunities for participation that can be encouraged in the workplace (Lup & Booth, 2018; Oesterle, Johnson, & Mortimer, 2004; Rodell, 2013). They also offer support for research that suggests participation is limited by the family responsibilities, particularly when children are young and more dependent on their parents (Voorpostel & Coffe, 2012; Wood et al, 2011). The results are therefore comparable at age 23.

Additionally, the findings based on imputed and non-imputed data both offer support for using Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and distinction to describe the development of class-based social participation behaviours. However, this can be observed more clearly in the imputed data at age 50, as the non-imputed data maintains the relationship between participation, employment and family characteristics at age 50. It is therefore not clear, based on non-imputed data, whether social class and previous participation is driving the continued participation, or whether participation continues to be encouraged by factors relating to employment and the family. While there are some similarities in the findings based on imputed and non-imputed data, the imputed data appears to offer greater clarity in the factors that are related to social participation.

There are therefore considerable differences in the results based on imputed and non-imputed data, and these affect the substantial conclusions drawn. The non-imputed data indicates stability in the characteristics of participants, while the imputed data indicates fluctuation. The imputed data highlights the importance of social class, previous participation, and religion as factors that encourage the continued engagement in social participation, while the non-imputed data suggests that social participation is largely encouraged by employment. There are some similarities in the findings, particularly at age 23, however these do not result in similarities in the substantial conclusions. It is therefore of considerable importance to consider the characteristics of the data, including the influence of mortality and patterns of missing data, when using longitudinal cohort studies.

Comparison with Chapter 5

Comparing results based on differed imputation strategies

In Chapter 5 of this thesis, the models described in Table A4.2 were estimated using imputed data (see Table 5.2, p116). However, the imputation strategy used in Chapter 5 had not been considerate of the influence of mortality within the NCDS cohort. The imputation strategy used within this annex therefore improves upon the analysis in Chapter 5 by using listwise deletion to remove cases who had passed away prior to Sweep 8 (age 50) of the NCDS. The imputed model in Chapter 5 is similar to imputed model described within this annex. Both imputed

models suggest participants' characteristics fluctuate across the lifecourse, with the impact of employment and family responsibilities having a greater effect at age 23 than at age 50. As such, both imputed models differ in similar ways from the complete case model described in Table A4.2 which suggested the characteristics of participants across the lifecourse was more stable. In this way, the literature supported, and the substantial conclusions made based on the imputed model in Chapter 5 and the imputed model in this annex are similar. However, some differences exist between the imputed models. The imputed model in this annex indicates that those who participate in several organisations at age 23 are likely to be in professional occupations, managerial, technical, or intermediate occupations, or skilled occupations. The imputed model in Chapter 5 only observed a relationship between participation in several organisations at age 23 and managerial, technical, or intermediate occupations. Using the imputed strategy described in this annex therefore strengthens the conclusion that social class is related to participation at age 23. The imputed models also differ at age 23 in relation to the age of the youngest child, although this is likely to be due to the change in coding for this variable. This change is described below.

The imputed models also reveal some differences at age 50. The imputed model described within this annex identifies a relationship between participation in one organisation at age 50 and participation in several organisations at ages 23 and 42. The imputed model in Chapter 5 did not observe a relationship between participation in one organisation and participation at these ages. Additionally, the imputed model described in this annex showed those who participated in either one or several organisations were less likely to be sick or disabled. The imputed model described in Chapter 5 did not observe this relationship. In this way, the imputation strategy described in this annex also strengthens the relationship between participation at age 50 and previous social participation and being sick or disabled at age 50.

The substantial conclusions of the models based on different imputation strategies are similar in many ways as they observe largely similar relationships between . However, the use of an imputation strategy that is considerate of mortality within the NCDS reveals clearer relationships, in terms of the relationship between social class and social participation at age 23 and previous social participation and social

participation at age 50. It also revealed a new relationship that was not observed in Chapter 5, the relationship between being sick or disabled and social participation at age 50. Conclusions made based on the model in Chapter 5 therefore would not include the relationship between being sick or disabled and social participation at age 50, while those based on the imputed model within this chapter would consider this relationship. These differences demonstrate the importance of the use of an imputation strategy that considers mortality when conducting analysis using longitudinal cohort studies.

Change in Age of Youngest Child variable

The analysis within this annex has also improved upon the analysis in Chapter 5 by correcting an error in the coding of the age of the youngest child variable. In the original coding those with no children were coded as missing and so, when missing data were imputed, these cases received an imputed value on the age of the youngest child variable. In the regression models in Chapter 5 based on this data, the base variable for age of youngest child was “child aged 2 year or under”. This coding was corrected and so the base category for age of the youngest child was “no child” in the analysis within this annex. The models described in Chapter 5 (Table 5.2, p 116) and within this annex (Table A4.2) are similar in many ways as age of the youngest child does not appear to be related to participation in one organisation at age 23, to participation in one organisation at age 50, or to participation in several organisations at age 50. However, while age of the youngest child was not significantly related to participation in several organisations at age 23 in the model described in Chapter 5, a relationship was observed in the imputed model described within this annex. Those who participated in several organisations at age 23 were less likely to have a child 2 years or under than to have no children. This relationship was masked by the incorrect coding of this variable in Chapter 5.

Conclusion

This paper has reviewed the importance of handling missing data in an appropriate way based on the data being used. Longitudinal cohort studies, such as the NCDS, have missing data for a number of reasons, with mortality being a particular issue. By handling missing data, including data missing due to mortality, in an appropriate way it can be representative of the population born in 1958 (Mostafa et al, 2020). This can be achieved by firstly using listwise deletion to remove cases who were ineligible for Sweep 8 of the NCDS due to mortality and emigration and secondly using multiple imputation to handle the remaining missing data. This returns the size of the dataset to that of the eligible sample at Sweep 8. The analysis undertaken here has revealed the importance of using an appropriate missing data strategy when conducting research using the NCDS. Non-imputed data suggested participation is stable across the lifecourse, with the characteristics of participants being similar at age 23 and age 50. The imputed data on the other hand indicated a level of fluctuation in the characteristics of participants, with employment and family characteristics no longer influencing social participation at age 50. While there are some similarities in the results, notably in the characteristics of participants at age 23, the differences have a considerable impact on the conclusions drawn from the analysis. Additionally, the models described in Chapter 5 and the imputed model here were shown to be similar in many ways, however there were differences in some elements that can affect the conclusions drawn. As a result, this paper has demonstrated the importance of using an appropriate missing data strategy as the differences in conclusions based on the appropriately imputed data and the non-imputed data provide contrasting insights into the nature of social participation across the lifecourse.

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Appendix 5: Figure 3.12

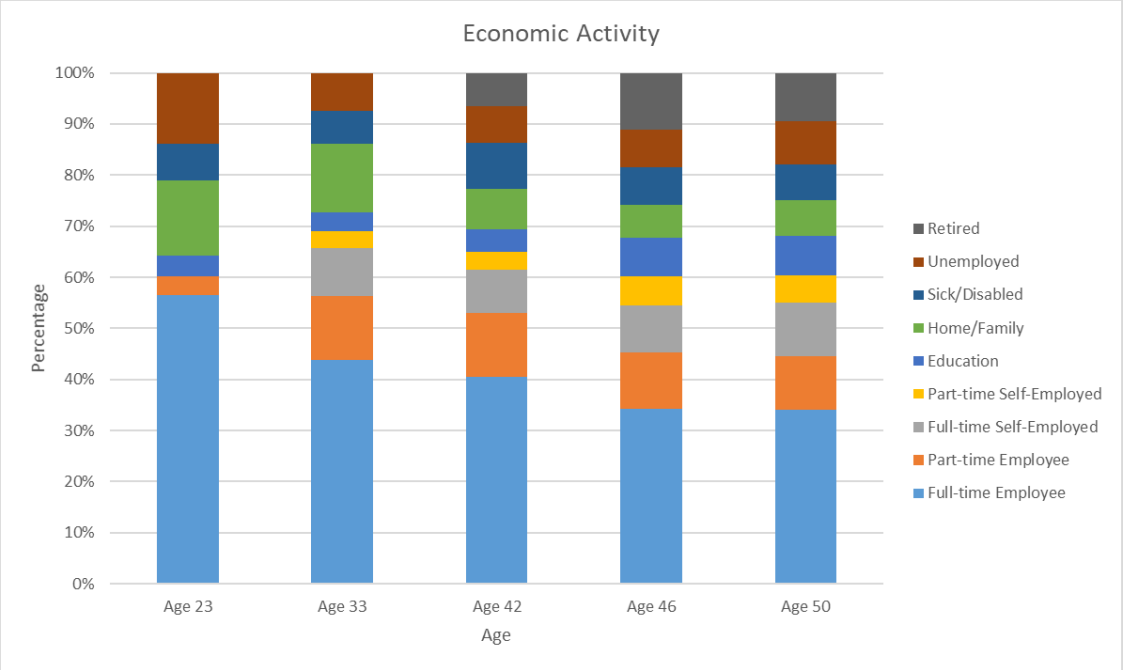

Figure A5.3.12: Proportion of cohort members by economic activity at each sweep (coloured)