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### Personal and Community Factors as Predictors of Different Types of Community Engagement

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# Personal and Community Factors as Predictors of Different Types of Community Engagement Abstract

Citizen participation is an important element of local democracy because it increases residents' influence over local community issues. Using a sample of 494 Israeli participants, this paper examines, for the first time, the unique and combined contribution of personal factors (self-esteem and mastery) and community factors (years of activity, knowledge of local services, trust in leaders, community commitment, and community belonging) to the explanation of the variance in each of two types of community engagement: development and planning, and activism and advocacy. Data analysis included hierarchical regression that examined all variables and possible interactions among them. The results indicate that mastery and the community variables, except for years of activity, predict both types of engagement. Interestingly, knowledge of services negatively predicts both, while trust in leaders also predicts both types of engagement, but in opposite directions. In conclusion, the paper considers how these findings might inform community work interventions.

#### Keywords

Community engagement, citizen involvement, development/planning, activism/advocacy, civil society

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Personal and Community Factors as Predictors of Different Types of Community Engagement

How do we understand what motivates individuals to participate in their local communities? What

factors are involved in decisions to participate or engage in civic and community issues? This article

reports on a study that set out to discover which factors predict each of two types of community

involvement – participation in activities associated with 'development and planning', and engagement

in 'advocacy and activism'.

Gaining greater insights into the reasons for civic participation is important for at least two reasons. First, a range of groups and interests would benefit from a more precise understanding of the possible motivations that underpin different forms of involvement. For example, community leaders such as elected mayors and local councilors could gain a clearer sense of the needs and demands of local citizens, which could, in turn, enhance strategic thinking and lead to more optimal policy outcomes. Perhaps more importantly, community workers engaged with local groups in community development projects and other forms of intervention could benefit from a more defined understanding of what prompts individuals to participate 'differentially' in different forms of community activity. Finally, of course, local citizens themselves could profit from a more refined appreciation of the motivations that lie behind their decisions to become involved in the community, again bearing in mind that different motivating factors might influence the different types of community action considered here.

Second, and on a theoretical note, how the factors that underpin participation are understood is important for a wider appreciation of the significance of community involvement in contemporary civil society. If 'the role of the citizenry [is] to tend and defend the values and practices of a democratic civic life' (Wolin, 2016, p. 598), then there is a need to be aware both of how individual citizens perform or enact 'participation' and how the different components of participation contribute to the democratic life of the community (see Jenkins & Carpentier, 2013). Further, of course, Putnam's concerns about the extent of community disengagement (in the United States) need to be kept in mind. Putnam (2000, p. 401) called for 'an era of civic inventiveness to create a renewed set of institutions and channels for a reinvigoration of civic life' suited to the twenty-first century. Although that task lies well beyond the scope of this study – and there are legitimate concerns about the

conceptualization and uses of 'social capital' (Somers, 2008) – there is a substructure to this ambitious demand that involves the analysis of individual feelings about, and perceptions of, local civic life. As Alexander (2006) argues, attention to the feelings and commitments that people share is as important as, for example, the power structures within which they operate. As discussed below, the independent variables used in this research are designed to measure the predictive value of a range of 'feelings and commitments' understood as underpinning factors that motivate community engagement.

Before exploring literature relating to the independent variables, however, it is important to consider the two outcome variables in greater depth and in ways that usefully combine the potential practical benefits of community engagement with the theoretical concerns expressed by Wolin, Putnam, Alexander and others. Work by Jeffries (1996), following Rothman (1995), provides a starting point for conceptualizing forms of community practice that, with suitable adjustment, can incorporate both individual and collective motivations, and differential dimensions of engagement. Although Jeffries' work is based on Rothman's elementary dichotomous model, which he himself later criticized for its neglect of the complex, multi-dimensional nature of community practice (Rothman, 1996, 2007), we nevertheless accept Jeffries' reasons for using this model in her analysis. As she explains, in attempting 'to do justice to the multi-dimensionality of community organising' there is a danger of losing 'the simplicity which is the beauty and the potential of modelling' (Jeffries, 1996, p. 105). Our concern here is not with Jeffries' model *per se* but with how her reworking of Rothman's basic model offers a foundation on which to develop a clear, parsimonious framework for understanding the output variables – community development and planning, and community activism and advocacy – that are the focal points of this study.

Proceeding on this basis, Figure 1a displays Jeffries original four-square model of community practice, constructed along two axes: stability-change and community decisions-elite decisions – the latter being concerned with types of individual empowerment. The top half of the model corresponds to forms of participation that 'could be expected commonly to be regarded as reasonably legitimate' (Jeffries, 1996, p. 108). Activities could include contributions to local support and advice services (quadrant A) and service provision and coordination by local authorities (quadrant B), all of which

could be characterized as types of 'community development and planning'. Quadrants C and D refer to forms of change that result either from bottom-up direct social action or top-down, elite-led social reform.

#### [FIGURE 1 HERE]

In light of the above literature, we suggest a modification to this model that illustrates how 'community development' and 'community activism/advocacy' are used in this study. The vertical 'stability-change' axis is unchanged, continuing to reflect activities associated, on the one hand, with developmental and planning changes (quadrants A and B) and, on the other hand, with changes demanded through active social protest and engagement (quadrants C and D). If the horizontal axis is retitled 'individual participation-civic participation', however, the original empowerment theme is replaced by one that allows a mapping of the kinds of activities encompassed by one or other of the two dependent variables.

As figure 1b shows, quadrants A and B again refer to stable forms of development and planning, but the horizontal axis now describes types of participation ranging from individually-oriented to collectively-oriented activities that constitute particular kinds of citizen involvement. The relationship between these quadrants is 'dynamic' because expressions of interest in a variety of community issues, while they can be rooted in individual desires and interests, can also transmute into an interpersonal and collective appreciation of wider community needs (Putnam, 2000; Collins, Neal, & Neal, 2014). A decision to participate in a neighborhood watch scheme, for example, could be taken for reasons of individual security. However, it is also possible that, over time, this motivation could come to embrace a more inclusive understanding of the kinds of collective security required for community safety. Correspondingly, quadrants C and D refer to types of activism that range from the recognition of individual interests that require an expression of personal protest and advocacy – for instance, demands for the recognition of personal rights or equal treatment in planning regulations – through to types of collective protest that are expressed in demands for social rights or the redress of wider social and economic inequalities.

In sum, then, figure 1b indicates how the two dependent variables – community engagement that includes community development or social planning; and community engagement that includes

community activism and advocacy, are constructed and, importantly, how they articulate with the independent variables to produce a paradigm of community engagement that displays the potential relationship between individual and collective behavior, and civic/democratic life.

Turning to the independent variables, the personal variables used in the study are self-esteem and mastery. Self-esteem includes individuals' self-perceptions and feelings about themselves (Ryan & Brown, 2006), as well as the image they have of their own characteristics and skills in relation to themselves and others (Baumeister, Campbell, & Vohs, 2003). Mastery relates to the degree to which people perceive themselves as having influence and control over their circumstances and significant events in their lives (Ben-Zur, 2008; Pearlin & Lieberman, 1981), as opposed to being governed, for example, by chance or the needs and demands of others (Maarsingh, Henry, van de Ven, & Deeg, 2016). A sense of mastery is achieved when individuals believe that they are able to shape and influence their physical, social and behavioral reality to suit their own perceptions and desires (Ben-Zur, 2008). These factors can be associated with individuals' decisions to engage in their community qua individuals (Bandura, 2000; Collins et al., 2014) but, as suggested, feelings of personal efficacy might also underpin collective planning and development activities. Feelings of self-esteem and mastery can facilitate engagement in decision making processes, and indeed recent studies have found that self-esteem increases levels of community participation (Lawford & Ramey, 2017). Moreover, a sense of mastery also appears to contribute to involvement in both community development and planning, and activism and advocacy (Rubin & Rubin 2008).

The community variables consist of years of activity in the community, knowledge of local services, levels of trust in local leaders, and feelings of community commitment and community belonging. To the best of our knowledge, the potential association between years of activity and participation in either or both types of community engagement has not been fully explored in previous research. It is probable, however, that the higher the number years of activity in a community, the stronger the affective bonds among community members, and between members and community organizations, are likely to be (Boulianne & Brailey, 2014; Perkins, Brown, & Taylor, 1996; Putnam, 1995; Ryan, Agnitsch, Zhao, & Mullick, 2005; Theodori, 2004). Similar reasoning suggests that years of activity may also be associated with what may be characterized as 'compounded community

engagement'. In other words, the more that citizens participate in community activities, the more they are likely to continue to take part in such activities as time goes on, partly, no doubt, because some of the 'rewards' of participation such as increased recognition and prestige are cumulative. By the same token, consistent participation is likely to result in an increasing sense of empowerment, particularly forms of interpersonal empowerment that afford an 'understanding or knowledge of community functioning' together with the skills required to participate effectively in community activities that are acquired gradually over a number of years (Speer, Peterson, Armistead, & Allen, 2013, p. 111).

Knowledge of local services is clearly a key resource for individuals in terms of both support for daily living and particularly in times of crisis or distress. Providing citizens with knowledge of services is consequently important (Rothman, 1996, 2007; Staples, 2012) and an essential part of any community intervention (Ali, Hatta, & Azman, 2014; Staples, 2012). Although no relevant literature could be found for the predictive impact of this item on the two dependent variables, this variable has been included because, arguably, higher levels of knowledge about services are required if involvement in either community development and planning activities, or community activism, is to be optimized.

Turning to trust in local leaders, it is important to be careful here because the inherent complexities of the relationship between 'trust', 'participation' and 'good governance' have frequently been noted (Bouckaert & Van de Walle, 2003; Irvin & Stansbury, 2004; Yang & Holzer, 2006). For current purposes, however, we are interested in citizen perceptions of trust in local leaders and here some studies have identified a positive relationship between trust and citizen participation in decision making (Mizrahi, Vigoda-Gadot & Cohen, 2009; Yang & Holzer, 2006), especially where citizen engagement is specifically built into decision making processes (Cooper, Bryer, & Meek, 2006). Nevertheless, citizens who may be disappointed with local services and distrustful of leadership may also be motivated to become actively involved in community initiatives out of concern for the community's future, believing that if they do not take direct responsibility crucial issues will not be addressed (Shelton & Garkovich, 2013; Vigoda-Gadot & Mizrahi, 2014).

It can be surmised, then, that a positive association between trust in leaders and community involvement is likely to be the product of types of participation that are based on a relationship of

partnership with local leaders – a relationship that can best be realized through sustained involvement in community development and social planning. Conversely, a negative association between trust in leaders and community involvement is likely to indicate the presence of conflictual relationships between local leaders and citizens. Martin (2010) and Rothman (1996, 2007) have pointed out, for example, that lower levels of trust can lead to activist forms of engagement and elite-challenging activities (see also Miranti & Evans, 2017, for a discussion of these issues).

The literature devoted to community attachment in its various forms – inclusion, belonging and so on – is extensive. Following Boulianne and Brailey (2014, p. 376), this study understands attachment in general terms as comprising the 'emotional and personal bonds that tie a person to the collective'. As discussed below, two measures of attachment are used in this research – community commitment and community belonging. Citizens who report a high sense of community commitment show concern for the needs of others in the community, and, further, feel a responsibility to attend to the welfare of community members. Consequently, community commitment is a clear prerequisite for active involvement in community initiatives (Chaskin, Brown, Venkatesh, & Vidal, 2001; Soresi, Nota, & Wehmeyer, 2011). In similar vein, those who feel strong connections and feelings of attachment or 'belonging' to their community tend to demonstrate higher levels of participation in activities aimed at bettering it (Batson, Ahmad, & Tsang, 2002; McMillan & Chavis, 1986; Ohmer, 2010; Perkins, & Long, 2002; Theodori, 2018) because they have a desire, and also feel obliged, to contribute to community life (Cicognani, et al., 2008; Newbrough & Chavis, 1986).

In addition to this discussion of the independent variables, a number of socio-demographic variables were included in the analysis as covariates in order to control for any impact they might have. This procedure allows for the more accurate identification of the impacts of the personal and community variables on the two outcome variables.

To conclude, then: based on this literature review, we examined the specific and combined contribution of each of the personal variables and the community variables to the explanation of the variance in both types of community engagement discussed above. We hypothesized that higher levels of the personal variables (self-esteem and mastery) and higher levels of the community variables (years of activity, knowledge of local services, community commitment, and community

belonging), with the exception of trust in local leaders, will predict higher levels of both types of engagement. With reference to trust in local leaders, we predicted that higher degrees of trust will increase levels of involvement in community development and social planning, while lower levels will promote forms of engagement involving activism and advocacy. In other words, both dependent variables will differ with respect to the way they are predicted by trust in local leaders.

#### Method

#### **Participants**

The sample consisted of 494 Israeli participants, of whom 219 (44.3%) were men and 275 (55.7%) were women. Age ranged from 18 to 70 years (*M*=42.13, *SD*=15.34), and years of education from 9 years to 26 years (*M*=14.70, *SD*=2.62). In relation to income, 162 (32.8%) participants reported above average monthly incomes, 111 (22.5%) participants reported monthly incomes around the average, and 221 (44.7%) reported monthly incomes below the average. 333 (67.4%) participants reported being married, or having lasting relationships, and 161 (32.6%) participants reported not having a spouse. 343 (69.4%) participants reported having children (one or more), while 151 (30.6%) reported not having children. Where religiosity is concerned, 389 (78.8%) reported being non-orthodox and 105 (21.2%) reported being orthodox. In terms of the type of the participants' living place, that is, whether they live in communal spaces (neighborhoods or rural communities) or in non-communal/urban places (see Boehm, Darawshy, & Boehm-Tabib, 2018), 252 (51%) participants reported living in communal residencies, while 242 (49%) reported living in non-communal residencies. And finally, years of participating in community activity ranged from 1 to 50 years (*M*=10.35, *SD*=11.23).

#### Procedure

The study was approved by a university Ethics Committee and was conducted in accordance with the ethical criteria for social research. It complied with APA ethical principles and was conducted in accordance with the international ethical guidelines for treatment of human participants engaged in psychological research. The sole criterion for inclusion in the sample was participation in (voluntary) community activity for at least one year. Participants were recruited by an online survey company that distributed a questionnaire designed by the researchers to people across the country. People from all

sectors were made aware of the study through extensive advertising, which drew attention to the specific features of the survey. Completing the questionnaire took approximately twenty minutes, on average. The aim of the study was explained and anonymity and confidentiality were assured. It was stressed that participation was voluntary, and that there would be no consequences for those who were unwilling to complete the survey. Due to the method of distributing the questionnaire, there was no way to follow the response rate. However, no reports of refusals or difficulties in completing the questionnaire were received (i.e. in the relevant space provided at the end of the questionnaire). *Instruments* 

The two measures of Community Engagement were assessed by the Community Activity Check-list (Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988). Out of the 26 items of the original instrument, a shortened version of ten items was used in the current study (based on: Zimmerman, Israel, Schulz, & Checkoway, 1992). A focus group comprised of researchers and practitioners, its membership selected on the basis of theoretical and practical knowledge of macro-intervention, verified the choice of the items, ensuring that each clearly reflected either one or other of the two types of community engagement: community development or social planning, and community activism or advocacy. Five items were selected for each type respectively (e.g. "I took part in planning an event in the community" for development/planning activity; and "I took part in protesting injustice caused to someone in the neighborhood " for activism and protest). Respondents were asked to indicate the activities in which they had been involved with each being given a score equal to the sum of the items marked in each one of the activity types. Higher scores indicated a higher level of community engagement (i.e. two scores for the two types of engagement). Following this calculation, factor analysis verified this categorization for the two types of community engagement. Previous studies reported a Cronbach's alpha for the instrument of .81 (e.g., Zanbar & Itzhaky, 2018). In the current study, Cronbach's alpha was .78 for both measures.

In the personal variables section of the survey, the *Self-Esteem Scale* (Rosenberg, 1965), consisted of 10 statements (e.g. "*I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others*"). Responses were marked on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly agree*) to 5 (*strongly disagree*). Scores were calculated as the mean of the responses to all items, with higher scores

indicating higher levels of self-esteem. A previous study found a Cronbach's alpha of .95 for this scale (Hobfoll & Walfisch, 1984). Cronbach's alpha in the present study was .86. The *Personal Mastery Scale* (Pearlin & Schooler, 1978) was used to assess the individual's sense of mastery. It consists of 7 statements (e.g. "*What happens to me in the future is largely dependent on me*"), with participants asked to indicate the extent to which each statement is descriptive of them on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly agree*) to 5 (*strongly disagree*). Scores were calculated as the mean of the responses to all items, with higher scores indicating greater mastery. Pearlin and Schooler (1978) reported a reliability of .88. In the present study, Cronbach's alpha was .82

The knowledge section of the Commitment and Knowledge of Local Services Questionnaire (Zanbar, Kaniasty, Dekel, & Ben-Tzur, unpublished manuscript), was used to measure Knowledge of local services. The questionnaire consists of nine scenarios a member of the community might encounter (e.g. "You have realized that your neighbor is leaving her children for many hours with no one watching them"; "When you visited one of the families in your community, you got the impression that they are very poor and barely have the ability to buy some basic food products"). For each of the nine scenarios, respondents were asked to indicate which local agency or service was authorized to handle the matter. The options given were the police, the welfare department, third sector community organizations, and the local municipal authority. Each respondent was assigned a knowledge score equal to the sum of the items answered correctly, with higher scores indicating greater knowledge of local services. As this instrument examines levels of knowledge, rather than consistent patterns of behavior, tendencies, or perceptions, and employs a dichotomic scale (the options were recoded as: correct answer / incorrect answer), there is no relevant examination of reliability. However, as with the choice of the items for the community engagement variables, the validity of the instrument was confirmed by the focus group of researchers and practitioners. The focus group verified both the adequacy of this instrument for the measurement of knowledge of local services (and community commitment), and the correct answers to each of the scenarios that the participants were asked to consider.

The *Trust in Local Leaders* questionnaire (Zanbar, Kaniasty, & Ben-Tzur, 2018) was used to assess the level of trust in the capabilities of the mayor and members of the local council to function

in both crisis and routine situations. It consists of four items (e.g. "To what degree do you trust your mayor/chair of the local governing board to do his/her best to be prepared for times of adversity?"). Answers were arranged on a 5-point scale, ranging from 1 (do not trust at all) to 5 (trust to a great degree). A score was assigned to each participant equal to the average of their responses, with higher scores indicating greater trust in local authorities. Cronbach's alpha for the original questionnaire was .92 and was the same in the current study.

The commitment section of the Commitment and Knowledge of Local Services Questionnaire (Zanbar, Kaniasty, Dekel, & Ben-Tzur, unpublished manuscript) mentioned above, was used to measure *Community Commitment*. For each of the nine scenarios outlined above, the respondents were asked to indicate whether they believe that they would choose to help out in each of the scenarios (yes/no), usually by reporting the case to the relevant local authority. Each respondent was given a commitment score equal to the sum of the items marked "*yes*", with higher scores indicating a higher level of community commitment. Since the values of the items were dichotomous (yes/no), reliability was assessed by means of a test-retest procedure, which examines the match between the respondents' answers in (at least) two periods of time and is based on the perception of reliability as stability. The retest showed high reliability, indicating an 84.3% match between the two tests.

The *Psychological Sense of Community Index* (Buckner, 1988), which was originally developed as part of a neighborhood cohesion instrument, was used to measure *sense of community belonging*. From the eighteen items included in the original instrument, eleven that were considered particularly relevant for residents of neighborhoods in urban and rural communities were used (see: Li, Hsu, & Hsu, 2011), (e.g. "*I feel I belong to my community*"). Responses were organized on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) with each participant being assigned a score equal to the mean of their responses, with higher scores indicating a stronger sense of belonging to the community. Buckner reported a Cronbach's alpha of .88. Cronbach's alpha in the current study was .95.

A *sociodemographic questionnaire* was used to tap the other background variables, including age, gender, education years, income, marital status, having children (yes/no), religiosity, the type of

the participant's place of residence (communal vs. non-communal), and years of participating in community activity (of any kind).

Data analysis

Pearson correlations were first conducted to examine the relation between the research variables to rule out the possibility of multicollinearity. Next, a hierarchical regression analysis was conducted to examine the unique and combined contribution of the socio-demographic variables, the personal variables, and the community variables on the two dependent variables. These three main categories of independent variables were examined in the regression analysis in three 'steps' using the 'enter' method. This method was chosen in order to estimate the impact of all of these variables on the two outcome measures, based on the conclusions from the literature that indicate how the independent variables are expected to affect community engagement. In the last step of the regression analysis all the possible interactions among the independent variables were examined. Since the literature does not refer to any specific types of interaction, potential interactions were examined using a stepwise method in order to present just those results that were significant.

Finally, the interactions that were found to be significant in the regression analysis, were closely inspected using the 'MODPROBE' analyses of PROCESS for examination of moderation relationships among the variables (Hayes, 2013). These analyses assessed the nature of the impact of the moderator variables on the effect of the predictors on the two outcome variables. The constituent variables for interactions were centered before the interaction terms were computed as their cross-products (Aiken, West, & Reno, 1991).

#### Results

Regression analysis was used to assess the accuracy of our hypotheses. This exercise confirmed that all of the personal and community factors (mastery, knowledge of local services, trust in local leaders, community commitment, and community belonging), with the exception of self-esteem and years of activity, contributed significantly to the explanation of the variance in both types of community engagement. However, more detailed analysis of the interaction between years of activity and mastery revealed that, in certain circumstances, the former is significantly associated with community development and planning (see below). More generally, additional information provided

by analyses of a range of interactions between various variables produced a more nuanced picture of the contribution made by all the research variables to both types of community engagement.

The regression analysis also explored the relationships between the socio-demographic variables and the dependent variables. These were entered as covariates or controls and no prior assumptions were made about their possible effects on the outcomes, which are discussed in detail below. Finally, the hypothesis regarding the differential impact of trust in leaders on the two types of engagement (positive in the case of development and planning; negative with regard to community activism and advocacy) was confirmed by path analysis. This analysis also enhanced our understanding of how two of the socio-demographic variables (income and marital status) and mastery behaved in relation to the outcomes. In each case, the analysis confirmed that these three variables significantly contributed to *either* community development and planning, *or* community activism and advocacy, but not to both, and that the lack of contribution to the 'other outcome' was not simply incidental.

What follows presents the detailed results together with their statistical indicators, values, and measures of significance. First, we started by calculating Pearson's correlations between the variables. Table 1 presents the intercorrelations among all the study's variables and their descriptive statistics (i.e. means and standard deviations).

## [TABLE 1 HERE]

As can be seen from Table 1, no particularly high correlations among the independent variables were found that might indicate multicollinearity.

Turning to the regression analysis, in Step 1, the socio-demographic variables were entered, followed in Step 2 by the personal variables. In Step 3, the community variables were entered and finally, in Step 4, all of the possible interactions among the research variables were added. This final step was included because, although no specific interactions were identified in the literature, we nevertheless wanted to discover whether certain interactions could shed greater light on the findings. Consequently, the interactions in Step 4 were examined using the STEPWISE rather than the 'ENTER' command function in SPSS. Table 2 presents the results of the regression analysis.

[TABLE 2 HERE]

As can be seen from this table, all fifteen predictor variables and five interactions explained 15% of the variance in participation in community development or social planning activities with adjusted  $R^2 = .12$ , and F(16, 477) = 5.16, p < .001; and 14% of the variance in engagement in activism or advocacy activities with adjusted  $R^2 = .10$ .

Predicting participation in community development or social planning activities

The socio-demographic variables (Block 1: age; gender; years of education; income; marital status; children; religiosity; type of living place) together accounted for 5% of the variance in activities associated with community development and social planning, F(8, 485) = 2.85, p < .01. Participants with high incomes are likely to be more involved in community development or social planning, while unmarried participants and participants with children also reported high levels of involvement in activities associated with these forms of engagement. In addition, non-religious participants also reported greater degrees of involvement in community development and social planning activities.

The personal variables (Block 2: self-esteem; mastery) explained an additional 0.5% of the variance in the community development/planning outcome variable, F(2, 483) = 2.36, p < .05, which is solely due to the effect of mastery. People with a higher sense of mastery or competence tended to be more engaged in community development activities. On the other hand, self-esteem did not contribute to the explanation of the variance. The community variables (Block 3: years of activity; knowledge of local services; trust in local leaders; community commitment; community belonging) jointly explained 8.5% of the variance with respect to involvement in community development or social planning, which was the larger portion of the explained percentages of this outcome, with F(5, 478) = 9.35, p < .001. In this block, all the variables with the exception of years of activity contributed to the explanation of participation in community development activities. However, while trust in local leaders, community commitment, and community belonging increased activities associated with community development/planning, knowledge of local services decreased them.

Finally, in Block 4, the interaction between years of activity and mastery was significant. This interaction, explained an additional 1% of the variance in participation in community development and planning, F(1, 477) = 5.19, p < .05. Following the recommendation of Cohen and Cohen (1983), this interaction was plotted based on values corresponding to the mean, one standard deviation above

the mean and one standard deviation below the mean for the variables years of activity and mastery. In addition, analyses of the simple slopes were conducted using the PROCESS procedure for SPSS (Release 2.00; Hayes, 2013) that examines moderation relationships between the variables. Figure 2 presents the plots of the years of activity by mastery in predicting levels of participation associated with community development and planning (t=2.41, SE=.02, p<.05).

#### [FIGURE 2 HERE]

As can be seen from figure 2, the interaction resulting from years of activity mediates the effect of mastery on involvement in development and planning. Among participants with a lower number of years of activity, there was no significant correlation between mastery and activities associated with development and planning. Accordingly, the simple slope for one standard deviation below average was  $\beta$ =-.05, SE=.11, p=6.48. Among participants with an average number of years of community activity, the correlation between mastery and these activities was close to being significant.

Accordingly, the slope for these participants was  $\beta$ =.14, SE=.08, p=.069. However, for participants with a high number of years of activity one standard deviation above average the slope was  $\beta$ =.34, SE=.11, p=.003, indicating that a higher sense of mastery for these participants was associated with greater involvement in community development and social planning.

*Predicting the use of activism or advocacy* 

The socio-demographic variables (Block 1) accounted for 5% of the variance in engagement in activism or advocacy, F(8, 485) = 3.31, p < .01, but this was only due to the effect of having children. Participants with children reported higher levels of involvement in activism/advocacy than those with no children. The personal variables (Block 2) explained an additional 1% of the variance in participation in activism or advocacy, F(2, 483) = 0.81, p > .05; even so, none of the personal variables contributed significantly to the explanation of the variance in this regard. The community variables (Block 3) jointly explained an additional 3% of the variance F(5, 478) = 3.48, p < .01 with all of the variables in this block, excepting years of activity, contributing to the explanation of the use of activism and advocacy. However, while community commitment, and community belonging increased engagement, knowledge of local services and trust in local leaders decreased it.

Lastly, in Block 4, four interactions between the variables explained an additional 5% of the variance in activities associated with activism or advocacy, F(4, 474) = 6.30, p < .001. As mentioned above, in each case and with respect to each of the independent variables (i.e., mastery, type of living place, community commitment, community belonging, knowledge of services, and trust in local leaders), the significant interactions were plotted based on values corresponding to the mean, one standard deviation above the mean and one standard deviation below the mean. In addition, analyses of the simple slopes were conducted using the PROCESS procedure for SPSS (Release 2.00; Hayes, 2013). Figures 3-6 presents the plots.

#### [FIGURES 3-6 HERE]

As can be seen from figure 3, the first interaction resulted from the fact that the effect of mastery on involvement in activism or advocacy existed only among participants from non-communal residencies (t=-2.29, SE=.13, p<.05). This interaction shows that, among these participants, the correlation between mastery and community activism or advocacy is significantly negative, indicating that non-communal residents – those living in 'typical' urban neighborhoods – with low levels of mastery are more likely to engage in activism or advocacy. Among participants from communal residencies – those living in rural environments characterized by cultures of mutual assistance and higher levels of community participation – there was no such significant correlation. Accordingly, the simple slopes for participants from non-communal residencies was  $\beta=.22$ , SE=.09, p=.016, and the slope for participants from communal residencies was  $\beta=.08$ , SE=.09, p=.401.

Similarly, figure 4 presents an interaction resulting from the fact that the effect of community commitment on involvement in activism or advocacy also exists only among participants from non-communal residencies (t=1.93, SE=.48, p<.05). This interaction shows that among these participants, the correlation between community commitment and activism or advocacy is significantly positive. No significant correlation was observed among participants from communal residencies. Accordingly, the simple slope for participants from non-communal residencies was  $\beta$ =1.06, SE=.33, p=.001, and the slope for participants from communal residencies was  $\beta$ =.14, SE=.34, p=.685.

The next interaction presented in figure 5 resulted from the fact that the effect of knowledge of local services on activities associated with activism and advocacy decreased with levels of

community belonging (t=1.74, SE=.04, p<.05). Among participants registering low and moderate levels of community belonging, there was a significant correlation between knowledge of local services and activism or advocacy. Accordingly, the simple slope for one standard deviation below average was  $\beta$ =-.13, SE=.05, p=.007, and among participants with an average level of community belonging the slope was  $\beta$ =-.08, SE=.03, p=.030. For these participants, lower levels of knowledge of local services increased activism. Only among participants with high levels of community belonging, was the correlation between knowledge of local services and activism not significant. Accordingly, the slope for these participants was  $\beta$ =-.02, SE=.05, p=.692.

The final interaction presented in figure 6 resulted from the fact that the effect of community commitment on activism or advocacy increased with levels of trust in local leaders (t=2.17, SE=.23, p<.05). Among participants with average and high levels of trust in leaders, there was significant correlation between community commitment and engagement in activism or advocacy. Accordingly, the simple slope for one standard deviation above average was  $\beta$ =1.25, SE=.36, p=.000, and among participants with an average level of trust in leaders the slope was  $\beta$ =.73, SE=.24, p=.002. For these participants, higher levels of community commitment increased activist behavior. Only among participants with low levels of trust in leaders, was the correlation between community commitment and activism/advocacy not significant. Accordingly, the slope for these participants was  $\beta$ =.22, SD=.31, p=.483.

Finally, to return to the discussion at the beginning of this section, when we observed the results of the regression analyses, five of the independent variables, including three of the sociodemographic variables (income, marital status, religiosity), and mastery and trust in local leaders, appeared to have differential effects on the two outcome variables. In four of these cases, the effect on one of the outcomes was significant, while the effect on the other outcome was not significant. Only in the case of trust in local leaders were both effects significant, but in opposite directions (i.e. positive vs. negative). In order to rule out the possibility that these differences were random results of a 'statistical fluctuation', the effects of the independent variables on both outcome variables were examined using SEM analyses of AMOS. We examined the effect of each independent variable on both outcomes twice. The first examination included the original effects, and in the second we 'forced'

both the effects to be statistically equal. Next, for each independent variable, we examined whether the two models (i.e. with and without the forced condition of equal effects) are significantly different, by calculating the divergence between the chi-square values of the two models as well as between their DF values. The new calculated chi-square and DF values are presented in the last column in table 2. As can be seen from the table, for each of the independent variables examined, with the exception of religiosity, the chi-square results showed significant differences between the models, indicating that the effects of these variables on each of the outcome variables are significantly different.

#### **Discussion**

This study has examined the effects of socio-demographic, personal and community variables on activities associated with community development and planning, and community activism. Following a review of the key literature, we hypothesized that higher levels of the personal and community variables would predict higher levels of both community development and activism. The exception to this expectation was trust in local leaders. Here we anticipated that high levels of trust would be associated with increased levels of involvement in development and planning, while lower levels of trust would predict greater degrees of activism and advocacy. Although the study confirmed the main elements of our hypothesis, outcomes were arguably more nuanced than expected.

Turning first to the socio-demographic variables, it is important to note the positive relationship between income and community planning. This may be due to the fact that those on higher incomes are likely to be more 'invested' in community sustainability and therefore more predisposed to engagement in local planning and development. Further, those who enjoy higher incomes are also more likely to work in professional, white-collar occupations that develop the sorts of strategic and communication skills that can be put to good use in negotiations about developmental and planning issues. In consequence, these individuals are less likely to resort to activism – as verified by the SEM analysis.

Being married, or in a long-term relationship, has a negative effect on involvement in community development and planning – initially at least. This finding is understandable because unmarried people are likely to have more time available to participate in community activities and it

may also be the case that community issues have greater salience for those who are less preoccupied with the inevitable needs and demands of a significant relationship. However, it seems that the situation alters once couples embark on parenthood. At this point awareness of community issues increases partly, no doubt, owing to a desire to ensure the availability and quality of community services for children and families. However, what may well start as a set of *personal* concerns on the part of parents about the wellbeing of the immediate family and their offspring is likely to take on a more collective character as parents come to recognize and value the interdependent nature of community life. Contributing to development and planning activities will not only enhance debates about the particular services that individuals and their families require but will also create space for discussions about wider community needs from which the community as a whole will benefit.

Lastly where the socio-demographic variables are concerned, marital status is not a significant contributor to activism, as the SEM analysis indicates. This is not because married people, or those in lasting relationships, necessarily deny the relevance or importance of activism but rather because the kinds of community issues that are significant enough to result in the adoption of activist strategies are likely to be important to all citizens, married or not. The fact that having children is also a predictor of engagement in activism/advocacy does not contradict this judgement. Those with children may indeed be motivated to engage in forms of protest particularly perhaps where they believe that decisions taken by community leaders or other groups are marginalizing children's interests or creating unnecessary risks. However, the findings indicate that the decision to pursue activist strategies by those with children is not a direct consequence of their marital status.

Although type of living place is not a significant predictor of either type of community engagement, examination of the significant interactions from the regression analysis indicate that non-communal/urban residents are likely to engage in activism/advocacy where levels of mastery are low. This behavior may be caused by feelings of disempowerment and a lack of control over the direction of community development, to which forms of activism and protest are an understandable response. Interestingly, too, high levels of community commitment among non-communal residents were positively associated with community activism. These findings can be understood in light of the literature that recognizes differences between urban and rural communities. Xu, Perkins, and Chow

(2010) found, for example, that residents of rural communities reported higher levels of involvement and a greater sense of community, and mutual trust compared to urban residents. Taking these two interactions together, it appears that higher levels of activism (i.e. as opposed to other more 'consensual' forms of participation) are more likely to be found in non-communal, more urbanized areas, particularly where residents have a commitment to their communities but do not feel individually or collectively empowered to engage in the kinds of communal activity that are associated with development and planning. These findings can also be understood in light of the literature indicating that residents living in rural spaces, and spaces where expectations of involvement in communal life are high, enjoy greater proximity and access to local sources of power than their urban counterparts (Boehm et al., 2018). In these cases, the tendency to resort to activism could be lower in the first place.

The regression analysis makes it clear that unlike previous findings (Lawford & Ramey, 2017), self-esteem is not significantly associated with either community development and planning or activism and advocacy. However, as expected – and in accordance with the literature (Rubin & Rubin, 2008) – mastery is positively correlated with involvement in community development and planning. Those registering high levels of mastery who feel themselves to be competent and 'in control' are more likely to engage in debates about development and planning and have confidence in their ability to influence outcomes. Going further, the fact that high levels of mastery combined with more years of activity predict greater involvement in development and planning suggests a possible relationship with psychological and interpersonal empowerment. Other studies (Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988; Speer et al., 2013) have associated personal feelings of control and a sense of competence in understanding community functioning with participation in communal matters.

Conversely, the regression analysis shows that mastery does not predict activism, which is not a result that we anticipated. The reasons for this are unclear and the finding contrasts with previous literature (e.g. Rubin & Rubin, 2008). Nevertheless, by way of explanation, it is not too fanciful to suggest that the possession of a sense of control over one's circumstances is not necessarily a 'relevant' characteristic when it comes to activist engagement against powerful leaders and institutions. It may be, for instance, that those displaying high levels of mastery might recognize the

intrinsic difficulties of directly engaging with 'power' – not least because their sense of control and competence could be put at risk – and seek alternative ways of influencing community decision making. As suggested above, those possessing a sense of mastery are arguably more likely to participate in negotiated decision making over which they can exercise influence and control (in ways that those who lack mastery cannot).

Turning to the community variables, the regression results indicate that there is no significant association between either type of community engagement and years of activity, which appears to contradict our assumption that increasing years of activity would compound community participation over time. This assumption was based on the literature in this field that describes the benefits of community participation for interpersonal empowerment and acquisition of the skills required to participate effectively in community activities, which increases the chances of further engagement (see Speer et al., 2013). As mentioned, however, our findings show that higher numbers of years of activity combined with high levels of mastery predict greater participation in community development and planning – indicating that those who have come to feel increasingly empowered and 'in control', as time goes on, are likely to be involved more systematically and consistently in community activities.

Why feelings of community commitment and belonging might increase involvement in both community development and planning, and activism and advocacy is reasonably clear. High levels of commitment to the community can be expected to lead to greater involvement in development and planning issues (Chaskin et al., 2001; Soresi et al., 2011), while commitment can equally well find expression in the adoption of activist behaviors. For understandable reasons, feelings of belonging also lead to participation in activities associated with both development and planning, and activism/advocacy (Batson et al., 2002; Ohmer, 2010; Theodori, 2018). Importantly, these two variables account for the preponderance of the variance among the personal and community factors, particularly with respect to community development, although it is important to understand the predictive impact of knowledge of local services and trust in leaders, as the following discussion illustrates.

On the face of it, knowledge of services is negatively associated with both types of community engagement. This may seem surprising, because in order to participate in the community effectively one must have at least some degree of knowledge of the community and its existing

resources. However, it can plausibly be suggested either that high the levels of knowledge about services may result in greater satisfaction with existing levels of provision, or that high levels of such knowledge can lead to a better understanding of the constraints (fiscal and otherwise) that face local services and consequently a more realistic assessment of their benefits and limitations. Either way the desire to be involved in community planning and development may be limited.

With respect to the potential relationship between knowledge of local services and community activism/advocacy, although the regression analysis pointed to a negative association, the interaction between knowledge of services and community belonging makes clear that this relationship holds only for those with low or moderate levels of community belonging. In these instances, activism and advocacy increased. This result is not altogether surprising because people who perceive themselves as separate from the community, or who are less familiar with, or do not understand, local community culture, may resort more easily to overt forms of protest as a means of giving voice to their concerns. Meanwhile, there appears to be no significant relationship between knowledge of local services and activism in the case of those who display high levels of community belonging.

Finally, the results for trust in local leaders require closer inspection. As the literature indicates, it is not necessarily surprising that higher levels of trust are positively associated with community development and planning (Bouckaert & Van de Walle, 2003; Mizrahi et al., 2009; Vigoda-Gadot & Mizrahi, 2014), and negatively associated with protest and activism (Shelton & Garkovich, 2013; Vigoda-Gadot & Mizrahi, 2014), as confirmed by the SEM analysis. Even so, a significant correlation was found between community commitment and activism/advocacy in the case of those displaying *high levels of trust* in local leaders. Although this finding may appear counterintuitive, there is a plausible explanation. Where individuals are particularly committed to their communities, high levels of trust may create equally high expectations. In these instances there is no necessary contradiction between trusting leaders and simultaneously using forms of advocacy to bring significant issues and demands to their attention.

Limitations of the study and recommendations for further research

The current study sought to examine a range of variables that contribute to the explanation of each of the types of community engagement under scrutiny here. However, it is clearly the case that other

significant factors influence citizens' decisions about whether to participate in their communities — most obviously the particular nature of the social issues and problems of concern, and the approach taken by community leaders and others in previous efforts to resolve them. In short, and in addition to the individual/psychological variables devised for this study, other variables designed to measure the impact of local social and political culture on levels of community engagement would provide a more detailed picture of engagement 'in the round'. The attitudes of local authorities and leaders to specific issues such as the extent of poverty and the quality of local services would be especially relevant in this regard. The lack of an examination of these additional factors is arguably a weakness of the current study. On the other hand, the main purpose of this research was to examine factors that can be regarded as relatively 'constant' and, further, which can also be perceived as embodying, or encapsulating, the core underpinning dynamics that are likely to influence the attitudes of individual citizens to their communities. In pursuing this course of action, the main objective has been to equip community workers and other professionals with a more developed understanding of the major determinants of the strategies and choices that individual citizens adopt in the course of their engagements in the local public sphere.

Nevertheless, further research should focus on political and cultural factors, maybe through longitudinal studies that could track the outcomes and efficacy of decisions to engage in each of the types of community involvement considered in this article. Alternatively, qualitative research could be used to complement the statistical approach employed here. For example, in-depth interviews with those involved in community planning and development, and/or activism and advocacy, could explore the reasoning behind individuals' decisions to engage. This approach would afford a greater appreciation not only of the significance, or otherwise, of the independent variables used in this study, but also of the potential impact of political culture on what may be called the 'social politics' of local communities.

Conclusions and implications

The introduction to this study proposed that local politicians and community professionals could benefit from a more accurate appreciation of the factors that influence the behavior of different groups of citizens in the local community and, further, how these factors affect different types of community

engagement. We also suggested that social workers and community workers with responsibilities for community development could profit from these insights, perhaps particularly a clearer understanding of the motivations behind decisions to engage in development and planning and/or activism and advocacy. In this regard, it should be noted that the predictive capacity of the personal variables in relation to the two types of community engagement is low, whereas stronger correlations were recorded with respect to the community variables (specifically community commitment and community belonging). This finding is important because community workers and local leaders are more likely to be able to influence the nature and distribution of community resources than they are individuals' personal lives and experiences, for which they would have neither the legitimacy nor the time. Returning, for a moment, to our modification of Jeffries' squared model of community practice, community work intervention needs to focus on quadrants B and D while nevertheless being aware of the possible processes through which personal and individual motivations (quadrants A and C) can transform into collectively focused activities. Thereafter much will depend on the particular circumstances in which citizens find themselves and community workers will need to consider a range of intervention techniques designed to enhance and/or maximize different modes of engagement.

With these matters in mind, it is worth reiterating the benefits of dividing community engagement into the two distinct categories of planning/development and activism/advocacy. This clearer conceptualization of engagement makes it possible to appreciate its nuanced nature, thereby allowing community leaders and professionals to reflect on behaviors, and adjust policies and modes of intervention, in ways that better accommodate the complexities of citizen participation.

With specific reference to community workers, who are highly likely to be engaged in the production of strategies for developing community commitment and belonging, it is important to be aware, for example, that citizens with more years of community activity record higher levels of mastery and are associated with greater involvement in community planning and development. This insight can be used to the benefit of marginalized or excluded individuals and groups in situations where community workers are able to devote resources to increasing the collective confidence of these groups and hence their sense of control in dealings with their local communities. A strategy of collective confidence-raising would aim to offset the effects of fewer years of activity on these

marginalized groups, but, crucially too, community workers' awareness of the potential significance of engaging in community development and planning activities leads to the further aim of maximizing participation in this dimension of community life.

Taking another example, although our findings indicate that knowledge of local services has a negative effect on both types of engagement, closer examination, as we have noted, showed that for those displaying low or moderate levels of community belonging there is a significant association between lower levels of knowledge about services and greater levels of engagement in activism/advocacy. The implication, once again, is that the less well integrated individuals and groups are into their communities, the more they are likely to be open to activist forms of engagement.

Awareness of these dynamics could lead community workers to adopt strategies designed to enhance participation in local social politics by stimulating both types of engagement. Initially, for instance, it may be important to encourage further 'direct action' to gain immediate improvements in information and knowledge about services (and indeed other aspects of community life). Over time, however, as higher levels of integration are achieved, subsequent strategies could encourage greater participation in activities associated with development and planning.

Finally, it is important to note that for the complex reality of citizen engagement to matter 'on the ground', citizens *themselves* need to recognize the different kinds of activities that distinguish the two types of engagement because enhanced awareness will enable them to take more strategic approaches to participation in community politics. Indeed, a more developed understanding of community engagement on the part of local citizens, in addition to community leaders and professionals, is likely to contribute to the overall quality of local social politics.

To return to the comments about civic and democratic life made in the introduction, a growing consciousness of the importance of different types of community participation would go some way towards assuaging Putnam's concerns about the atrophying of local and communal ties. Put more positively, greater sensitivity to, and engagement with, the particularities of citizens' involvement in their communities would constitute a small step towards realizing Alexander's (2006, p. 551) reconceptualization of civil society as a 'community of individuals' but one that is nevertheless 'centered on solidarity of a distinctly civil kind'.

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Predicting types of community engagement

Table 1: Intercorrelations among the research variables

Measures	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1. Age																	
2. Gender	20***																
	.19***	01															
3. Education years																	
4. Income	.35***	25***	.22***														
5. Marital Status	.38***	21***	.24***	.28***													
6. Children	.62***	16***	.27***	.36***	.60***	_											
7. Religiosity	05	02	01	09*	.03	.03											
8. Living place type	04	.06	.01	.02	.04	01	.01										
9. Self-esteem	.23***	.04	.17***	.17***	.11*	.16***	08*	.07									
10. Mastery	.10*	.09*	.14**	.15**	.07	.06	17***	.08*	.68***								
11. Years of activity	.49***	14**	.12**	.20***	.13**	.25***	.01	06	.20***	.09*							
12. Knowledge of services	16***	.03	03	12**	06	15**	04	12**	.08*	.06	12**						
13. Trust in leaders	03	.12*	.06	.08*	10*	02	.12**	.18***	.14**	.17***	.01	01					
14. Community commitment	.15**	.11*	.07	.00	.13**	.18***	01	.08**	.18***	.19***	.13**	.07	.13**				
15. Community belonging	.21***	.02	.05	.20***	.12*	.23***	.15**	.22***	.26***	.20***	.17***	04	.44***	.22***			
16. Community development and planning	.02	04	.07	.13**	01	.08*	.09*	.07	.04	.09*	.09*	12**	.12**	.16**	.28***		
17. Activism and advocacy	.16***	10*	01	.02	.12**	.18***	03	04	.00	05	.09*	10*	08*	.11*	.11*	.02	
M	42.13		14.70						3.97	.39	10.35	7.10	3.25	7.06	3.17	1.76	2.39
SD	15.34		2.62						.67	.73	11.23	1.35	1.01	1.78	.91	1.28	1.31

Note. Missing values of M and SD are in cases of categorical variables. Distributions of these variables are presented in the text. \*p<.05. \*\*p<.01. \*\*\*p<.001.

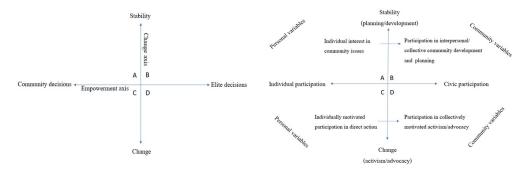
Table 2. Predicting types of community engagement: Summary of hierarchical regression analyses

<del>-5</del> 6		Community development	Community activism	Comparison between the $\beta$
7		and planning	and advocacy	values using SEM
81c	ock 1: Socio-demographic variables	$\Delta R^2 = .05**$	$\Delta R^2 = .05***$	
10	Age	08	.08	
11 12	Gender	03	07	
13	Education years	.04	06	
14 15	Income	.14**	08	$\chi^2=5$ , $df=1$ , $p=.025$
16 17	Marital status	12*	.02	$\chi^2=4$ , $df=1$ , $p=.05$
18	Children	.13*	.16*	
19 20	Religiosity	.09*	04	$\chi^2=3.7$ , df=1, $p>.05$
21	Living place type	.06	03	
222 233	ock 2: Personal variables	$\Delta R^2 = .05**$	$R^2 = .06**$	
24	Self-esteem	06	.03	
25 26	Mastery	.13*	07	$\chi^2=5$ , $df=1$ , $p=.025$
	ock 3: Community variables	$\Delta R^2 = .14***$	$\Delta R^2 = .09***$	
28 29	Years of activity	.06	01	
30	Knowledge of local services	12**	09*	
31 32	Trust in local leaders	.08*	11*	$\chi^2=10.5$ , $df=1$ , $p=.01$
33	Community commitment	.14**	.10*	
34 35	Community belonging	.26***	.15**	
36 Blo 37	ock 4: Interactions between the research variables	$\Delta R^2 = .15***$	$\Delta R^2 = .14***$	
38	Years of activity X Mastery	.14*		
39 40	Living place type X Mastery		48***	
41 42	Living place type X Community commitment		.47***	
43	Community belonging X Knowledge of local services		.08*	
44 45 <del>-46</del>	Trust in local leaders X Community commitment		.09*	

Note. The entries are values of cumulative  $R^2$  for each block with all variables entered into the hierarchical regression equation and  $\beta$ s for each predictor obtained when the variable was first entered into the model.

Figure 1a: Jeffries' Four-Square Model of Community Practice

Figure 1b: A modification to Jeffries' Four-Square Model of Community Practice



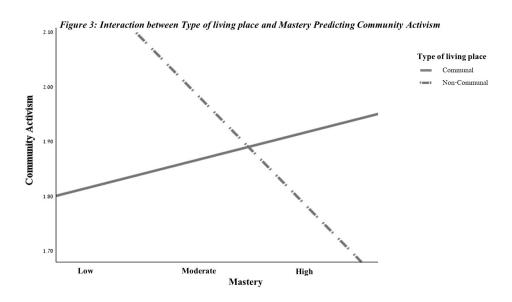
Vears of activity

Low Moderate High

Low Moderate High

Mastery

Figure 2: Years of Activity and Mastery Predicting Community Development and Planning



338x190mm (96 x 96 DPI)

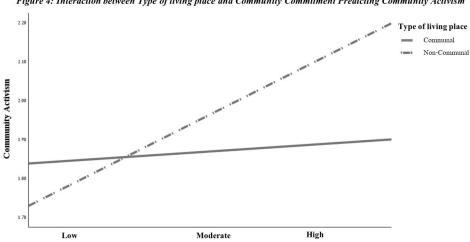


Figure 4: Interaction between Type of living place and Community Commitment Predicting Community Activism

**Community Commitment** 

Figure 5: Interaction between Community Belonging and Knowledge of local services Predicting Community Activism

