UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

THE JUBILEE CENTRE FOR CHARACTER & VIRTUES

A HABIT OF SERVICE:
THE FACTORS THAT SUSTAIN SERVICE IN YOUNG PEOPLE
RESEARCH REPORT

JAMES ARTHUR
TOM HARRISON
EMMA TAYLOR-COLLINS
FRANCISCO MOLLER

About the Jubilee Centre

The Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues is a unique and leading centre for the examination of how character and virtues impact on individuals and society. The Centre was founded in 2012 by Professor James Arthur. Based at the University of Birmingham, it has a dedicated team of 30 academics from a range of disciplines, including: philosophy, psychology, education, theology and sociology.

With its focus on excellence, the Centre has a robust, rigorous research and evidence-based approach that is objective and non-political. It offers world-class research on the importance of developing good character and virtues and the benefits they bring to individuals and society. In undertaking its own innovative research, the Centre also seeks to partner with leading academics from other universities around the world and to develop strong strategic partnerships.

A key conviction underlying the existence of the Centre is that the virtues that make up good character can be learnt and taught. We believe these have been largely neglected in schools and in the professions. It is also a key conviction that the more people exhibit good character and virtues, the healthier our society. As such, the Centre undertakes development projects seeking to promote the practical applications of its research evidence.

[
'ONLY A LIFE LIVED IN THE SERVICE OF OTHERS IS WORTH LIVING.'

Albert Einstein
]

A Habit of Service:

THE FACTORS THAT SUSTAIN SERVICE IN YOUNG PEOPLE

Research Report

CONTENTS

Foreword
Dame Julia Cleverdon and Amanda Jordan

When we first launched the #iwill campaign back in 2013 with HRH The Prince of Wales, we had in mind a vision for the kind of society we wanted to see by 2020. This vision is of a society where the vast potential that young people have to offer is maximised and celebrated, where organisations work together to make young people's contribution both possible and valued. A society where young people can make social action – defined as practical action in the service of others to create positive change – a habit for life. Now, four years into the campaign, we're delighted to see the energy and commitment that has gone into making this vision a reality.

As one of our founding partners, the Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues is a pioneering example of where this energy and commitment can lead.

They recognised early on that social action not only improves communities, but that at the same time it improves the lives of the young people who undertake it, developing their character and skills in the process – what we call the 'double benefit' of youth social action. The Jubilee Centre has dedicated significant resource to helping us to build the evidence base behind youth social action. This report, the culmination of almost three years' work, was designed to help the #iwill campaign understand more about what a habit of service is for young people in the UK.

Now, for the first time, we have clear and robust evidence showing that young people who participate regularly in social action, and plan to continue participating in future – those with a habit of social action – are not only more likely to have support from those around them and a heightened sense of self-efficacy, but are also more likely to have had a higher quality experience of social action.

Not only that, but they are also more likely to have started their social action journey young, and to display a stronger sense of moral and civic character identity. This research will no doubt help the more than 700 cross-sector organisations leading the #iwill campaign, and those interested in creating a flourishing society more widely, to further understand how they can empower young people to make social action a habit for life. As we look ahead to the final three years of the #iwill campaign and start to shape the campaign's legacy beyond 2020, we know these findings will make a significant contribution to making meaningful social action a part of life for 10- to 20-year-olds across the UK.

Dame Julia Cleverdon DCVO, CBE
Co-Founder and Trustee, Step Up To Serve

Amanda Jordan OBE
Co-Founder, Step Up To Serve and Chair,
#iwill Fund Leadership Board

Executive Summary

When young people engage in meaningful acts of service, there is a 'double benefit': a contribution to the common good of society and the building of one's own character. Service to others is, therefore, an important virtue to cultivate in young people. This report presents evidence, gathered through a questionnaire with 4,518 16–20-year-olds in the UK, and supported by life history interviews, about which factors are associated with young people who have made a habit of service. A young person with a habit of service is defined as someone who has taken part in service in the past 12 months and confirms they will definitely or very likely continue participating in the next 12 months. This research is the largest known study of its kind.

Key findings

Young people with a habit of service were found to be more likely than those without a habit of service to:

- have started participating in service at a younger age: those who first get involved in service under the age of 10 were found to be more than two[1] times more likely to have formed a habit of service than if they started aged 16–18 years;
- be involved in a wider range of service activities and participate in them more frequently;
- identify themselves more closely with exemplars of moral and civic virtues;

- have parents and friends who are also involved in service, and in particular, in the same kinds of activities as them, with friends being a more important influence than parents;
- believe they have the time, skills, opportunity and confidence to participate in service;
- have service embedded in their school/college/university environment;
- be able to reflect on their experience of service; and,
- recognise the double benefit of service – that it brings benefits for themselves and others.

These findings will help those in the voluntary sector plan and deliver youth social action programmes that support young people to cultivate a habit of service. The findings also further academic understanding in the fields of character and citizenship education about the concept of service and how involvement in service may be measured, as well as enhancing understanding of a habit of service. This report contributes to the Jubilee Centre's wider investigation into how schools, youth social action providers, and other organisations build character virtues in order to transform lives and contribute to a flourishing society. It is with this purpose in mind that the following recommendations are made as a result of this study.

This report recommends that:

- Schools and other institutions should consider how they can play a role in supporting young people to continue participating in service through key transition points, facilitating a journey of service throughout a person's life;
- The opportunity to take part in and build a habit of service is extended to adults as well as young people, given that the involvement of parents in service is related to their children's involvement. This will enable a culture of service to become the norm with adults as well as young people. As such, initiatives that aim to increase participation in adult volunteering are likely to have a positive, knock-on effect on young people's participation;
- A Randomised Controlled Trial is conducted in order to test whether increasing young people's perceived behavioural control over service improves their likelihood of taking part in the future. As part of this an intervention which aims to increase this sense of possibility could be designed and tested.

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[1]   2.6 times holding all the variables of the Research Question 1 model constant.

'NO ONE HAS EVER BECOME
 POOR BY GIVING.'

Anne Frank

1 Purpose of the Report

Undertaking service – participating in meaningful action for the benefit of others – is beneficial for individuals as well as for society (Arthur, Harrison and Taylor, 2015; Kirkman *et al*., 2016). This 'double benefit' (Jubilee Centre, 2014) means that the more people who undertake service, the more likely it is that individuals and their communities will flourish. In this respect, service can be considered an important character virtue to cultivate in young people. This report presents findings from research undertaken in the UK into how 16–20-year-olds habituate the civic virtue of 'service'.

Youth social action – including activities such as volunteering, campaigning, and fundraising – is a term increasingly being used by policymakers and practitioners to describe acts of service carried out by young people (Cleverdon and Jordan, 2012). The #iwill campaign aims to make participation in social action the norm for all 10–20-year-olds in the UK (#iwill, 2016a). Youth social action providers deem their work to be an important contributor to young people developing a sense of positive purpose and making service a 'habit for life' (Jubilee Centre, 2014).

This research sought to further understanding of what a habit of service in young people is; it also sought to discover which of the six quality principles of youth social action (Step Up To Serve, 2014) correlate with young people who have made a habit of service. The purpose of the research was to generate new evidence of interest to those working in the voluntary sector, especially those aiming to develop lifelong habits of service in young people. It is hoped that the findings will be of interest to policymakers regarding what they do to help organisations offer quality social action opportunities. Furthermore, this study aimed to make an original contribution to academic research on youth service, character development, and habit formation.

'DO YOUR LITTLE BIT OF GOOD WHERE YOU ARE; IT'S THOSE LITTLE BITS OF GOOD PUT TOGETHER THAT OVERWHELM THE WORLD.'

Desmond Tutu

2 Background

There is a lack of knowledge and understanding in the voluntary sector and amongst academics about how young people cultivate the virtue of service. Understanding how one can develop a habit of service, beyond repeating the behaviours and actions associated with helping others, is therefore vital if more young people are to be encouraged and supported to serve others.

2.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT AND CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATIONS

The Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues has worked in partnership with Step Up To Serve and the #iwill campaign since its inception in 2012 to research the impact of youth social action on young people's character development. In the *Building Character Through Youth Social Action* study, it was discovered that youth social action providers consider the character development of young people undertaking social action to be a fundamental, if not the most important, part of their work (Arthur, Harrison and Taylor, 2015). An extension of this research is contained in this report and focusses on what a habit of service looks like among young people. This study contributes to the Centre's wider work in exploring how the ideals of professional service can be enhanced and strengthened and its examination of the virtue of service in society.

Since former Prime Minister David Cameron launched an independent review into youth social action in the UK in 2012 (Cleverdon and Jordan, 2012), support for youth social action has increased significantly. Following this review, the cross-sector, cross-party #iwill campaign was established, created with the intention of supporting young people aged 10–20 in turning their involvement in youth social action into a habit for life. Political support for the campaign has been complemented by substantial government funding in youth social action in the form of the £11 million Youth Social Action Fund and Youth Social Action Journey Fund (Cabinet Office and Nick Hurd MP, 2014), and in the more recent #iwill Fund (announced by Prime Minister Theresa May), which will invest at least £40 million in youth social action programmes from 2016–2020 (Step Up To Serve, 2016). The #iwill Fund aims to help make social action a 'habit for life' (Ricketts, 12 September 2016), which is reinforced in the #iwill campaign's six quality principles of

youth social action (Generation Change, 2014). This study addresses the #iwill campaign's aim to make social action a habit for life for those who participate in it.

2.1.1 What is Service and How Does it Relate to Youth Social Action?

The term 'service' has a diverse etymology, though it is generally considered to be about helping others (Arthur, Harrison and Taylor, 2015; Pye and Michelmore, 2017). The Jubilee Centre considers service to be a civic virtue; virtues are 'positive personal strengths' which can be grouped into four categories: moral, civic, performance and intellectual (Jubilee Centre, 2017: 2). Civic virtues are 'those necessary for engaged and responsible citizenship' (Arthur, Harrison and Taylor, 2015: 6). Previous Jubilee Centre research has explored youth social action providers' conceptualisation of character and virtues in relation to service (Arthur, Harrison and Taylor, 2015). In this study, service was conceptualised as being closely linked to youth social action and, as such, is defined here in broad terms, following the #iwill campaign definition: youth service is 'young people taking practical action in the service of others in order to create positive social change that is of benefit to the wider community as well as to the young person themselves' (The Campaign for Youth Social Action, 2013: 6). In addition, recognising the importance of character and virtues to social action, this study connects service to other virtues through the new Virtue Identity Measure (see Section 3.2.1 for further explanation of this).

2.1.1.1 Activities that Constitute Youth Service

Service is generally considered to incorporate a range of activities, formal and informal (Atkins and Hart, 2003; Chapman and Kleiner, 1999; Hart and Fegley, 1995; Pancer and Pratt, 1999; Rosen and Sims, 2011). Formal activities include volunteering, which is frequently studied, while fewer studies explore the less formal modes of activity, such as everyday helping behaviour. An annual questionnaire on youth social action participation in the UK provides many examples of social action activities (Cabinet Office and Ipsos MORI, 2016). The research presented here explored the full range of activities identified in that questionnaire, and included these within this conceptualisation of 'youth service' (see Appendix 1: Question on Youth Social Action Activities).

In doing so, this study hopes to identify all the ways in which young people help others and to represent the diversity of young people's participation.

2.1.1.2 Motivations to Serve

Young people's motivations for getting involved and staying involved in service are widely debated in the literature. Two main types of motives emerge from sociological and citizenship literature (often related to volunteering): altruistic, which is considered the dominant paradigm (Rochester, Howlett and Ellis Paine, 2010), and self-oriented. Many scholars define service by the dominance of other-oriented motives, which often includes reference to altruism and 'prosocial behaviours' – 'behaviours intended to benefit others' (Carlo and Randall, 2002: 31). A prosocial perspective on service defines it by the intention to help others; this is adopted in several studies (Clary and Miller, 1986; Hardy and Walker, 2013; Marta and Pozzi, 2008; Rosen and Sims, 2011).

Evidence also suggests the dominance of other-oriented over self-oriented motivations for service, and that altruistic or socially responsible individuals are more likely to be engaged in service than those driven by less altruistic motivations (Amato, 1990; Beyerlein and Vaisey, 2013; Malin, Tirri and Liauw, 2015). Some argue that young people involved in service *should* be motivated by altruism (Pancer and Pratt, 1999; Planty, Bozick and Regnier, 2006; Wuthnow, 1995), implying that individuals who aim solely (Lähteenmaa's 'pure altruism' (1999)) to help others are engaged in true service, unlike those who are motivated by self-oriented reasons.

For others, service can also be informed by self-oriented motivations: self-oriented and other-oriented motivations are not mutually exclusive, according to this school of thought; as Law, Shek and Ma (2013: 458) note, service 'brings benefits to both the third party and the volunteers'. The Jubilee Centre and #iwill campaign advocate the concept of the 'double benefit' of youth social action. The acceptability of self-oriented motivations is also reinforced by the emphasis on character development in young people often promoted by providers and the #iwill campaign (Jubilee Centre, 2014), and the emphasis on 'employability skills' (Garrett *et al.*, 2015). However, there should be recognition that the character development of individuals may also bring longer-term benefits to society (Jubilee Centre, 2014).

Framing youth service in terms of either other-oriented or self-oriented motivations 'tends to assume an individualistic set of explanations and offers a weak concept that fails to fully capture the social, economic and cultural complexity' of the behaviour (Hardill and Baines, 2011: 34). In other words, motivations are complex, varied and often inextricably linked to the circumstances of the individual. Nonetheless, since service is often considered in prosocial terms, this study aimed to test the importance of motivations by exploring whether other-oriented or self-oriented motivations are associated with a habit of service.

2.1.1.3 Quality of Service

The #iwill campaign identifies six quality principles of youth social action (Figure 1). These principles, commonly accepted among youth social action providers, were developed through a consultation (led by the Institute for Voluntary Research and the Young Foundation) with organisations from a range of sectors (Generation Change, 2014: 3). This study examined young people's experiences of these six principles in order to understand how they relate to a habit of service.

2.1.2 What is a Habit?

The concept of habituation has been explored in both philosophical and psychological literature, from the classical era to the present day. This report will first outline the philosophical followed by the psychological perspectives on habit, before explicating the broad interpretation of what 'habit' means in terms of youth service.

2.1.2.1 Philosophical Perspective

In *Nichomachean Ethics* Aristotle links character and habit, asserting that 'moral or ethical virtue is the product of habit (*ethos*), and has indeed derived its name, with a slight variation of form, from that word' (Aristotle, 350 BC). Miller shows, through his reading of *Nichomachean Ethics*, that 'doing or practicing just and other virtuous actions – that is, acting habitually, or becoming habituated to doing just acts – results in becoming just, or [the] other virtue being practiced', and that 'habit (*ethos*) implies disposition (*hexis*)… when one portrays character (*ethos*) he does it best by showing its origin in habit and disposition' (Miller, 1974: 309-310).

Defining habit as 'a continuing action with a history' (Miller, 1974: 309-310), it follows, therefore, that a habit of any virtue would be marked by past and current behaviour and character – and that the virtues become part of an individual's identity by being originally internalised as habits. It must be emphasised, however, that in Aristotelian terms, habits are not mere behavioural dispositions but also involve gradually evolving emotional and reflective components, as explained below.

Philosophers, notably Ravaisson, have since based their arguments on Aristotle's original conception of habit. Ravaisson saw habit as a virtue and a way of being; he understood habit to be more than simply the repetition of an action – if a body is thrown 100 times in the same direction, he argued, this does not become habitual – the body still remains as it was before despite the movement that has been 'imparted' to it (Ravaisson, 1838: 25). Thus, habit is also about the inclination to act. Ravaisson also argued the existence of a 'double law' to habit: we become accustomed to a way of behaving, and thus less sensitive to it, but that way of behaving is itself strengthened because it has been repeated over time – it becomes a need, a 'second nature' (Ravaisson, 1838: 37, 59).

Figure 1: #iwill Campaign's Six Quality Principles

Reflective
Recognising contributions as well as valuing critical reflection and learning

Challenging
Stretching and ambitious as well as enjoyable and enabling

Youth-led
Led, owned and shaped by young people's needs, ideas and decision making

What does great youth social action look like?
The #iwill campaign has identified a set of six principles which define great youth social action

Socially Impactful
Have a clear intended benefit to a community, cause or social problem

Progressive
Sustained, and providing links to other activities and opportunities

Embedded
Accessible to all, and well integrated to existing pathways to become a habit for life

A neo-Aristotelian understanding of habit can be related to the concept of practical wisdom. While a child might originally acquire a habit just by imitating the behaviour of a caregiver, the habit as such fails to have moral value unless it is gradually refined and reflected upon by the child's growing practical wisdom or *phronesis*. A person with practical wisdom would habitually *and* reflectively make the right decision at the right time when faced with a moral dilemma. Habits are therefore developed over time, through experience, critical reflection, and under the guidance of positive role models, including teachers and parents (Jubilee Centre, 2017). In an Aristotelian sense, habituation thus requires the guidance of role models or moral exemplars, not only for mere imitation but also for critical emulation (Kerr, 2011; Kristjánsson, 2006b; Steutel and Spiecker, 2004).

Neo-Aristotelian theories see habits as malleable, making the education of habits possible (Kraftl, 2015). They also suggest that habit can be maintained through repetition, present and future behaviour, is related to character, and that an individual must be inclined towards a particular behaviour with a particular mind-set to be said to possess a habit in the full sense (Kristjánsson, 2015).

2.1.2.2 Psychological Perspective

Research into habits is nowadays generally the domain of behavioural psychologists. There are two important theories for this study relating to habituation in psychology. First, the theory of reasoned action (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980) posits that attitudes (based on the desirability of a particular behaviour and its perceived consequences) and subjective norms (peer and wider social pressure, the expectations of important others, and the motivation to comply with their expectations) create behavioural intentions, which in turn influence behaviour. Second, the theory of planned behaviour (Ajzen, 1991) builds on the theory of reasoned behaviour by incorporating perceived behavioural control: this recognises that since behaviour often depends on opportunity and resources, if it is not perceived to be within a person's control then they are less likely to succeed. Ajzen notes that this is only applicable in stable situations in which the person already has experience. He outlines three independent determinants of intention: 1) attitude towards the behaviour (i.e. favourable or unfavourable); 2) subjective norms; and, 3) degree of perceived behavioural control. He argues that the stronger these are, the more likely a person will perform the behaviour, though the influence of each varies across situations (Ajzen, 1991: 188).

In the psychological literature two main phases to habitual behaviour are identified: 'habit initiation' and 'habit performance' (Naab and Schnauber, 2014: 3). This study was interested in habit performance given its focus on how young people who have already made a habit of service sustain that habit.

2.2 ELEMENTS OF HABIT THAT FRAME THIS STUDY

Table 1 presents five elements of habit, expanding on the literature discussed above, and demonstrates how these relate to youth service in this study. Each element refers to a different section of the online questionnaire used in this study (see Section 3).

Table 1: Key Elements of Habit

Element of Habit	Key Literature	Relevance to Research Questions
Recent/current and intended future behaviour	■ Repeated reflective behaviour is an element of habit in Aristotelian philosophy (Kerr, 2011; Steutel and Spiecker, 2004). ■ A behaviour that has been performed frequently in the past is more likely to be performed again in the future (Astin, Sax and Avalos, 1998; Brinberg and Durand, 1983; Gollwitzer, 1999; Lally *et al.*, 2010; Marta *et al.*, 2014; Ouellette and Wood, 1998). ■ 'Habit' is often used interchangeably with frequency of behaviour in academic literature (Grube and Piliavin, 2000; Landis, Triandis and Adamopoulos, 1978; Rosen and Sims, 2011) and in common parlance (Aarts, Verplanken and van Knippenberg, 1998; Mittal, 1988: 996-997). ■ A behaviour must be intentional in order to be habitual (Steutel and Spiecker, 2004). ■ Within the theories of reasoned action and planned behaviour, intention is important in predicting future behaviour (Aarts, Paulussen and Schaalma, 1997; Aarts, Verplanken and van Knippenberg, 1998; Brinberg and Durand, 1983; Chacón, Vecina and Dávila, 2007; Gillison, Standage and Verplanken, 2014). ■ In practitioner-focussed studies and evaluations, young people are often asked about their intentions to continue participating in social action (Booth *et al.*, 2014; Breeze and Thornton, 2006; Ipsos MORI, 2014; Kirkman, Sanders and Emanuel, 2015; National Youth Agency, 2013). Whilst intentions are important, evidence suggests that they prove unsuitable as a single measure of habit when actual behaviour is tested (Marta *et al.*, 2014; Omoto and Snyder, 1995)	This determines whether the 16–20-year-old has a habit of service. In this study a young person was considered to have a habit of service if they had recently participated or were participating at that time, and said they were very likely to or definitely would participate again in the future.
Character – identifies with moral and civic character virtues	Virtues are the building blocks of character (Jubilee Centre, 2017). Virtue identity, or understanding oneself as strongly committed to civic and moral virtues, influences whether or not a behaviour is instantiated as: ■ moral or ethical virtue is the product of habit (Aristotle, 1103a18); ■ service is a civic virtue, as well as a display of the moral and related virtues of compassion and caring (Jubilee Centre, 2017); ■ habits are developed when good character is 'sought' through autonomous virtue reasoning (Jubilee Centre, 2017); and, ■ character is understood as one half of the double benefit (Jubilee Centre, 2014). Character also relates to helping others in terms of: ■ social responsibility (Amato, 1990; Berkowitz and Daniels, 1968; Giles and Eyler, 1994; Omoto and Snyder, 1995; Reed *et al.*, 2005); ■ connected, relevant virtues (Metz and Youniss, 2003; Pancer and Pratt, 1999; Penner, 2002; Wuthnow, 1995); ■ the 'altruistic personality' and self-concepts (Hart and Fegley, 1995); and, ■ self-identity (Terry, Hogg and White, 1999) and volunteer role identity (Grube and Piliavin, 2000; Marta and Pozzi, 2008).	Are 16–20-year-olds with a habit of service more likely than those without a habit to identify with moral and/or civic virtues than other types of virtue?

Continued overleaf

Table 1: Key Elements of Habit (continued)

Element of Habit	Key Literature	Relevance to Research Questions
In keeping with subjective norms	Subjective norms are 'social pressures' by important others to perform an action (or not) (Ajzen and Driver, 1991). Important others who most influence young people are parents, teachers and friends (Andolina *et al.*, 2003). Subjective norms influence whether or not a behaviour is habitual through important others: ■ role modelling the behaviour (Andolina *et al.*, 2003; Clary and Miller, 1986; Flanagan, Syvertsen and Stout, 2007; Grönlund, 2011; Kerr, 2011; Law, Shek and Ma, 2013; Marta *et al.*, 2014; Steutel and Spiecker, 2004); ■ expecting it (Callero, Howard and Piliavin, 1987; Hart and Fegley, 1995); ■ encouraging and valuing it (Hart and Fegley, 1995; Pancer and Pratt, 1999); and, ■ providing support for it to occur (Marta and Pozzi, 2008).	Are 16–20-year-olds with a habit of service more likely than those without a habit to have parents/guardians and friends who are also involved in service? Is there a link between the type of service in which parents/guardians and friends are involved and the type of service in which 16–20-year-olds with a habit of service are involved? Are 16–20-year-olds with a habit of service more likely than those without a habit to be encouraged and supported by parents/guardians and friends? Is the influence of parents/guardians or friends more important for those with a habit of service than those without?
Perceived behavioural control	The young person's perceived behavioural control over participating in service will influence whether or not a behaviour is habitual because: ■ for a behaviour to become habitual, that behaviour must be possible (Ajzen and Driver, 1991; Kristjánsson, 2006a); ■ the opportunity for young people to participate is determined both by social structures (Callero, Howard and Piliavin, 1987: 247-248) and personal circumstances (Pye and Michelmore, 2017); and, ■ individuals must believe that they are able to perform the behaviour – they must have 'perceived behavioural control' (Ajzen, 1991), sometimes used as a proxy for ability to perform a behaviour (Aarts, Paulussen and Schaalma, 1997; Flanagan, Syvertsen and Stout, 2007). Four main areas have been identified as enabling service to be possible for young people to undertake: ■ Time: the most common reason given for not participating in youth social action by 10–20-year-olds (Pye and Michelmore, 2017). ■ Confidence: perceived lack of confidence is a barrier to participation in social action (Bown, Harflett and Gitsham, 2014). ■ Skills: perceived lack of skills or experience needed to volunteer was found to be a bigger driver for 16–20-year-olds than older age groups for not volunteering (Low *et al.*, 2007: 69). ■ Opportunity: in Gaskin's survey with 15–19-year-olds, 'nearly half felt that it wasn't easy for young people to find out about volunteering opportunities' (Gaskin, 1998: 36).	Are 16–20-year-olds with a habit of service more likely than those without a habit to feel they have the confidence, time, skills and opportunity to participate?

Table 1: Key Elements of Habit (continued)

Element of Habit	Key Literature	Relevance to Research Questions
Goal-directed	Goal-directed behaviour is behaviour that is performed for a particular reason (Aarts, Verplanken and van Knippenberg, 1998). Being goal-directed influences whether or not a behaviour is habitual because: ■ wanting to be of service is considered to have some intrinsic motivation and be 'sought' (Jubilee Centre, 2017), and involve autonomous reasoning by the young person; and, ■ a behaviour must be goal-directed in order to become habitual (Gollwitzer, 1999; Ouellette and Wood, 1998).	What are the motivations of 16–20-year-olds with a habit of service?

Drawing on the literature detailed in Table 1, this study was founded on the following conceptual clarifications:

i)   Service is a civic character virtue and important for individual and societal flourishing.

ii) Youth service is defined as young people taking practical action in the service of others to create positive change through a range of activities.

iii) There are a number of areas detailed in philosophical and psychological literature that are considered important elements of habit, from which this study drew its research questions.

iv) It is possible to measure a habit of service in young people using mainly previously validated measures for each element cited in Table 1.

v) There is not an appropriate measure to assess virtue identity for the purposes of this study, and therefore a new tool needed to be developed.

2.3 OVERALL EVALUATIVE GOALS

There were five overall evaluative goals for this research:

1. To gain a better understanding about a habit of service among young people. This study aimed to test whether there was more to a habit of service in 16–20-year-olds than recent/current participation in service and intended future behaviour, including whether a habit of service was in keeping with subjective norms, goal directed, part of an individual's character, and something over which participants perceive that they have behavioural control.

2. To identify which (if any) quality principles were associated with 16–20-year-olds. The research aimed to test whether the #iwill campaign's quality principles of social action – socially impactful, embedded, progressive, challenging, youth-led, and reflective – were related to a habit of service.

3. To test whether any demographic factors affected the development of a habit of service, so as to understand better where to target future interventions.

4. To develop and test a new tool to understand 16–20-year-olds' virtue identity. This new tool would measure virtue identity in 16–20-year-olds, in particular to understand which virtue type young people associated with most strongly, in order to determine whether young people with a habit of service were more likely to associate with moral and civic virtues above other virtue types.

5. To further existing academic knowledge and understanding regarding a habit of service in young people. The primary contributions to academic knowledge made by this study are in the fields of psychology, philosophy and the social sciences. To date, there are no existing studies which apply theories of habit formation to youth service in the UK.

['WE DO NOT NEED MAGIC TO TRANSFORM THE WORLD. WE CARRY ALL THE POWER WE NEED INSIDE OURSELVES ALREADY.'
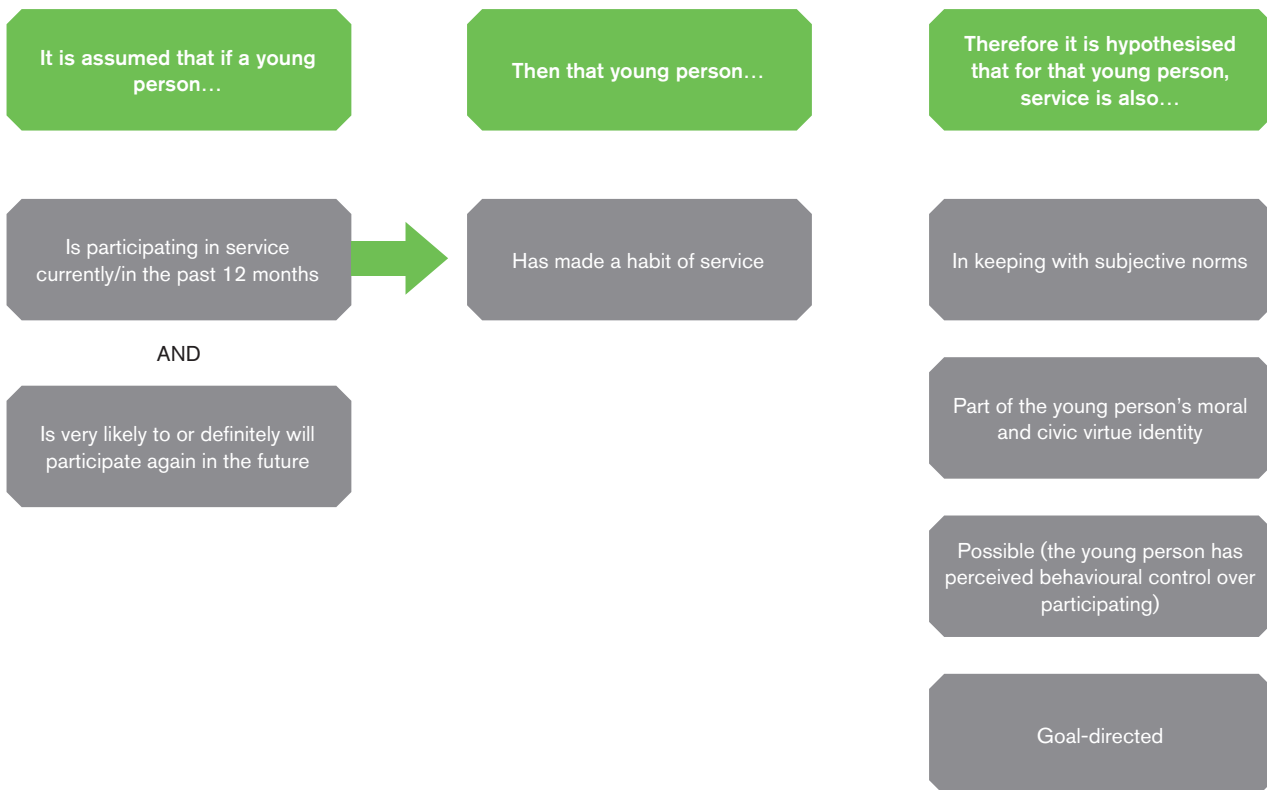
J K Rowling]

3 Methodology

3.1 RATIONALE

In the literature review, it was found that habit is malleable and that it both manifests and is maintained in the prior, current, and intended future repetition of a behaviour. As such a young person with a habit of service is defined as a 16–20-year-old who has participated in service in the past year, and reports that they are very likely to or definitely will participate in future.
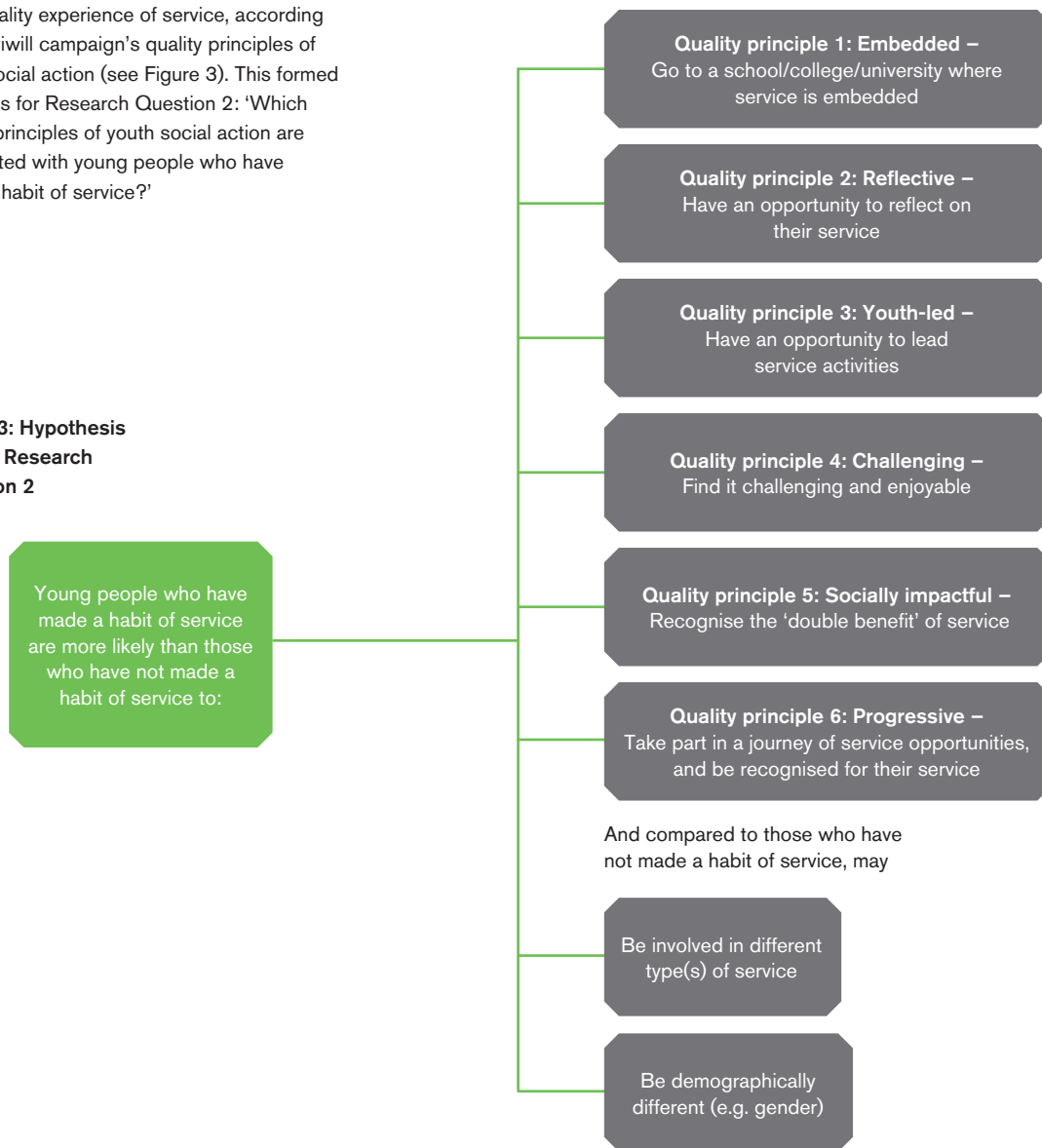
Drawing on insights from the literature review, it was hypothesised that for a young person with a habit of service, service is: part of their virtue identity; in keeping with subjective norms; possible; and goal-directed (see Figure 2) – this formed Research Question 1: 'What is a habit of service?'

Figure 2: Hypothesis Behind Research Question 1

It is assumed that if a young person…	Then that young person…	Therefore it is hypothesised that for that young person, service is also…
Is participating in service currently/in the past 12 months	Has made a habit of service	In keeping with subjective norms
AND		Part of the young person's moral and civic virtue identity
Is very likely to or definitely will participate again in the future		Possible (the young person has perceived behavioural control over participating)
		Goal-directed

It was also hypothesised that a young person with a habit of service is likely to have had a high-quality experience of service, according to the #iwill campaign's quality principles of youth social action (see Figure 3). This formed the basis for Research Question 2: 'Which quality principles of youth social action are associated with young people who have made a habit of service?'

Figure 3: Hypothesis Behind Research Question 2

Young people who have made a habit of service are more likely than those who have not made a habit of service to:

Quality principle 1: Embedded – Go to a school/college/university where service is embedded

Quality principle 2: Reflective – Have an opportunity to reflect on their service

Quality principle 3: Youth-led – Have an opportunity to lead service activities

Quality principle 4: Challenging – Find it challenging and enjoyable

Quality principle 5: Socially impactful – Recognise the 'double benefit' of service

Quality principle 6: Progressive – Take part in a journey of service opportunities, and be recognised for their service

And compared to those who have not made a habit of service, may

Be involved in different type(s) of service

Be demographically different (e.g. gender)

There were three main reasons for the focus on 16–20-year-olds in this study. First, as the #iwill campaign focusses on young people aged 10–20, it was felt important that this study involved young people within that age range. Second, those who are older are more likely to have made a habit of service, since past behaviour is an important component, as discussed in Section 2.2. Finally, the benefit of respondents being within a narrow age range was that all respondents could be asked the same questions rather than needing to adapt them 'to suit the cognitive, linguistic, and social competence' of each age group (de Leeuw, Borgers and Smits, 2004: 410).

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN AND INSTRUMENTS

The hypotheses in this study were tested sequentially using mixed methods: a questionnaire, followed by in-depth interviews, with a narrative element, with young people. Mixed methods involve the use of qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis techniques in either parallel or sequential phases (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998). Mixed methods are recommended for studies relating to character owing to the complexity of the field, and it is argued that all available tools should be used to gain a full picture (Arthur *et al.,* 2014).

This study used a sequential explanatory strategy in which quantitative data were collected and analysed (through the questionnaire), followed by the collection and analysis of qualitative data; the data were then integrated and interpreted together (Terrell, 2012: 262). Each method is described overleaf.

3.2.1 Method 1: Questionnaire on Habit of Service

Habit is often measured using a questionnaire, though often only with small samples (for example, Kremers and Brug, 2008; Lally *et al.*, 2010; Verplanken and Orbell, 2003). As well as being a data collection tool that efficiently enables an understanding of how respondents view their own behaviour, feelings, attitudes, and personality constructs, questionnaires are also the dominant method employed for research on character and virtue (Kristjánsson, 2015). Questionnaires enable the views of large numbers of respondents to be gathered and compared. Since this study aimed to understand a habit of service in young people, and test which experiences correlate with that habit, it needed to involve a large sample so that it had the potential to identify patterns in responses. The recruitment of over 4,500 participants to this study meant it could contribute larger-scale, empirical knowledge to the fields of habit and service.

An online questionnaire was used in the study, rather than a paper version, for reasons of cost-effectiveness, efficiency, and data quality (data being inputted automatically by the survey platform – Survey Gizmo – rather than manually). Given the almost ubiquitous use of the Internet by 16–24-year-olds (Office for National Statistics, 2015), it was felt that an online questionnaire was accessible to most young people. The questionnaire was optimised for computer, mobile and tablet use.

Predominantly drawing on and adapting previously-validated questions, the questionnaire was devised and was piloted between February – June 2016.[2] Using previously validated questions removes any concern over their suitability for young people and gives greater confidence that they are addressing the constructs intended to be measured.

Owing to the limitations outlined below, a purposive sample was chosen for this study – young people who have already taken part in service (but not necessarily made a habit). In recruiting respondents, the researchers worked with 12 organisations, schools and colleges.

The organisations provided access to young people who had already participated in their programmes, and the schools and colleges had been recognised for their social action provision (see www.education.iwill.org.uk).

One new measure, aiming to test virtue identity, was developed for this study – the Virtue Identity Measure. Previous measures were considered, such as those used by Aquino and Reed (2002), Hardy (2006), Barriga *et al.* (2001) and Porter (2013), but none of these were found to be suitable for measuring the four different virtue types among 16–20-year-olds in the UK. The Virtue Identity Measure was created through two rounds of piloting and refinement with students aged 15–18 at two schools. It takes the form of four vignettes, each focussing on a different type of virtue, followed by questions on the vignettes (see Appendix 3: Virtue Identity Measure).

Two early paper versions of the questionnaire were piloted face-to-face with 22 young people who had been involved in service. Following this, edits were made to the questionnaire and it was transferred to an online format. The online version of the questionnaire was then piloted with staff at two charities and with 27 young people aged 16–18. The data from all phases of piloting were analysed to check young people's cognitive understanding of the questions, time taken to complete the questionnaire, internal validity, and the functionality of the online version.

Following the pilots, data collection for the questionnaire took place between July and September 2016.

3.2.2 Method 2: In-depth Narrative Interviews with Young People

In order to understand in greater depth the findings from the questionnaire, and how young people with a habit of service understand their participation, in-depth interviews with young people were conducted. The interview sampling was consistent with a general approach to sampling in qualitative research in that it followed 'a theoretical, rather than a statistical logic and so is characteristically purposively and conceptually driven' (Holland, Thomson and Henderson, 2006: 33).

Like the 'care exemplars' of Wuthnow's study (Wuthnow, 1995), these young people were highly committed to service and had also been formally recognised through an award for their involvement in service. A diverse range of 20 young people from this pool were invited to complete the questionnaire, and those whose responses showed they had made a habit of service were then invited to be interviewed. Of these, seven agreed to take part – three girls and four boys, aged 16–20.

The interviews were semi-structured and each lasted between 60–110 minutes. The discussion guide for the interviews had two parts. The first was a narrative element, suited to this study because it is an approach which is 'set in human stories of experience… [and which] provides researchers with a rich framework through which they can investigate the ways humans experience the world depicted through their stories' (Webster and Mertova, 2007: 1). Furthermore, stories about service are often embedded in youth social action providers' marketing messages and impact reports, as well as in the #iwill Ambassadors scheme, where young people are supported to tell their 'social action story' (#iwill, 2016b). The researcher asked participants to speak about their social action experiences, and allowed them to talk for as long as they wanted, which ranged from 4 to 25 minutes. Following this, the second part of the interview took the form of questions based on the areas of focus in the questionnaire.

Each interview was audio-recorded, with respondents' consent, and transcribed by the researcher verbatim, ensuring that all natural features of 'casual conversation' such as 'pauses, broken sentences, interruptions' were authentically represented (Poland, 2001: 6).

The young people interviewed were Alison, Beth, Fay, Colin, Dan, Ed, and Gerry.[3] Three of these young people's journeys of service are presented in this report.

3.2.3 Data Analysis

Questionnaire responses from all respondents were exported from Survey Gizmo and merged in an Excel spreadsheet where they were cleaned and filtered.

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[2]   See the full questionnaire in the Online Appendices at www.jubileecentre.ac.uk/habitofservice.

[3]   Pseudonyms are given to protect participants' anonymity.

Subsequently the data were exported to SPSS version 22 for analysis. Owing to the survey characteristics and research questions, most of the analysis was descriptive. Non-parametrical tests were used to compare the distributions across groups (Mann-Whitney for two samples and Kruskal-Wallis for three samples). To test the association between having a habit and the analysed variables, a binary logistic regression was run using the Habit/Non-habit variable as the binary dependent variable and the rest as independent variables divided between research question 1 and 2.

Interview data were analysed thematically using NVivo, following Braun and Clarke (2006), which enabled a focus on 'identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data' (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 79). After an initial familiarisation with the data, the researcher moved on to Phase 2 of Braun and Clarke's (2006) approach, generating hundreds of initial codes and coding several extracts more than once. The researcher then looked for themes across these codes, merging and separating codes where necessary. Each theme, and the codes within it, was reviewed to assess internal and external heterogeneity (Patton, 2002: 122). This helped to determine internally coherent themes which were discrete and meaningful in relation to the research questions.

Next, the themes were further refined and organised into a narrative, presented in Section 4.

3.3 LIMITATIONS

There were several limitations to this study. The sampling strategy meant that the respondents were not a probability sample. A purposive sample was chosen because a random sample would likely have resulted in fewer relevant respondents (Devine and Heath, 1999: 57). Although the 16–20-year-olds involved cannot be said to represent everyone of that age involved in service in the UK, with over 4,500 returns this is still a useful sample to capture the attitudes of a selected group who are involved. Furthermore, there are limitations to any self-report questionnaire as respondents may not respond accurately, there may be a social desirability response bias (Robson, 2002: 233), and the issues with self-reported character strengths include possible self-delusion or under-reporting (Arthur *et al.*, 2015: 13).

It was not possible to ascertain levels of non-response bias for the questionnaire, since each organisation involved shared the questionnaire with young people in different ways: some sent it directly to a specific sample, while others advertised it on social media and school intranet sites. Nonetheless, the significant number of responses from young people who had not been involved in service in the previous 12 months, as well as the demographic spread of the data, suggested that the questionnaire reached a broad range of 16–20-year-olds.

In relation to the #iwill campaign's goals, it was not possible to identify those who had participated in 'meaningful social action' in this study.[4]

There were also limitations to the qualitative research conducted. Deviant case sampling was used to recruit young people who had been recognised for their service. The case studies presented in this report should therefore be treated not as examples of how all young people make a habit of service, but what a habit of service can look like in its strongest sense. In addition, the interviews were coded by only one researcher; the reliability of the findings would have been heightened had more than one researcher coded the data (Mays and Pope, 1995: 110).

3.4 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

For each method, ethical approval was granted by the University of Birmingham Ethics Committee. Additional ethical issues associated with using online questionnaires versus paper questionnaires were considered – notably, ensuring that informed consent was given and obtaining quality data (Roberts and Allen, 2015). Fully informed consent was obtained for both the pilot and main online questionnaire, and for the in-depth interviews. Information sheets were provided detailing the purpose of the study, the young person's right to withdraw and the confidentiality and storage of data. Young people who took part in in-depth interviews were also informed that they did not have to answer any questions if they did not want to, and that they could terminate the interview at any time.

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[4]   This is because the measure that was used to test how long each young person had participated in social action for each time they did it (taken from the Cabinet Office and Ipsos MORI (2016) face-to-face questionnaire) did not work in the online questionnaire. Looking at the other elements of meaningful social action – participation in the past 12 months and recognition of the double benefit – it was found that 79% of respondents who fulfilled those criteria had made a habit of service, so there is a positive correlation between the two.
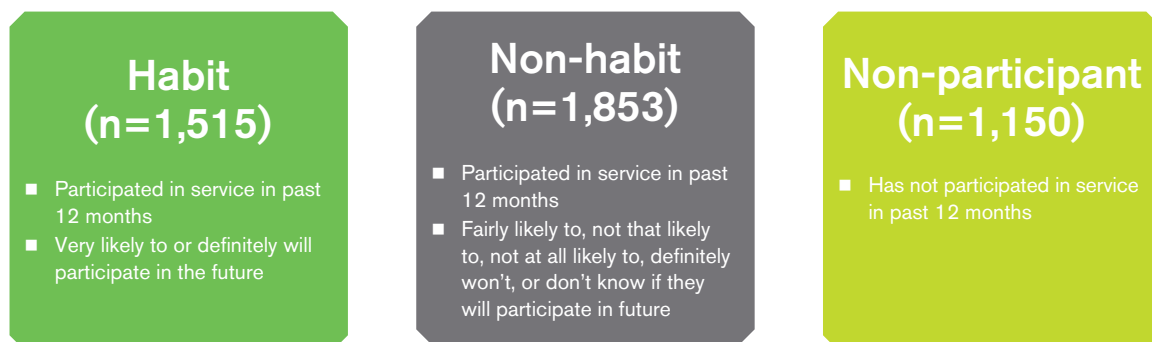
4 **Findings**

Questionnaire findings relating to the two overarching research questions are reported here. Findings are only included when they are statistically significant and percentages have been rounded up.

4.1 RESEARCH QUESTION 1: 'WHAT IS A HABIT OF SERVICE?'

In total, 4,518 young people aged 16–20 completed the questionnaire (see Appendix 2 for demographic data).

While this study originally intended to reach young people who had already been involved in service, given the focus on habit performance, young people who had not previously been involved in service were also recruited through schools and colleges. This made it possible to divide respondents into three groups, as shown in Figure 4. It was decided that, since intention to participate in future service is central to the definition of habit used in this study, only respondents who said they were very likely to or would definitely participate in future were included in the Habit group.

Figure 4: Three Groups: Habit, Non-habit, and Non-participant

Habit (n=1,515)
- Participated in service in past 12 months
- Very likely to or definitely will participate in the future

Non-habit (n=1,853)
- Participated in service in past 12 months
- Fairly likely to, not that likely to, not at all likely to, definitely won't, or don't know if they will participate in future

Non-participant (n=1,150)
- Has not participated in service in past 12 months

Non-participants were not asked all of the questions, as some were contingent on prior involvement in service; for this reason, for some findings reported, only the Habit and Non-habit groups are compared.

Regarding demographics, it was found that around 14% of the Non-participant group were from a BAME (British, Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic) background, similar to the national average. However, BAME young people were more likely to be found in the Non-habit (27%) and Habit (30%) groups than the Non-participant group. In terms of gender, when data were weighted to account for the higher number of female questionnaire respondents, it was found that males and females were just as likely to be in the Non-habit group (51% male versus 49% female), but that females were underrepresented in the Non-participant group (64% male versus 36% female) and overrepresented in the Habit group (39% male versus 61% female). In addition, it was found that those practising their religion were more likely to be part of the Habit group (47%) than the Non-habit group (42%) and the Non-participant group (33%).

No statistically significant difference between Habit and Non-habit was found using eligibility for Free School Meals (FSM) as a proxy for low income: 26% of Habit and Non-habit had been eligible for FSM in the previous six years. This figure increased to 33% among non-participants.

4.1.1 Age Started and Frequency of Participation

A higher proportion of those in the Habit group started participating in service at a younger age than those in the Non-habit group (see Chart 1). Of respondents in the Non-habit group, 10% started before the age of 10, versus 22% in the Habit group. Further analysis showed that a young person who first got involved in service under the age of 10 was 2.6 times more likely to be in the Habit group than if they started aged 16–18, holding all the remaining variables of the RQ1 model constant.

Chart 1: Age Young People Started Participating in Service

Habit
Non-habit

Base size
Habit: 1404
Non-habit: 1196
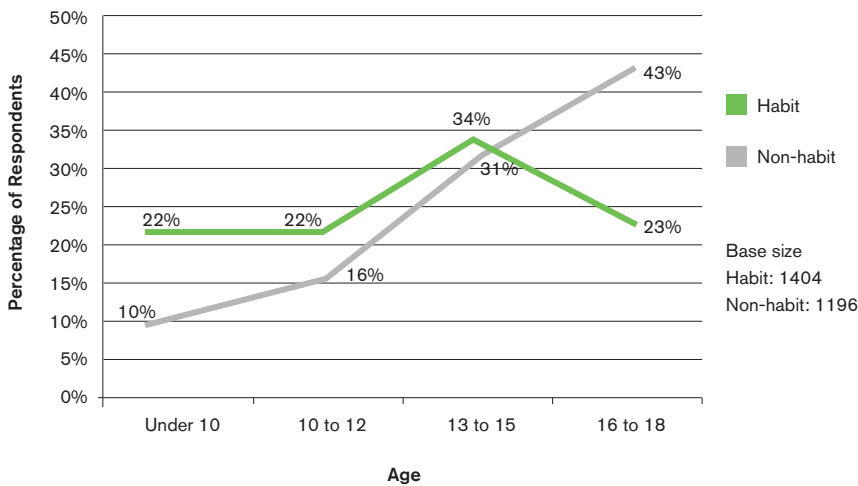
Specifically regarding frequency, additional analysis revealed that those in the Habit group were more likely to participate more frequently in activities than those in the Non-habit group. The greatest difference existed for those involved in supporting other people who are not friends or relatives – 64% of those with a Habit did this frequently, compared to 36% of those in the Non-habit group.

Chart 2: Involvement in Different Types of Service Activities
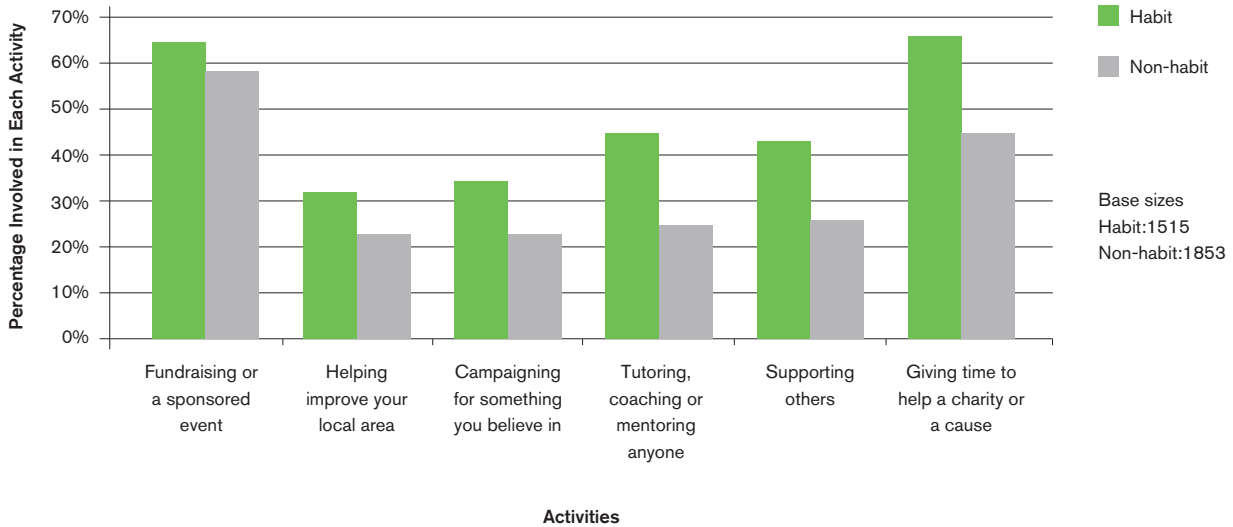
As Chart 2 shows, those in the Habit group were more likely to have participated in all the different types of service than the Non-habit group. In particular, the Habit group were notably more likely to have been involved in tutoring, coaching or mentoring compared to the Non-habit group (44% against 24%), and giving time to help a charity or cause (66% against 45%).

Subsequent examination found that almost half of those in the Non-habit group participated in one activity (48%); this figure decreased to 24% among the Habit respondents. There was a difference between both groups in moving from three to six activities, suggesting that a wider range of activities may be associated with a habit of service.

4.1.2 Virtue Identity

The Virtue Identity Measure was created for this study and designed to test respondents' level of identification and association with four virtue types using vignettes (see Section 3.2.1 and Appendix 3 for more detail on this and for the vignettes and questions).

Chart 3 shows that 50% of those in the Habit group thought they were more like the moral virtue exemplar than those in the Non-habit (41%) and Non-participant groups (31%). Those in the Habit group (13%) thought they were more like the civic virtue exemplar than those in the Non-habit (5%) and Non-participant groups (3%).

Analysis regarding participants' desire to be like different virtue exemplars revealed that those in the Habit group (61%) were more likely to want to be like the moral exemplar than those in the Non-habit (48%) and Non-participant groups (33%). Those in the Habit group (37%) were also more likely to want to be like the civic virtue exemplar than those in the Non-habit (20%) and Non-participant (11%) groups.
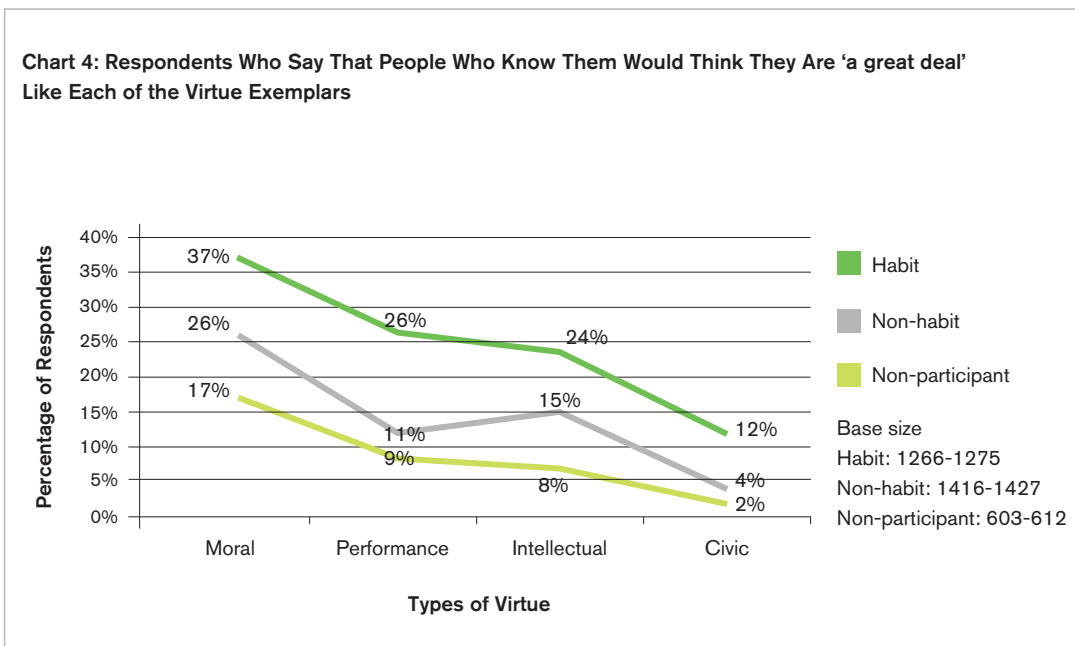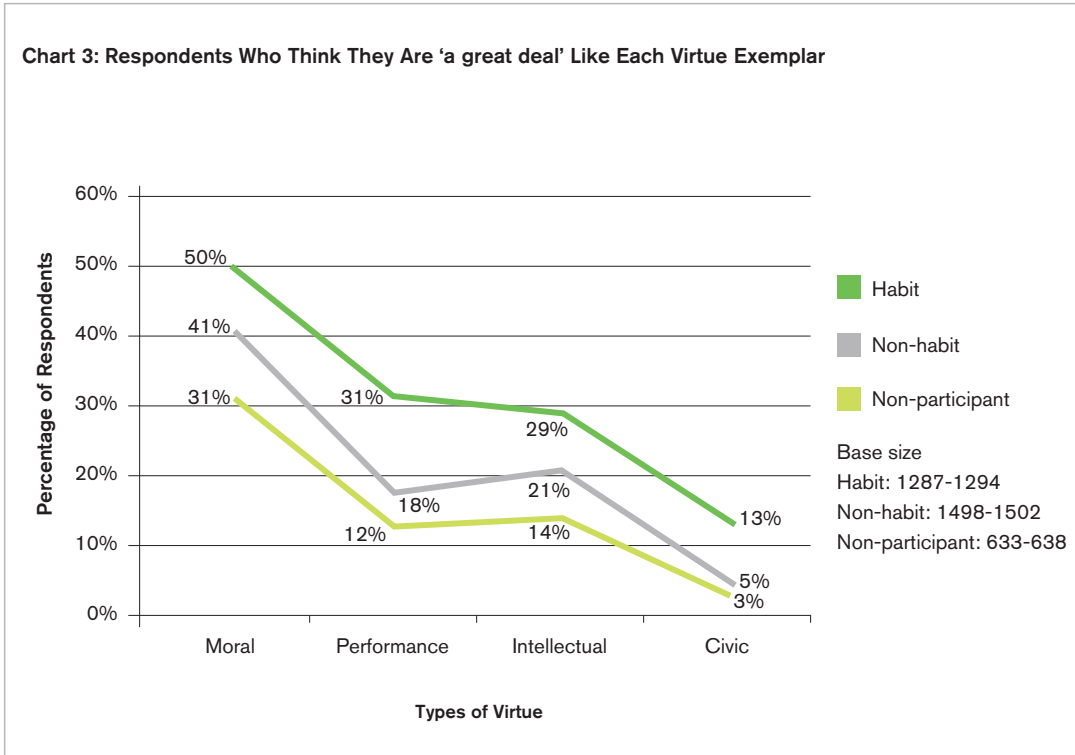
Chart 3: Respondents Who Think They Are 'a great deal' Like Each Virtue Exemplar

Base size
Habit: 1287-1294
Non-habit: 1498-1502
Non-participant: 633-638

Chart 4: Respondents Who Say That People Who Know Them Would Think They Are 'a great deal' Like Each of the Virtue Exemplars

Base size
Habit: 1266-1275
Non-habit: 1416-1427
Non-participant: 603-612

Chart 4 shows that those with a habit of service (37%) think people who know them think they are more like the moral exemplar than those in the Non-habit (26%) and Non-participant groups (17%).

Likewise, those in the Habit group (12%) think people who know them think they are more like the civic virtue exemplar than those in the Non-habit (4%) and Non-participant (2%) groups.

Participants with a Habit of service (57%) were also more likely to think that their friends would like someone like the moral exemplar than those in the Non-habit (44%) and Non-participant groups (28%). This pattern could also be seen in relation to the civic exemplar where those in the Habit group (23%) show more identification than the Non-habit respondents (12%) and the Non-participants (8%).

Overall, the findings showed that the respondents in the Habit group seemed to be more familiar with the four virtues, identified more closely with them, and had friends whom

they felt would support this assessment of self. Analysis of various clusters demonstrated that it was the service activity that drove the virtue association and the activity itself seemed to embed a recognition and identification of all the virtues.

4.1.3 In Keeping with Subjective Norms

4.1.3.1 Parents and Friends
These findings relate to subjective norms which influence young people's participation in service and how young people's behaviour may be shaped by parents and friends as role models.

As shown in Chart 5, 11% of parents/guardians of the Habit group had participated in five or more different types of service. This figure decreased to 5% among the Non-habit group and 2% in the Non-participant group. It was noticeable that after three activities the percentage of people in the Habit group was roughly double the percentage of those in the Non-habit group and more than triple the percentage found in the Non-participant group.

Chart 5: Parents' Involvement in Service (number of different types of service)
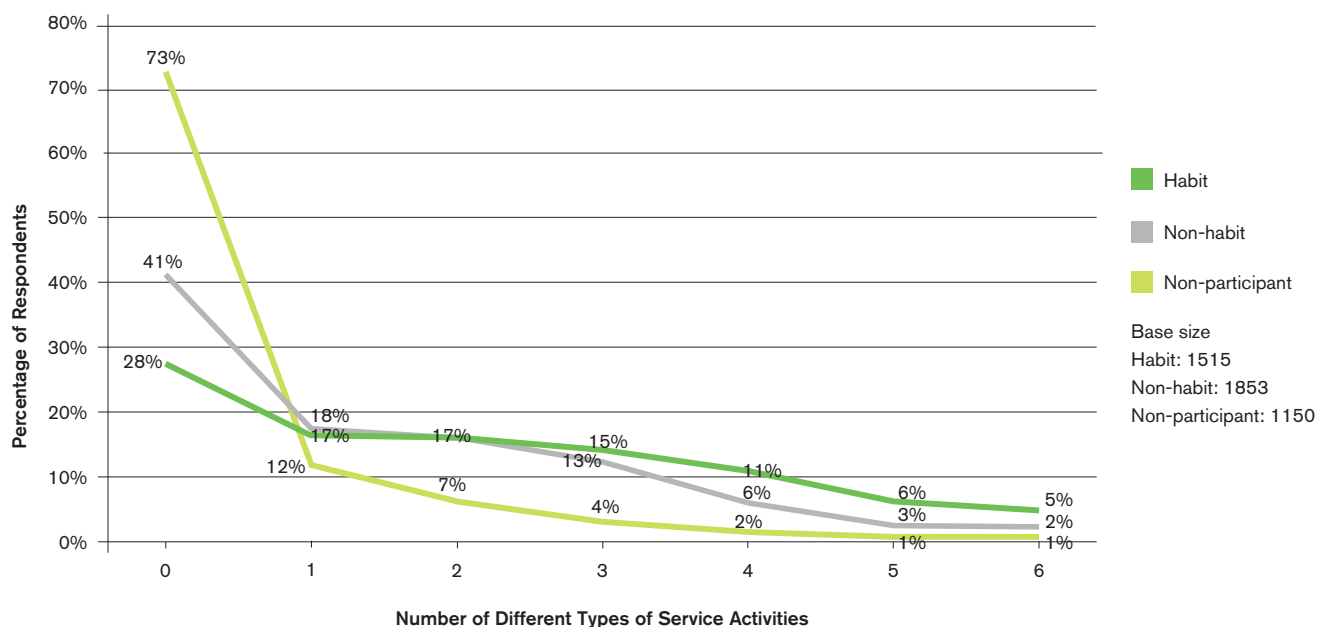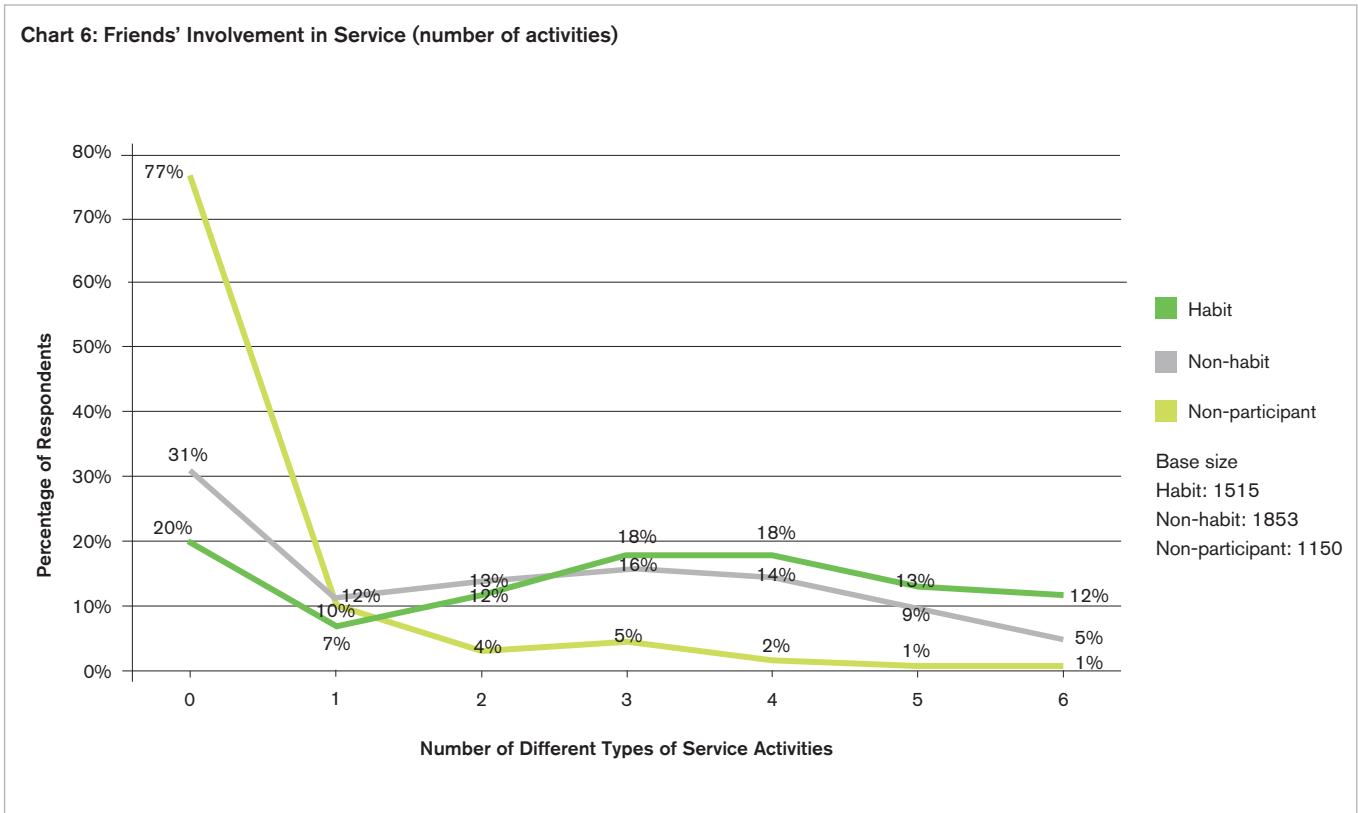
There was a positive association between parents'/guardians' participation in service and their children's participation. The percentage of those in the Habit group who supported other people rose from 35% to 49% when their parents were also involved. Among the Non-habit group this increased from 22% to 32%. All activities showed the same trend. On average, there was a 13% rise in young people's participation when a parent/guardian was involved in the same type of service.

Similarly, respondents in the Habit group tended to have friends who were involved in a wider range of types of service compared to the Non-habit and Non-participant groups. As shown in Chart 6, among the Habit group, 18% of their friends had participated in four different types of service; this figure decreased to 14% among the Non-habit group and 2% among Non-participants. This difference increased as the number of activities increased.

When friends were involved, the percentage of those in the Habit group tutoring, coaching or mentoring anyone almost doubled, rising from 32% to 57%; among the Non-habit group this figure increased from 17% to 39%.

Friends' participation increased the number of respondents involved in service on a bigger scale than parents'/guardians' participation. On average, there was a 14% rise in the Habit group's participation when they had a friend involved in the same type of service (12% in the Non-habit group).

Chart 6: Friends' Involvement in Service (number of activities)

Legend:
- Habit (green)
- Non-habit (grey)
- Non-participant (yellow-green)

Base size
Habit: 1515
Non-habit: 1853
Non-participant: 1150

Y-axis: Percentage of Respondents
X-axis: Number of Different Types of Service Activities

Data labels:
- At 0: 77%, 31%, 20%
- At 1: 12%, 10%, 7%
- At 2: 13%, 12%, 4%
- At 3: 18%, 16%, 5%
- At 4: 18%, 14%, 2%
- At 5: 13%, 9%, 1%
- At 6: 12%, 5%, 1%

4.1.3.2 Encouragement and Support

Compared to the Non-habit group, those in the Habit group were more likely to say they had the support and encouragement from friends and family that they needed in order to be involved in service. Among the Habit group, 69% declared that they had the support and encouragement they needed from their families; this figure decreased to 62% among the Non-habit group. This difference was more pronounced when looking at friends' support; 68% of those in the Habit group declared they had the support and encouragement they needed, compared to 56% of the Non-habit group.

4.1.4 Perceived Behavioural Control

In this section it was tested whether respondents in the Habit group had a greater level of perceived behavioural control over taking part in service – in other words, were more likely to believe it was possible for them to undertake service, for a variety of reasons – than those in the Non-habit group.

Those in the Habit group were more likely than the Non-habit group to believe that they had the skills, time, opportunity, and confidence to participate in service. Of the Habit group 76% agreed that they had the necessary skills to participate, versus 62% among Non-habit respondents (see Chart 7).
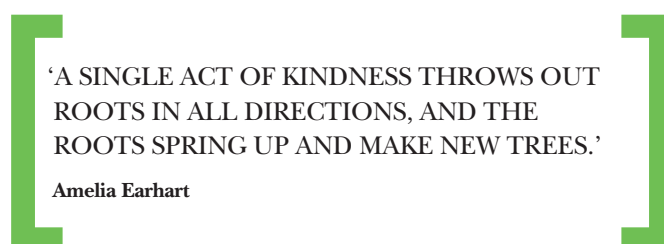
In terms of time, 43% of the Habit group stated that they had enough time to be involved in service; this decreased to 26% among the Non-habit group. Regarding opportunity, 74% of the Habit group believed the opportunity was available for them to be involved in service, compared to 58% of the Non-habit group. Finally, 76% of the Habit group declared they had the confidence to participate in service, whereas only 59% in the Non-habit group felt the same.

'A SINGLE ACT OF KINDNESS THROWS OUT ROOTS IN ALL DIRECTIONS, AND THE ROOTS SPRING UP AND MAKE NEW TREES.'

Amelia Earhart

Chart 7: Perceived Behavioural Control Over Participating in Service

Base size:
Habit: 1166-1174
Non-habit: 1332-1335

4.1.5 Goal-Directed

In order to measure goal direction, young people's motivations for participating in service were tested. Those in the Habit group were more likely to feel more strongly about all the motivations than those in the Non-habit group. The most important motivation for both groups related to values: both were most likely to strongly agree with the statement 'I feel it is important to help others'. Roughly the entire sample agreed or strongly agreed with this statement in the Habit group (96%); this figure slightly decreased (93%) for the Non-habit respondents. The least popular motivation for both groups related to subjective norms: 'Social action is important to my family and best friends'. Nonetheless, friends' and family's opinions appeared to be more important for those in the Habit group compared to those in the Non-habit group. Almost half (49%) of the Habit group agree or strongly agree with the statement 'Social action is important to my family and best friends', versus 35% of the Non-habit respondents.

4.1.6 Regression Analysis of Research Question 1 Variables

A logistic regression analysis was conducted to predict the possibility of developing a habit of service using all variables detailed in the findings above as predictors.[5] A Wald criterion analysis demonstrated that: gender; perceived behavioural control over participating in service; the number of activities involved in; the age at which a young person first participated; and the perceived external association with a civic exemplar (agree that people say you are like) made a significant contribution to the prediction ($p = <0.05$). The influence of friends and parents, motivations, and the other virtue identity items did not contribute to the model prediction.

Considering all the variables, it can be concluded that the most likely young person to develop a habit of service would: be female; have first got involved in service under the age of 10; have been involved in a large number of different types of service in the past year; have a strong sense of perceived behavioural control over participating in service; and would say that other people would think they are like a civic exemplar.

4.2 OVERALL FINDINGS FOR RESEARCH QUESTION 1: 'WHAT IS A HABIT OF SERVICE?'

In addressing research question 1 it was found that young people in the Habit group were more likely than those in the Non-habit group to:

- have started participating in service at a young age and be involved more often in a wide range of service activities;
- identify themselves with moral and civic virtue exemplars, and say that other people who know them would also think they are more like the moral and civic virtue exemplars;
- have parents and friends who are also involved in service, and in particular, in the same kinds of activities as them, with friends being a more important influence than parents;
- have friends and family who support and encourage them to be involved in service;
- believe they have the time, skills, opportunity and confidence to participate in service; and,
- feel strongly about a wide range of motivations for participating in service.

> 'WE CANNOT LIVE BETTER THAN IN SEEKING TO BECOME BETTER.'
>
> **Socrates**

5   See Online Appendices at www.jubileecentre.ac.uk/habitofservice

4.3 RESEARCH QUESTION 2: 'WHICH QUALITY PRINCIPLES OF YOUTH SOCIAL ACTION ARE ASSOCIATED WITH YOUNG PEOPLE WHO HAVE MADE A HABIT OF SERVICE?'

This section reports on how the #iwill campaign's quality principles of youth social action (embedded, reflective, youth-led, challenging, socially impactful, and progressive – see Section 2.1.1) relate to a habit of service. These questions were asked only of the Habit and Non-habit groups.

4.3.1 Quality Principle 1: Embedded
Compared to the Non-habit group, those in the Habit group were more likely to have support from their school, college or university to participate (see Chart 8). The greatest differences between the Habit and Non-habit groups were in terms of whether the young person's school/college/university organised events or activities in which they could get involved, and whether these were communicated to them: 34% of the Habit group compared with 20% of the Non-habit group.
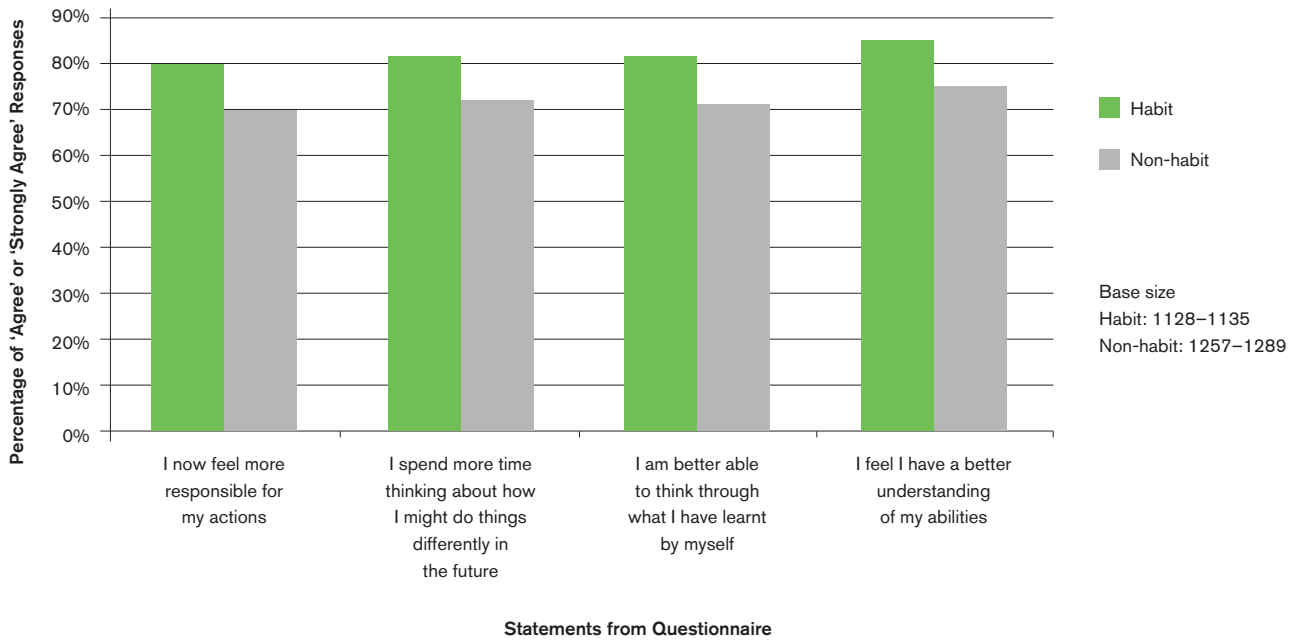
Chart 8: Ways in Which Schools/colleges/universities Support Service
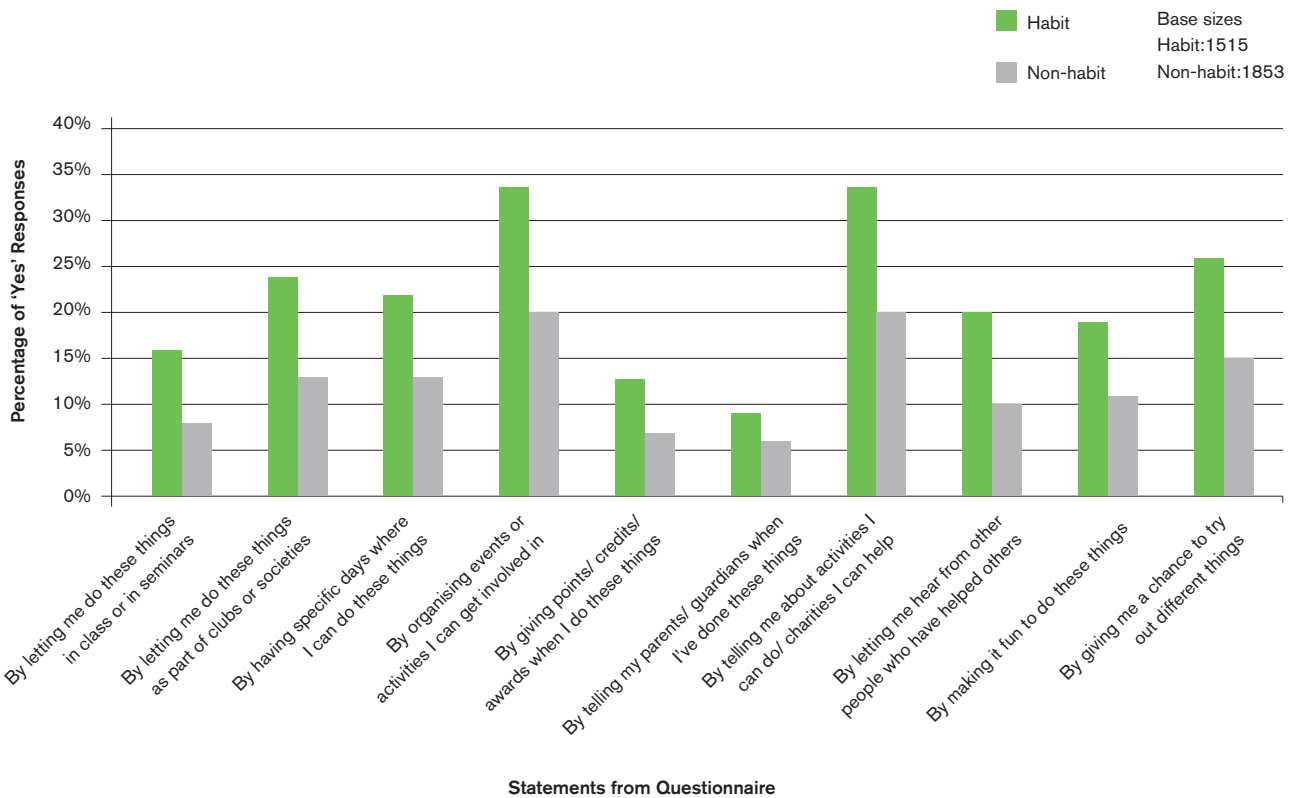
4.3.2 Quality Principle 2: Reflective
Those in the Habit group were more likely to reflect on their service experiences than those in the Non-habit group (Chart 9). For example, 80% of the Habit group agreed or strongly agreed that they felt more responsible for their actions as a result of service; this figure was lower (70%) among the Non-habit group. In addition, there was also an 9-percentage-point difference between the Habit and Non-habit groups in terms of their agreement with the statement 'I spend more time thinking about how I might do things differently in future'.
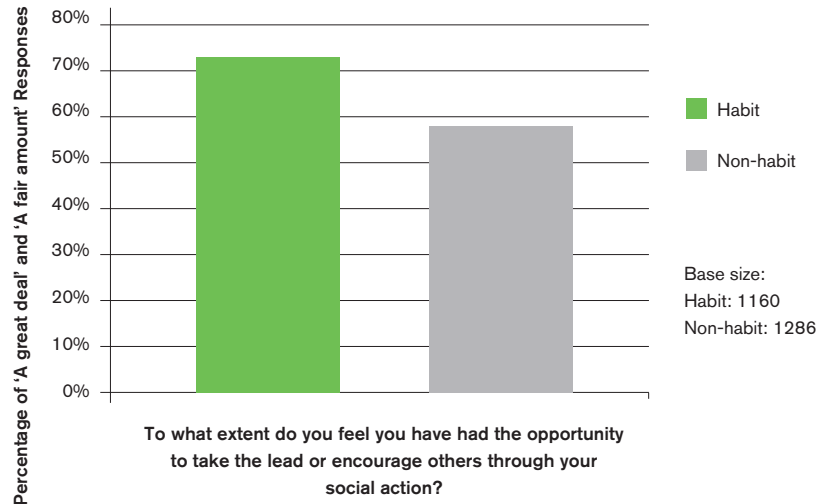
Chart 9: Reflective

Percentage of 'Agree' or 'Strongly Agree' Responses

Legend:
- Habit (green)
- Non-habit (grey)

Base size
Habit: 1128–1135
Non-habit: 1257–1289

Statements from Questionnaire

(x-axis categories)
- I now feel more responsible for my actions
- I spend more time thinking about how I might do things differently in the future
- I am better able to think through what I have learnt by myself
- I feel I have a better understanding of my abilities

4.3.3 Quality Principle 3: Youth-led

Those in the Habit group were more likely to say they had had a chance to lead or encourage others through social action than the Non-habit group (Chart 10). Among the Habit group, 73% agreed that they felt they had had a chance to lead either 'A fair amount' or 'A great deal' when asked; this dropped to 58% among Non-habit respondents.

Chart 10: Youth-led

Percentage of 'A great deal' and 'A fair amount' Responses

Legend:
- Habit (green)
- Non-habit (grey)

Base size:
Habit: 1160
Non-habit: 1286

To what extent do you feel you have had the opportunity to take the lead or encourage others through your social action?

'I HAVE FOUND THAT AMONG ITS OTHER BENEFITS, GIVING LIBERATES THE SOUL OF THE GIVER.'

Maya Angelou

4.3.4 Quality Principle 4: Challenging

Those in the Habit group were more likely to have found their service challenging and enjoyable (Chart 11). There were differences between the Habit group and the Non-habit group in those who said they felt 'a great deal' challenged by their service (26% of those with a Habit versus 17% of the Non-habit group), and those who felt they enjoyed it 'a great deal' (62% of the Habit group versus 37% of the Non-habit group).

4.3.5 Quality Principle 5: Socially Impactful

Those in the Habit group were more likely to recognise the double benefit of service than those in the Non-habit group (Chart 12). Within the Non-habit group, 12% responded 'A great deal' when asked about the community benefit, increasing to 22% among the Habit group. This pattern was repeated and the difference was even greater when respondents were asked about personal benefits: here, 22% of Non-habit respondents said they felt they had benefitted 'a great deal', whereas among the Habit group this increased to 47%. Those in the Habit group were more likely to answer 'a fair amount' and 'a great deal' than those in the Non-habit group.
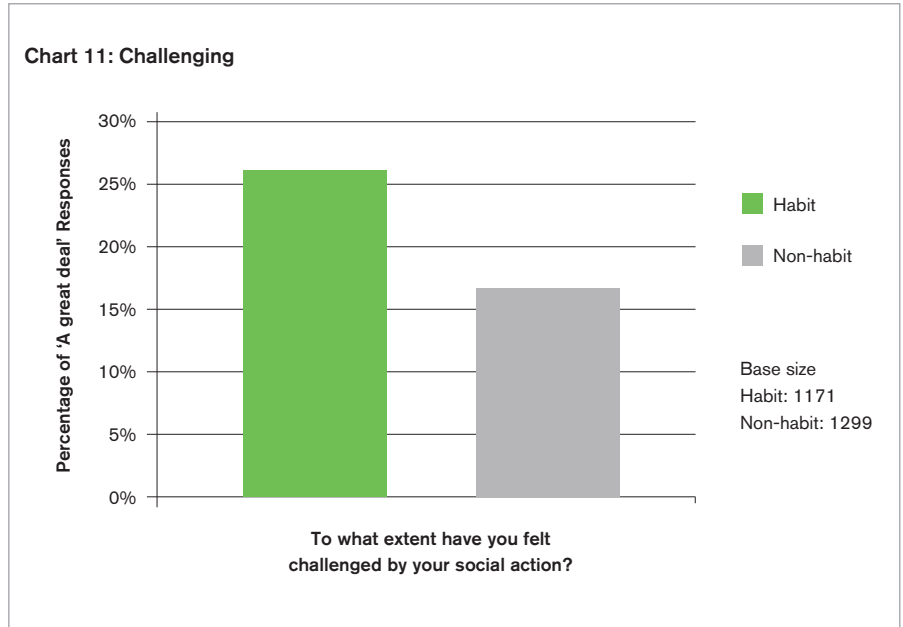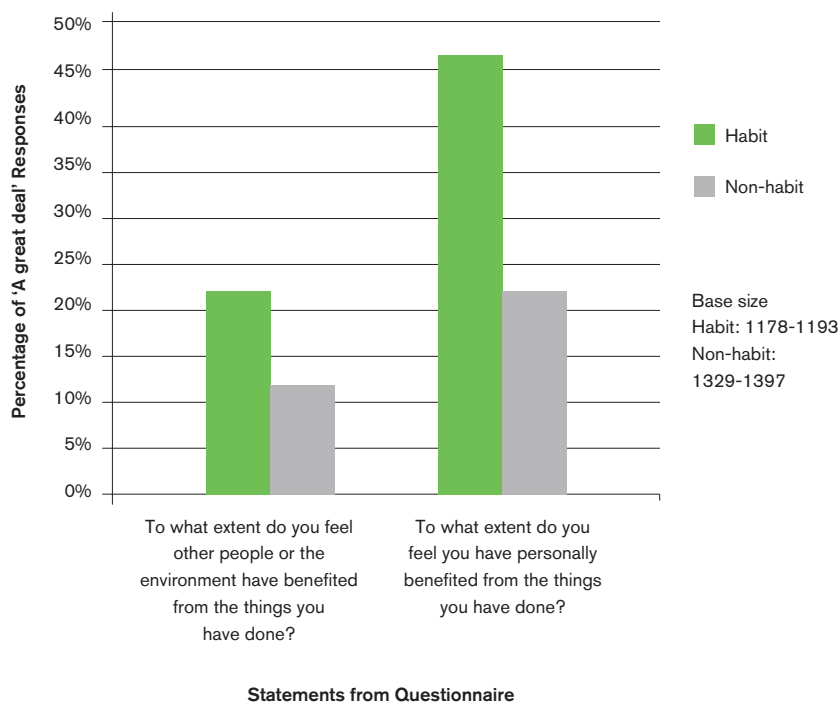
Chart 11: Challenging

Percentage of 'A great deal' Responses

To what extent have you felt
challenged by your social action?

■ Habit
■ Non-habit

Base size
Habit: 1171
Non-habit: 1299

Chart 12: Double Benefit

Base size
Habit: 1178-1193
Non-habit:
1329-1397

4.4 OVERALL FINDINGS FOR RESEARCH QUESTION 2: 'WHICH QUALITY PRINCIPLES OF YOUTH SOCIAL ACTION ARE ASSOCIATED WITH YOUNG PEOPLE WHO HAVE MADE A HABIT OF SERVICE?'

In addressing research question 2 it was found that young people in the Habit group were more likely than those in the Non-habit group to:

■ have service embedded in their school/ college/university environment (embedded);
■ reflect on their experience of service (reflective);
■ have had a chance to lead in their service (youth-led);
■ have found service to be both challenging and enjoyable (challenging);
■ recognise the double benefit of service (socially impactful); and,
■ have been recognised for their service, and want to find out about further opportunities to participate (progressive).

4.5 FINDINGS FROM THE IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS: CASE STUDIES FROM YOUNG PEOPLE WHO HAVE MADE A HABIT OF SERVICE

4.5.1 Introduction
Here three case studies of young people with a habit of service are presented, taken from the in-depth interviews conducted as part of this study.[7] These case studies were chosen to highlight the diversity of young people's experiences of service in terms of demographics, routes into service, typesof service, and both positive and negative experiences.

While the findings from the questionnaire explained how each element of habit and each quality principle investigated related to a habit of service, it may be difficult to imagine how these elements and principles could combine and interact in a young person's life. In this report the case studies are presented in order to bring a habit of service to life, to show that habit can manifest in different ways for different young people and to demonstrate how a habit of service develops as part of a young person's journey of service. Each case study draws upon key themes identified in the quantitative findings.

4.3.6 Quality Principle 6: Progressive
Those in the Habit group were more likely to have been recognised for their service than those in the Non-habit group. In the Habit group 55% said they had been recognised versus 44% in the Non-habit group.

Furthermore, those in the Habit group were more likely to want to find out more about service opportunities. Among the Habit group, 77% said they would be interested in further opportunities; this decreased to 59% in the Non-habit group.

4.3.7 Regression Analysis of Research Question 2 Variables
A logistic regression analysis was conducted to predict the possibility of developing a habit of service using all six quality principles as predictors.[6]

The Wald criterion demonstrated that several of the quality principles of youth social action made a significant contribution to the prediction (p=<0.05).

When a young person: is encouraged and/ or supported to take part in service by their school, college or university (embedded); recognises the double benefit of their service (socially impactful); wants to find out about further opportunities to get involved (progressive); and enjoys participating in service (part of the 'challenging' principle) they are more likely to have made it a habit. The reflective and youth-led principles did not contribute to the prediction, and nor did recognition (part of the progressive principle) or feeling challenged (part of the challenging principle).

Enjoyment was found to be most significant in this model: respondents who enjoyed their service 'a great deal' were 47% more likely to be in the Habit group than those who enjoyed it 'a fair amount'. Being interested in finding out about further opportunities was also found to be a good predictor of being in the Habit group.

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6   See Online Appendices at www.jubileecentre.ac.uk/habitofservice.

7   Pseudonyms are given to protect participants' anonymity.

4.5.2 Case Studies

FAY

Fay's experiences of service did not follow the neat trajectory that might be expected when one thinks of a journey of service. She has dipped in and out of service since she was 13, and yet now, aged 19, it has become habitual.

Fay, from the South East, dated the start of her social action journey back to when she was 13 and her grandparents took her to visit an orphanage near where she lived. Fay loves reading, and when she realised there were children who did not get the chance to read, or even access books, it got her thinking:

> You always know, that you, there, other people who are less privileged than you but… it was just really in your face that… obviously not everybody's gonna have the same things as you and, for me, it was, I didn't know why it was such a big shock that these kids couldn't even like when they were sad, or like, when they just had their own free time, they couldn't, pick up a book just like read… it struck something in me.

Fay described how she went home and packed up some of her books to send to the orphanage, and asked her grandparents to do the same. She talked about feeling a 'sense of purpose' in doing something to help others.

After this first experience of helping others, it wasn't until three years later that Fay felt inspired to get involved in service again. Her school organised a charity week, and although she did not take part because she was doing her GCSEs at the time, it made her think that she'd like to find other things that she could help with. Not long after, she saw a youth event advertised on Twitter, and she tweeted that she would love to organise one herself. Her friends agreed, and Fay describes how:

> Being surrounded by people who had aspirations and dreams or who were very ambitious probably actually brought [the event] about… I do credit them for having motivated me and pushed me… at the time I just thought, we don't have time, we've got exams, and the school probably won't let us, and they were like well you never know 'til you try, and so, it was pretty good to have people who were around, that were like, really inspirational.

With the support and encouragement of friends, Fay spent the next nine months organising a youth event at her school.

There were ups and downs, and she found that working with friends presented its own challenges when things weren't going to plan, but on the whole she really enjoyed it and felt like her friends were behind her. One of her initial concerns was that the school wouldn't support them, but in fact Fay described the Headteacher as 'one of the most important people' in making the event happen. Not only did the Headteacher put her name on the license, but she was integral to helping the group overcome challenges, and even called in a favour to get a good price on filming the event.

Fay was particularly proud of the 'sense of community that was instilled' in the school environment following the youth event. Recognising her work in organising the event, teachers then approached Fay afterwards to see if she'd get involved with the anti-bullying campaign at school. Together with a friend, Fay became an anti-bullying mentor for the rest of her time at school.

Going to university, however, interrupted Fay's involvement in service. Moving away from home, living in a new place, and getting used to her course, meant that at first Fay wasn't in a 'good headspace' to get involved in service. Nonetheless, being at a university where 'they really do push volunteering' – holding volunteer fairs, advertising opportunities around campus – meant that when Fay was ready to get involved again, she knew the university could help her. She also appreciated the fact that at university 'your time is a little bit more flexible'. It meant that she felt able to apply to be a mentor for a young person with autism, and although she had to turn it down because they wanted her to volunteer at weekends, which clashed with her part-time job, the university passed on an opportunity to volunteer with a youth disability charity. Fay only just managed to find the time to apply for the volunteer role in between her course deadlines, but her application was successful.

Talking about her personal development through service, Fay spoke about building networks, and developing a 'greater sense of responsibility'. She said that service helped her to realise that 'the smallest of things can make someone's day or ruin someone's day'. For Fay, the quality of the impact, rather than the scale, was most important to her.

Fay cited several people who inspired her to get involved in service, from her parents, whom she describes as 'very giving people in general', and who have always supported her service, to a girl she met at an event who had also been involved in service.

She also felt she had influenced her parents' involvement in service: she said that while they don't have much time to volunteer themselves – 'they're busy people! I mean, they have jobs' – they do donate to charity, and through his workplace Fay's father had got involved in service, and through her church Fay's mother had helped at the Sunday School.

Fay said when she's older, she hopes to become a paediatric neuro-psychologist, and anticipates that a lot of the service she will do over the next few years will be directly linked to her career plans.

ED

Ed was a 16-year-old college student at the time of the interview and is from the West Midlands. Bullied in primary school, he ended up moving schools, and had a tough time growing up. When he got to secondary school and knew no-one, Ed gave up swimming and karate, which he'd loved as a child, and found himself spending a lot of time playing computer games in his room. Looking back on it now, Ed says that 'it was just really unhealthy, I didn't do anything with my life'. His mother was worried about him and tried to persuade him to get involved in something that would get him out of the house. It wasn't until Year 8 that Ed took her advice. Bored one day in a lesson, Ed spotted a poster advertising a Youth Parliament event. Although he doesn't like admitting it now, it was the free food and day off school that made him want to go. With his mother's permission, he signed up and went along, though when he arrived it was only the prompt from his father that got him through the door:

> My dad drove me there, and when I got there I just didn't wanna go in, I was like no I can't go in, and dad was like, if you don't go in you're just gonna have to go to school.

That day marked a turning point for Ed – 'something just, hit like a spark for me' – and from then on he became heavily involved with youth politics.

That first event led to another, and another – a domino effect that meant that in the space of a few months 'I went from in January not wanting to talk to anybody and, not doing anything, to the September and October I did assemblies for all years, from Year 7 to Year 11 in four schools'. He got involved in campaigns, went on leadership residentials, visited Parliament and did work shadowing in government.

Three years after first getting involved, Ed won two awards at school for his service, and was made Assistant House Captain. For Ed, getting involved in service was transformational – it 'sort of made me who I am', and the confidence he built as a result made a marked difference to his life:

> My journey's been, I don't want it to sound like a sob story, but there have been very high and very low points and if it wasn't for that backbone of me being able to put my energy into something, I just don't think I'd have… been in a great, a great state.

From simple things like being able to travel on public transport alone, something he never before had the confidence to do, to speaking in front of thousands of people, service has 'given me purpose to do something with my life, and to do something that I care about'. It's also made him more aware of social issues, such as homelessness.

Supported by his parents, who give him lifts to events and helped him print out materials, Ed also talked about how his mother helped him organise his schedule and ensured he was prepared for all the service opportunities he has been involved in. He described his mother as 'my biggest role model', and said although she's not that interested in politics, she once went out and persuaded another school to get involved in the campaign Ed was running, and has previously spent a whole day handing out leaflets for him.

Family and friends have therefore been a great motivation for Ed, and he talked about how he's kept going with service partly to make them proud. This has been especially important when he's faced challenges or setbacks. Ed described how he used to face name-calling and abuse on social media 'all the time' for his service; it 'got to the point a couple of times where I just thought you know I'll pack it in, I just won't bother, then I thought no, because this is what I want to do'. At times like that, 'those people around me give me the strength to carry on'. This was especially pronounced when abuse comes from someone in authority, such as an incident when Ed's teacher told him, in front of his class, that '[service] wasn't something I should be doing with my time'.

Ed admitted that service takes precedence over his academic work:

> It's bad, but… I usually put my college work to one side to be honest, because I'm more interested in making a difference than getting an A Level… I wanna prove that you don't just have to have qualifications to succeed in doing things.

Experience suggests that his service is what helped him get into his first choice college, which was oversubscribed by 4,000. What's more, Ed credits his service experience with getting him his part-time job:

> I guarantee you I wouldn't be able to get a job as easy as I have without the CV I've got.

Ed's future plans were yet to be decided. He was considering getting into politics, but would be just as happy taking his music production work forward, or potentially building a career in the law. He was not worried, though, and planned to 'take the opportunity as it comes', believing that his service may yet open many more doors for him.

ALISON

Alison (20) grew up in a quiet part of North Wales. Her family went through difficult times when she was younger and they were helped by those in their community. This is where Alison's social action journey started. Struck by the willingness of others to help her family, this sparked in Alison the values of reciprocity and helping. Around the same time, a friend invited Alison to go with her to church, and from then on Alison became a regular churchgoer. Soon after she started helping at the church youth groups with her friend, noticing that the people running the groups weren't especially engaging or relatable to the children who came along.

All Alison's opportunities for service came through church, which was also key to Alison's smooth transition from one type of service to another when she moved to university, and therefore to her ability to maintain her habit of service.

She was grateful to be welcomed into the church by Oli, a fellow churchgoer and an asylum seeker. In talking to Oli she learnt about 'Space', a local centre for asylum seekers, and she soon started volunteering there. At first Alison was asked to help with social media, and admitted 'I didn't really feel like I was making a – that much of a difference'. It wasn't until someone who worked there took the time to ask Alison what she cared about and how she'd like to help that Alison really took interest. That conversation spurred Alison to start an education project for refugees. Through the networks she developed, one opportunity led to another and her service helped her win a place on a church mentoring programme, and establish other refugee projects at Space. Alison says that volunteering at Space was also what led to her becoming a youth representative on the church world council – 'once I got it and I'd spoken to people, they said that actually it was the experience at Space and the experiences of that that kind of just put me ahead of other people' – travelling the world to represent the church on a global platform.

Alison said she spends several afternoons a week volunteering at Space, something she can manage, she says, because she has so few contact hours at university. This flexibility is also supported by the people who run Space: 'Two people that work there… they kind of printed out my timetable and put it on the wall, cos they were like… I'm not gonna ask you to do anything between these times'.

The support Alison has had from those she volunteers with is matched by the connections she's made with people in the church whom she feels are 'really rooting for me'. While she was grateful for the moral support she's had from family and friends, it's this external support network which has spurred her to continue. She credits much of her involvement in service to the support of Barbara, a woman at church who first invited Alison to join church conferences, the world council, and the mentoring programme. Barbara emails her opportunities and has offered to be a referee, something Alison said she knows will come in handy when she graduates.

Importantly, Alison has found her service rewarding, especially because it has sparked that desire to give back that she first felt as a child:

> I know what it's like to have had to rely on other people for help, and had to rely on you know people for food, had to rely on people for clothes, and then just knowing that I'm able to – help someone back like that… just makes me feel really special and like really happy.

The values Alison developed at a young age still drive what she does now. They were also apparent in the way Alison talked about how service has changed her. She has developed a range of character virtues as a result of her service, from community awareness and social justice, to patience and self-efficacy. It's these values – and believing that she's doing a good thing – that have helped Alison get through the tougher times she's faced as a volunteer. Sometimes these challenges have come from her friends, who berate her for missing a night out when she has had to get up early to volunteer. But other times these challenges have been issue-based: for supporting asylum seekers, Alison has been challenged by people back home and at university who don't believe in the cause, and has been shouted at on the street; for being involved with the church, she's been labelled a 'Bible basher'. Her confidence in what she does means that Alison hasn't been put off by these challenges; instead, she says that:

> Actually the one way that we can really challenge those opinions is by just carrying on doing what we're doing and making a difference… because, you know if people are educated they're not gonna know that actually asylum seekers are people too.

Alison also thinks that her service has inspired her siblings to get involved themselves. Talking about her older brother, who now volunteers but 'would've never done that before', Alison said:

> It's kind of made him realise through seeing what I could do, and he, like he kind of knows that, it's not kind of been like you know I've been fed with a silver spoon and everything's been handed to me, I've always had to apply and work for what I've got, but now they've kind of seen it… especially my little sister… has realised actually that they can do things as well and that 'cause volunteering was never like a big thing when we were growing up where we lived…. whereas now all of them are kind of involved in one way or another.

Alison hopes to continue volunteering at Space and at church while at university. Thinking further ahead, Alison says that all this experience has led her to question her career plans, challenging her idea of what a successful career looks like:

> When I was younger I just wanted to be rich… and then I realised that if I did that, while it would be nice to have money, I would be really unhappy and even when I do social action and I have [bad] days… it still makes me happy and actually that's what I wanna do I'd rather do something that I feel is worth

> while, that might not pay as well than do something that pays brilliantly but then I'm unhappy.

Alison said she had decided that she would like to work for a charity in the future.

4.5.3 Overall Findings from the Case Studies

Each of these young people, as well as the others who were interviewed as part of this study, showed how a habit of service can develop in different ways and under different circumstances. Three main themes were apparent throughout all these young people's stories. Each theme reinforced the questionnaire findings in terms of the importance of friends and family, the significance of the quality principles of social action, and further indicated that young people from different backgrounds were represented in the Habit group.

Firstly, a supportive environment was found to be key in forming and maintain a habit of service. This can come from family, as for Ed, from school, as in Fay's story, or from a faith group, like Alison. It may only be one individual – such as a church leader, parent, or Headteacher – who helps the young person to find opportunities and stay involved. These individuals act as facilitators, and in doing so are role modelling an informal kind of helping themselves.

Secondly, having the opportunity to participate in meaningful, challenging and enjoyable opportunities where they recognise the double benefit was found to be important in these young people making a habit of service. Benefits to themselves tended to focus on improving their employability skills and enhancing their personal and professional networks. Benefits to others ranged from the 'sense of community' that Fay helped embed within her school, to the changes Ed has made through his campaigning.

Thirdly, the qualitative data showed it is possible for any young person to make a habit of service. Ed and Alison had been eligible for Free School Meals when they were younger, and while there are known barriers to involvement in service for young people from lower socio-economic backgrounds, their journeys both demonstrated that these barriers may be more of a challenge for young people to get involved in the first place, rather than to stay involved and make a habit of service. Furthermore, each young person's journey of service started in a relatively ordinary way. For Alison, it was because her friend invited her to church; for Ed, it was the prospect of a day off school; for Fay, it was seeing a similar event on social media and wanting to try it out herself. This suggests that any young person is capable of making a habit of service, in the right environment, with the right support.

5 Discussion and Some Recommendations

This study explored various elements of habit identified in the literature, to see whether these elements were also associated with 16–20-year-olds who had a habit of service. Though the questionnaire did not involve a probability sample, the high number of respondents gives a certain confidence that these results can be generalised to young people involved in service in the UK as a whole.

This section discusses the key findings from the questionnaire and interviews in light of the wider literature on habits and service, and the implications of these findings for practice and further research.

5.1 IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PRACTICE

5.1.1 Anyone Can Make a Habit of Service, in the Right Environment

It was found in the questionnaire and interview data that demographic factors such as ethnicity and socio-economic status were not barriers to young people developing a habit. However, previous studies suggest that young people from an ethnic minority background are less likely to participate in 'meaningful' social action than their white peers (Pye and Michelmore, 2017), and that those from lower socio-economic backgrounds are less likely to participate in 'meaningful' social action than their more affluent peers (Mason *et al.*, 2010; Pye and Michelmore, 2017; Sarre and Tarling, 2010). It is worth reiterating that the questionnaire sample was not random, and therefore that these findings should be treated with some caution. Furthermore, service was embedded into many of the schools and colleges involved in this study, and these were in less affluent areas, where young people eligible for Free School Meals may be overrepresented. Several youth social action providers involved also focus specifically on engaging young people from less affluent and from BAME backgrounds. Therefore the questionnaire sample in this study may involve an unusually high number of young people from less affluent and BAME backgrounds who are involved in service, but this is unlikely to be representative of the UK as a whole.

Nonetheless, these findings are promising for those interested in making social action more inclusive, because they suggest that once young people from ethnic minority or less affluent backgrounds are involved in service, they are just as likely to make a habit of service as any other young person. There was a difference, however, in terms of religiosity. Those with a habit of service were found to be more likely than those who have not made a habit or not participated to be religious and practise their religion. Service and charity are central to many religions, including Christianity and Islam, the UK's two biggest religions. Indeed, evidence suggests that 10–20-year-olds who are involved in meaningful social action are slightly more likely to be religious (Pye and Michelmore, 2017). This is reinforced in a study which shows that young people who see religion as important to them are more likely to be involved in service than those who do not see religion as important; the authors connect this to religion's link with identity (Youniss, McLellan and Yates, 1999: 247-248). For other institutions – particularly schools, colleges and universities – it is worth considering how they can play this role for young people who are not religious, to help them develop a habit and support young people to feel that they too can find their place in society.

It may also be especially important for primary schools and organisations working with those aged 10 or younger to encourage children's involvement in service from a young age, given that this study found that those who had made a habit by the time they were 16–20 were more likely to have started younger than those who had not made a habit of service. The longer-term impact of this will be the furtherance of social and institutional conditions within which individuals can flourish, as the cultivation of character is most likely to succeed in exactly such conditions of reciprocity and equal opportunity (Jubilee Centre, 2017).

5.1.2 Young People's Sense of Possibility
Regression analysis found that the defining feature of a habit of service was the young person's belief that it was possible for them to participate – that they had the time, skills, opportunity and confidence to do so.

This 'perceived behavioural control' (Ajzen, 1991) is important because service is generally a behaviour 'over which people have incomplete volitional control' (Ajzen, 1991: 181). As the theory of planned behaviour suggests, intentions are important, but 'a behavioural intention can find expression in behaviour only… if the person can decide at will to perform or not perform the behaviour' (Ajzen, 1991: 182). Four resources which are particularly important to youth service in the UK were identified, as explained in Table 1: Key Elements of Habit – time, confidence, skills, and opportunity. The young people interviewed talked about how feeling it is possible to participate in service can depend on the circumstances. While they all generally 'made' time to take part, were confident enough to take on new opportunities and talked at length about the skills they had developed through service which enabled them to continue participating, the opportunity to participate was not always available to them: times of transition, such as going to university, could enable participation for some and make it more difficult for others. This is echoed in studies of adult volunteering (Brodie *et al.*, 2011).

Given that there is evidence to suggest that the perceived lack of these factors can be a barrier to getting involved in service, it could also be argued, considering their association with a habit of service, that they can be barriers to forming a habit of service. It is known from wider research on inequality that 'it is hard for people who lack resources to take advantage of the opportunities available to the rest of society' (Darton, Hirsch and Strelitz, 2003: 9); service is one such opportunity. Therefore, improving access to resources, and removing the barriers that a lack of resources creates, should be key areas of focus for those looking to support young people to develop a habit of service.

5.1.3 Quality of Service
The importance of the quality of service was apparent in the questionnaire and interviews. Ed's run-in with his teacher highlighted the potential challenges of embedding social action within a school, and the importance of buy-in not just from the Senior Leadership Team but from the whole staff body.

> '**EACH PERSON MUST LIVE THEIR LIFE AS A MODEL FOR OTHERS.**'
>
> **Rosa Parks**

In general, however, the young people interviewed talked a lot about the support they received from their schools, colleges, universities and employers which enabled their participation in service. Research from Pye and Michelmore (2017) suggests that schools and colleges can have a particularly strong influence over young people's involvement in service, with 69% of young people doing 'meaningful social action' having got involved through school or college and teachers being the biggest motivator for young people from the least affluent backgrounds.

For the young people interviewed in the present study, the support of their school or college was generally relatively passive, with the exception of Fay's school – a case of allowing students to take time off to participate, putting up posters to advertise opportunities, or providing free use of the photocopier. However, the questionnaire data showed that those with a habit of service were more likely to be at educational institutions which had actively encouraged their involvement rather than passively allowed them to participate. This study used the same questions as Michelmore and Stevens (2015) in their study with young people, and in both studies the same two forms of support – 'organising events or activities I can get involved in' and 'telling me about activities I can do/charities I can help' were cited most often; this also indicated that the questions were reliable.

Reflection, while found to be less important than some of the other quality principles in the questionnaire element of this study, was considered important to the young people in the interviews. Critical reflection is also key to moral development (Jubilee Centre, 2017). For the young people interviewed, having space to reflect on what they had done was helpful for getting through difficult times, rather than giving up when things got too hard. While none of the interviewees talked about guided reflection as part of any service programmes they had been involved in, simply being asked to tell their story about their journey of service offered them the chance to reflect. Inviting young people to tell their stories and providing a platform on which they can do so may therefore help to encourage reflection in young people.

Other studies link reflection to recognition, particularly in terms of making service inclusive (Bown, Harflett and Gitsham, 2014). Recognition and reward were positively linked to a habit of service in the questionnaire in this study, and were highlighted by the young people interviewed as things that were welcome yet unexpected – certainly not something they felt they needed in order to help others. This seemed to be driven by humility and a concern not to be seen to be involved in service for extrinsic reasons, but rather for altruistic reasons. This was reflected in the value placed on the many examples of recognition referred to throughout the interviews, from a simple act of gratitude such as saying 'thank you', to a handwritten card or award. All interviewees had been recognised formally or informally for their service, which they talked about enthusiastically. The value of recognition and reward in encouraging young people to continue being involved in service should not be underestimated.

Social impact, one half of the 'double benefit' of service, was not only found to be linked to a habit of service in the questionnaire in this study, but was also discussed in the interviews. This was predominantly in terms of stories about individuals who had benefited from the young people's service. There was a sense that being able to see their impact on others was more important than the scale of that impact. Several interviewees also highlighted the 'warm glow' (Andreoni, 1990) of service.

Furthermore, each young person interviewed had been involved in not one but in several different service activities, suggesting a 'domino effect' whereby one service activity leads to another, and so on. In telling their stories of their journey of service, the young people tended to talk of a chain of events and experiences. That in the questionnaire young people involved in more than one type of service activity were found to be more likely to have made a habit of service suggests that this is happening on a larger scale.

5.1.4 Recommendations for Practitioners
- Supporting young people to believe that they have the time, skills and confidence to participate in and make a habit of service, and providing opportunities that are accessible, may help to reduce barriers to involvement in, and forming a habit of, service. This support can come from a variety of sources, such as home, peers, faith groups, and/or youth social action providers, or can be embedded into the character education offered by schools.
- Institutions and programmes should consider how they can play a role in supporting young people to continue participating in service through key transition points, facilitating a journey of service throughout a person's life. This might involve signposting between organisations and greater partnerships between primary and secondary, secondary and college, secondary/college and university/employment, and university and employment.
- Individuals and organisations working with young people should encourage them to share their social action stories. In doing so, particular emphasis should be given to the often ordinary start of their journeys, helping young people who are not yet involved to feel that it is possible for them to get involved themselves.
- Practitioners and social action providers should, where possible, consider extending opportunities to participate to adults. With parents' involvement in service being related to their children's involvement, it is important that the opportunity to take part in and build a habit of service is available to adults as well as young people, enabling a culture of service to become the norm. As such, initiatives aiming to increase participation in adult volunteering are likely to have a positive, knock-on effect on young people's participation too.

5.2 IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

5.2.1 It is Possible to Identify a Habit of Youth Service that is More Complex than Frequency of Behaviour
As Verplanken and Melkevik (2008) report, 'perhaps as a heritage from the behaviourist tradition, most social scientists nowadays equate past behavioural frequency and habit'. This is also often how a habit of service

is conceptualised, with the addition of future behaviour (see for example Loewenstein, Price and Volpp, 2016; Rosen and Sims, 2011). Through the present study, it has been shown that habit is a more complex and multifaceted concept than it is often considered to be in common usage.

The findings presented in this report show that it is possible to identify and measure a habit of youth service, applying what is known already about habits from studies of behaviours in other fields (see Aarts, Paulussen and Schaalma, 1997; Mittal, 1988; Verplanken, 2006), as discussed in Table 1. In the literature review it was identified that each of the elements measured in the questionnaire from this study have been shown to create a habit in behaviours such as seatbelt use, diet and exercise. While a causal relationship from the present research cannot be established for a habit of service, it is possible to state with some confidence, based on previous studies of habit, that it is likely that these five identified elements contribute to young people building a habit of service. Furthermore, while anecdotally practitioners have assumed a link between these elements and a habit of service, evidence now shows that this link does exist. Further experimental research in this area is recommended in order to establish the direction of the relationship and identify causation, which the present study was unable to do, because it did not use a longitudinal or experimental design.

5.2.2 A New Way to Measure Virtue Identity

A Virtue Identity Measure was created for this study to test which virtue type – intellectual, moral, civic or performance – young people most identify with. Rather than use an existing measure of character identity, this Virtue Identity Measure was created because it needed to be targeted to a particular age range (16–20-year-olds).

In terms of the validity of the Virtue Identity Measure, analysis suggests that the Habit, Non-habit and Non-participant groups see the virtues more or less clearly, see them as more or less central to the self, and assume that others see them in a similar way. This finding was supported by various measures including: the number of times the respondent rates a virtue 4 or 5 (high association) across the four stories; the number of times the respondent rates a virtue 1 or 2 (low association) across the four stories; the number of times the respondent is unsure; and the number of times the respondent rejects the fit between self and virtue. After running non-parametric tests it can be concluded that the measure does offer a new approach to measuring character identity. It is interesting to note the finding that the ideal (like to be) is higher than actual (think they are like); this is consistent with how one typically views positive virtues and further supports the measure.

It can be concluded that, with some limitations, the new Virtue Identity Measure is a valid tool for measuring virtue identity in young people. This will be useful for those interested in measuring virtue identity, an important component of virtue (Jubilee Centre, 2017). The tool can therefore be viewed as an alternative to other measures of virtue identity, such as Aquino and Reed (2002) and Patrick (2009).

It was also hypothesised that the Habit group would identify more strongly with the moral and civic virtues than performance or intellectual virtues. Contrary to expectations, it was found that the civic virtue was the least identified with across the groups. While this study tried to ensure that all the vignettes were equally appealing, it is possible that the civic virtue vignette was less appealing than the others. Nonetheless, it was the perceived external association with the civic exemplar – agreeing that people say you are like the civic exemplar – which was a strong predictor of being in the Habit group.

In this study, 16–20-year-olds who associate with civic and moral virtues are more likely to have made a habit of service, yet it is known from previous research that character is malleable, not fixed, and therefore that character strengths are not inherent but are learnt and developed over time (Jubilee Centre 2017). According to youth social action providers, participating in service is a key way for young people to build character (Arthur, Harrison and Taylor, 2015; Jubilee Centre 2014), and the findings suggest that the activity itself builds their recognition and understanding of the virtues.

5.2.3 Recommendations for Researchers

■ The survey instruments used in this study are published and it is recommended that organisations interested in understanding more about the experiences of young people involved in their programmes use and adapt these measures in their own evaluations, particularly organisations which aim to build a habit of service.

■ A Randomised Controlled Trial is recommended in order to test whether increasing young people's belief that it is possible for them to take part in service improves their likelihood of taking part in the future; as part of this an intervention which aims to increase this sense of perceived behavioural control could be designed and tested.

■ Longitudinal research is recommended, starting with a cohort of young people under the age of 10 and continuing until they are 20, to further understanding of how young people develop a habit of service over time, and the barriers and enablers to developing that habit.

■ Additional research to understand more about those identified as Non-participants – those who had not been involved in service in the previous 12 months – would be valuable in helping to ascertain the barriers and enablers to their participation.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Question on Youth Social Action Activities

In the questionnaire, respondents were asked about their involvement in different types of service. The question on social action was:

Have you done anything in the past 12 months to help other people or the environment (social action), other than donating money or goods? This can include things you've done online or in person. It might be things you've done with: school, college or university; your apprenticeship or job (days supported by your employer); your local community; your place of worship; a club or group; a structured programme; a service year or gap year; friends, family or by yourself. For example:

- Fundraising or a sponsored event, e.g. a silence, walk, raffle, bake sale, car wash, including organising a fundraising event online. This doesn't include donating money or goods.
- Helping improve your local area, e.g. organising litter picking/ cleaning graffiti, painting murals, helping to build a farm/park/garden, helping with a road safety campaign, organising community street parties.
- Campaigning for something you believe in, e.g. organising a petition, raising awareness of an issue in school, community or through social media, creating online campaigns.
- Tutoring, coaching or mentoring anyone, e.g. helping children in a reading programme, coaching a sports team, leading a local youth group, mentoring online, voluntary academic tutoring.
- Supporting other people who aren't friends or relatives, e.g. helping an elderly neighbour with shopping, housework, visiting elderly people, offering support to others online, befriending someone with special needs and/or older people.
- Giving time to help a charity or cause, e.g. volunteering, helping organise events, creating posters/leaflets/magazine/website, collecting clothes, food etc. for charity, setting up or supporting a social enterprise.
- None of these.

Appendix 2: Demographic Information on Questionnaire Respondents

Gender	% of sample
Female	67%
Male	33%

Age	% of sample
16	40%
17	42%
18	12%
19	4%
20	2%

Ethnicity	% of sample
White	70%
BAME	30%

Socioeconomic status	% of sample
FSM	24%

Special Educational Needs and Disability	% of sample
SEN	8%
Disability	11%

Religiosity	% of sample
Religious	43%
Practising religion	42%

Occupation[8]	% of sample
School	10%
Sixth form	44%
College	41%
University	4%
Working part-time	15%
Working full-time	1%
Apprenticeship	1%
Internship	1%
Unemployed	10%

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[8]   Respondents could select more than one occupation.

Appendix 3: Virtue Identity Measure

The Virtue Identity Measure comprised a series of vignettes and associated questions designed to test respondents' identification with different virtue types.

Those who identified as male at the start of the questionnaire saw vignettes with boys' names, while those identifying as female saw the same vignettes but with girls' names instead. Those who did not specify a gender or chose 'other' saw two vignettes with boys' names and two with girls'.

These vignettes and the questions are below.

Moral Virtues (Mariam/Ben)

Mariam cares about her friends. They feel like they can tell her anything and they can trust her not to judge them. When her friend Emma told her that she was having problems at home, Mariam didn't tell anyone else and tried to be there for her – she could understand how Emma might be feeling.

Performance Virtues (Isabella/Saeed)

Isabella lives by the motto "if at first you don't succeed, try again". In a group she likes motivating others to reach their goals too. Even when things are difficult, Isabella bounces back – like last year, when she didn't get into the local football team. Ever since she's spent more time training and she'll try again this year.

Intellectual Virtues (Daisy/Dan)

Daisy likes to make her views heard. She's open to hearing other people's points of view, too, which makes her a good listener. After two of her friends had a bad argument recently, Daisy was the one who sat down with them both, heard what they had to say, and got them to work things out.

Civic Virtues (Emily/Connor)

Emily is pretty active in her community. She generally knows about the important issues going on in the world and in her local area, and helps out where she can when she has the time.

When she found out that her youth club might be closed down, she and her friends started a campaign to keep it open.

Questions after each vignette

- To what extent do you think you are like [name]?
- To what extent would you like to be a person like [name]?
- To what extent would the people who know you say you are like [name]?
- To what extent would your friends like someone like [name]?

Questions on all four vignettes

- Of the four people described, which one is most like you?
- Which person is least like you?
- Which person would you most like to be like?

Research Team

JAMES ARTHUR
PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

Professor James Arthur is Director of the Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues, University of Birmingham and Deputy Pro-Vice-Chancellor for Staffing. He is Chair of the Society for Educational Studies, and was Head of the School of Education 2010–2015.

TOM HARRISON
PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

Dr. Tom Harrison is Director of Education at the Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues, leading on all the development projects, enabling the Centre's work to be transformative. Tom is Director of the MA in Character Education at the University of Birmingham.

EMMA TAYLOR-COLLINS
RESEARCH ASSOCIATE

Emma is a Research Associate at the Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues, working with Step Up To Serve. Emma is doing her PhD part-time at the University of Birmingham on youth social action and inclusion.

FRANCISCO MOLLER
RESEARCH FELLOW

Francisco is a Research Fellow in the Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues. He works as a data analyst contributing to projects across the Centre. Francisco is studying a PhD in Local Government Studies at the University of Birmingham, and he holds an MSc in Social Research Methods from the London School of Economics.

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> 'WHEN YOU GIVE AND CARRY OUT ACTS OF KINDNESS, IT'S AS THOUGH SOMETHING INSIDE YOUR BODY RESPONDS AND SAYS, "YES, THIS IS HOW I OUGHT TO FEEL".'
>
> **Rabbi Harold Kushner**

JOHN TEMPLETON
FOUNDATION

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues
12th Floor (West) Muirhead Tower
Edgbaston, Birmingham
B15 2TT, United Kingdom
www.birmingham.ac.uk

For more information about the
A Habit of Service project and the Jubilee Centre for
Character and Virtues please contact:
Tel: 0121 414 4875
Email: jubileecentre@contacts.bham.ac.uk
www.jubileecentre.ac.uk

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