

Associationism, Social Capital and Gender in Spanish Society

Asociacionismo, capital social y género en la sociedad española

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Key words

- Social Capital
- Social Trust
 - Gender
 - Associativeness

Palabras clave

- Capital social
- Confianza general
 - Género
 - Participación asociativa

Abstract

This paper examines associative participation in Spanish society from a gender perspective, focusing on participation levels, associative integration and forms of associationism. The following research questions were formulated: “Do levels of associative participation differ between men and women?” and “Do men and women participate in the same type of associations?”. To respond to these questions, data from the 2019 Survey on Social Capital in Spain was analyzed. This data is representative at a national level, and descriptive, correlational and ordered logistic regression analyses were performed. It was concluded that evidence supports a burden of gender roles in terms of associationism, especially for political associationism, creating a ceiling effect for participation and even social trust.

Resumen

Este trabajo estudia la participación asociativa en la sociedad española desde una perspectiva de género, centrándose tanto en los niveles de integración asociativa (equidad vertical) como en las formas asociativas (equidad horizontal). Para ello, nos planteamos dos preguntas de investigación: ¿son los niveles de participación asociativa entre hombres y mujeres distintos? y ¿participan hombres y mujeres en el mismo tipo de asociaciones? Para darles respuesta se analiza la Encuesta sobre el Capital Social en España 2019, representativa a nivel nacional, realizando análisis descriptivos, de correlaciones y de regresión logística ordenada. La principal conclusión obtenida es que existe un lastre de los roles de género sobre el asociacionismo, en particular sobre el asociacionismo político que genera un techo participativo y en confianza social.

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INTRODUCTION¹

Participation in volunteer associations and organizations is considered a key indicator of social capital, since this participation pursues objectives to advance society (or some of its members), form bonds and enrich civic life. The interrelation of this variable with general trust makes it a key point in the social capital theory (Putnam, 1991, 2000; Portes, 2000; Pena-López and Sánchez-Santos, 2013), such that an endogenous social identity may be created: associative participation reflects the existence of social trust and creates social trust.

The classic line of research established by Putnam (1993, 2000, 2003; Putnam and Garret, 2020) argues that this form of capital is in decline in Western democracies due to the decrease in civic engagement resulting from lifestyle transformation. This decline has led to a decrease in electoral participation, individual commitment to political parties, union membership, and religious participation. Although debate exists as to whether this decline actually suggests a transformation towards new, more autonomous and horizontal forms of participation (Inglehart and Welzel, 2006), it is agreed that a decline exists in civic participation and its social effects. According to Reinghold (2000), when citizens become involved in civic life, all spheres of public life improve, from the functioning of schools to safety on the streets to political responsibility. Participation in unions, non-governmental organizations (hereinafter, NGOs) or political parties, all of which are forms of social capital, creates a multiplier effect on cultural and economic capital (Siisiäinen, 2000; Iftekhar, He and Lu, 2020). According to another analysis perspective, associationism is key to promoting Tönnies' shared community concept (Bauman, 2003: 16).

Despite the importance of the concept and the exponential increase in research over the past thirty years, the introduction of the gender variable in its study or the adopting of a gender perspective has only occurred in a few specific works. According to Lowndes (2006), a lack of attention has been paid to gender inequality since the get go. Molyneux (2008) also noted the lack of interest in the role of women in creating and maintaining activities related to this type of capital. This has not gone unnoticed by gender experts, who have highlighted the lack of consideration of not only gender, but also other elements such as ethnicity. The concept of social capital is problematic within feminist theory. It can be affirmed that bias exists regarding the concept of social capital in general (Adkins, 2005; Addis and Joxhe, 2016), and as Kovalainen (2004) suggested, from Putnam's macro or integration perspective, associationism and social networks are only analyzed as a means to facilitate collective action (trust, associationism, etc.), abandoning aspects such as power relations or underlying inequality. Fine (2010) went a step further to state that gender is the starting point, but the subordination of women should also be examined, since social capital plays an ambiguous role. Social capital may in fact favor forms of exclusion, whereby one group, according to this notably relaxed and ambiguous concept, excludes others due to homophily. That is, associations and networks may control society, excluding others based on gender, economic status or race (Lin, 2000).

This study may be situated within the group of works examining the evolution of social capital in general, paying attention to the gender variable in order to analyze divergences in participation, associative typology and social trust, as well as their determinant variables. As an extension of prior works (Requena, 1995; López-Rey, 2010; Muñoz-Goy, 2013a, 2013b), we consider both participation and its evolution as well as

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forms of association, contrasting not only the evolution of vertical inequality but also horizontal inequality and introducing an analytical aspect.

This work is structured in two main blocks. In the first, a literature review on gender and social capital is presented to define the underlying factors that may cause inequality in terms of social capital. In the second block, based on data from the 2019 Survey on Social Capital in Spain, we contrast the hypotheses derived from the theoretical section, regarding participation and associative profile. Finally, the results are discussed, and conclusions are presented.

GENDER, SOCIAL CAPITAL AND ASSOCIATIONISM

The main line of research on social capital and gender has focused on the descriptive analysis of gender differences in associative participation and social trust.

Studies by Putnam (2000), including recent ones (Putnam and Garrett, 2020), do not delve into the gender issue. They only mention a potential effect of gender roles on social capital. Thus, they suggest that women currently face a sort of trade-off. The load of family responsibility and commitment to the family life environment (healthcare, education, etc.), traditionally associated with the female gender, may conflict with women's inclusion in the labor market, especially for those having a higher education level. This conflict may be based on associative participation, limiting this participation in a broad set of associative forms. Likewise, the increase of women in the work force may act to decrease these inequalities. As Norris and Inglehart (2006) mentioned, this generates effects in a dual manner: increasing women's options to create new social relations in the work setting but simultaneously decreasing their possibilities of developing bonds in the associative setting of family and residential life.

This work by Norris and Inglehart suggests that the core of the problem lies in gender inequality, distinguishing between two types of the same: differences in the intensity of organizational participation (vertical) and differences in the type of organizations to which one belongs (horizontal). While differences in participation levels may be limited when controlling for other variables, inequality due to organization type is of special relevance. Male participation is clearly higher in recreational associations, trade unions, political parties and professional associations, whereas women are more likely to participate in volunteer associations, religious organizations and groups devoted to assisting the disabled or elderly.

Similarly, Lowndes (2000 and 2006), considering the UK case, found no significant gender differences in levels of vertical participation and trust, but did observe considerable horizontal inequality, reflected in the characteristics of the associationism. The social capital of women was found to exist in informal networks connected to neighborhood life and these women tended to use it to make their personal and work lives more compatible, while also protecting the health and wellbeing of their families.

Confirming this profile, Molyneux affirms that, compared to men, the social capital of women is generally located close to the home, implying exchanges of time and skills, emotional or ethical issues, including volunteer work and related to the creation of bonds. "Networks of women tend to focus more on domestic problem resolution and are less involved with economic or employment issues" (Molyneux, 2008: 67). The most relevant work regarding this topic and supporting this idea was carried out by Addis and Joxhe (2016). They found that professional and political associations and those related to status tend to be dominated by males whereas associations related to care of the community or family tend to be predominantly female (McPherson and Smith-Lovin 1982; Son and Lin 2008; Gidengil *et al.*, 2006).

Logically, this associative specialization also has derivations in terms of political participation as well as social mobility. According to Caiazza and Gault (2006), the areas that have traditionally concerned men and women have differed.

Women support civil rights more than men; they are more concerned about children's education and are more likely to support the extension of policies to alleviate economic and social hardship (Caiazza and Gault, 2006: 102).

On the other hand, Dávila, Zlobina and Álvarez Hernández (2020) noted that the yoke of gender stereotypes in creating social networks may limit the development of democratic societies.

As for social mobility, networks of associations in which women predominate, with profiles linked to the more traditional "female" roles may limit social mobility and thereby reduce the quantity and diversity of women's contacts. For example, in Lutter's study (2015) on social capital and gender in the US film industry, it was demonstrated that when actresses were immersed in cohesive networks, it was more likely that their careers would fail as compared to men, but when they participated in open structures, they had better opportunities.

Associative typology and participation

Examining the roots of the previously mentioned horizontal gender inequality, relative gender specialization based on association type may be linked to a traditional typological classification: expressive associations versus instrumental ones. This distinction was considered by Gordon and Babchuck (1959) and was advanced by Bekkers *et al.* (2008). It is a classification based on the primary functional objective of social action (Weber, 1978) underlying an organization. Instrumental associationism has individual or social achievement objectives; that is, it seeks to achieve social changes that directly or indirectly favor individuals or groups. Ex-

pressive participation is compensation on its own, based on affective behavior and reinforcing individual identity. For example, the paradigmatic distinction exists between a union and a cultural association. While the former has the objective of achieving new resources or social transformation, the latter is more involved with personal development and reinforcing the individual's identity.

Obviously, this distinction is a simplification, given that all associative forms actually carry out both functions, regardless of whether or not they create mechanisms of personal gratification and are instrumental in seeking social objectives. The key point of distinction lies in whether the organization has the primary objective of contributing to the well-being of its members or not. To introduce greater realism in this typology which truly reflects a continuum, the classic work of Gordon and Babchuck (1959) discussed the existence of expressive-instrumental associations, which cover both objectives. In other words, they include a dimension of personal identity expression and specific social objectives. This is the case for the numerous non-governmental organizations (environmental, animal protection, foreign assistance, etc.). Taking this into account, interest groups, unions and political parties may be considered instrumental. As for the expressive ones, this includes neighborhood and cultural associations, sporting clubs, etc.

According to studies carried out in Spain, associative participation levels are quite low. However, its overall social capital level is considered intermediate, since its low associative level is compensated by an intense weight of family networks and strong ties (Pérez-Díaz, 2000). According to the results of the World Values Survey, López-Rey (2010) found that when considering both active participation and simple membership, there is clear evidence of the previously mentioned gender specialization. Muñoz-Goy (2013a), analyzing the past wave of the Survey on social capital in Spain, also agreed with this finding, sug-

gesting that horizontal segmentation existed, according to the type of organization considered. Organizations related to work and economic (and sporting) settings were mainly masculine, whereas those focusing on domestic, community, altruistic and religious areas tended to be more feminized.

In summary, this line of research highlights differences in terms of associative membership, according to a descriptive perspective. However, as Norris and Inglehart (2006) mentioned, very little is still understood regarding how gender interacts with social capital and its implications on social inequality: expressive associations, focused on well-being, consist mainly of women; instrumental associations of status and social mobility, on the other hand, tend to be male dominated. This specialization may be subject to relevant changes linked to the evolution of gender roles and female inclusion in the labor market. As Requena (1995) noted, the incorporation of women into the labor world is a determinant key to changing networks, including associative ones. Women tend to create more networks than men; however, a social structure dominated by men may act as a limiting factor regarding these changes.

Based on these theoretical and empirical foundations, our working hypotheses focus on contrasting the persistence of vertical and horizontal inequality, analyzing whether it is in fact linked to gender; that is, controlling for other potential determinants.

Hypothesis 1: social transformations regarding gender roles will increase participation such that levels of social capital, measured in terms of participation in associations, will be more equal between men and women (vertical equity).

Hypothesis 2: specifically, the persistence of gender role inequality will lead women to continue to participate more actively in expressive associations (linked to care and the household), whereas men will do so in instrumental associations (horizontal inequality).

GENDER AND ASSOCIATIVE PARTICIPATION IN SPAIN

Data and methodology

To study gender divergences in terms of associative participation and considering the hypotheses presented, our analysis has been conducted in three parts, based on the 2019 Survey on social capital in Spain of the OSIM (Social Organizations, Institutions and Markets) research group of the Universidade da Coruña (with the authors being members of the same). This survey was proposed as a source of data on the various forms of social capital in Spanish society. Thus, along with a large set of sociodemographic and status variables, it also collects data on formal associations and personal networks available to each individual (individual social capital).

This is a representative survey of the entire Spanish adult population, having a confidence level of 95.5 % and a sampling error of ± 1.82 %. The total sample consists of 3000 cases from over 280 municipalities, using multi-stage cluster sampling (Territorial Statistical Units, environmental characteristics, sex and age). The field work was carried out in a single wave, from April to June of 2019, conducting random telephone contacts across the country and using the CATI system.

Our empirical strategy of results analysis was based on a descriptive study of the relationship between gender, active membership and participation in the diverse volunteer organizations (religious; sporting; educational, artistic, musical or cultural; trade unions; political groups or parties; professional associations; NGOs and environmental conservation, ecological or animal rights associations). This approach was used to display the existence of significant gender differences, in accordance with the hypothesis, in both inactive (simple membership) and active participation (in which the citizen, in addition to being members, also participate in activities). Correlation analysis was

used, while also considering membership in various associations.

In a second block, using an ordered logistic regression analysis, we examine how the gender variable is determinant in inactive and active participation in each of the associationism forms (expressive, including religious, cultural, sporting, NGOs and other organizations; and instrumental, including labor unions, political groups or parties and professional associations).

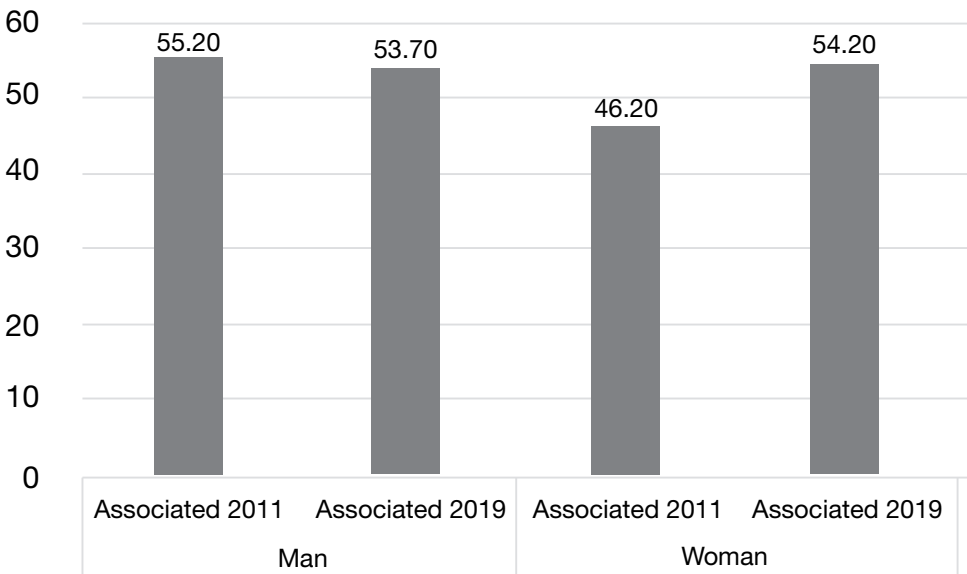
Finally, given the link between associationism and the key proxy variable of general social capital, the relationship between associative membership and trust will be studied, differentiating between genders.

Evolution of associative participation in Spain and gender

Contrasting the results on associationism in Spain provided by the 2011 Survey on social capital and inequality in Spain, and the 2019 Survey on social capital in Spain, certain significant changes have been ob-

served (see Graph 1). From a general approach and considering the Spanish context, the level of associationism is found to be medium-low. Generally speaking, half of the population has an associative link, a figure which, in Europe, ranges from 90 % in Scandinavian countries to 30 % in southern countries (Morales Diez de Ulzurrun and Mota Consejero, 2006). Upon comparing associative participation (membership in at least one association) by gender between both social capital surveys (2011 and 2019), a significant evolution is observed. Specifically, in terms of participation, male participation has decreased slightly, while female participation has increased by 8 points. In 2011, gender had a relationship with participation at a significance level of 0.01 and in 2019, it is not significant. Therefore, based on the survey results, it may be affirmed that there are no significant gender differences in the general levels of associationism. Currently, there is a situation of vertical equity in terms of associative participation.

GRAPH 1. Evolution of associative participation in Spain based on gender 2011-2019

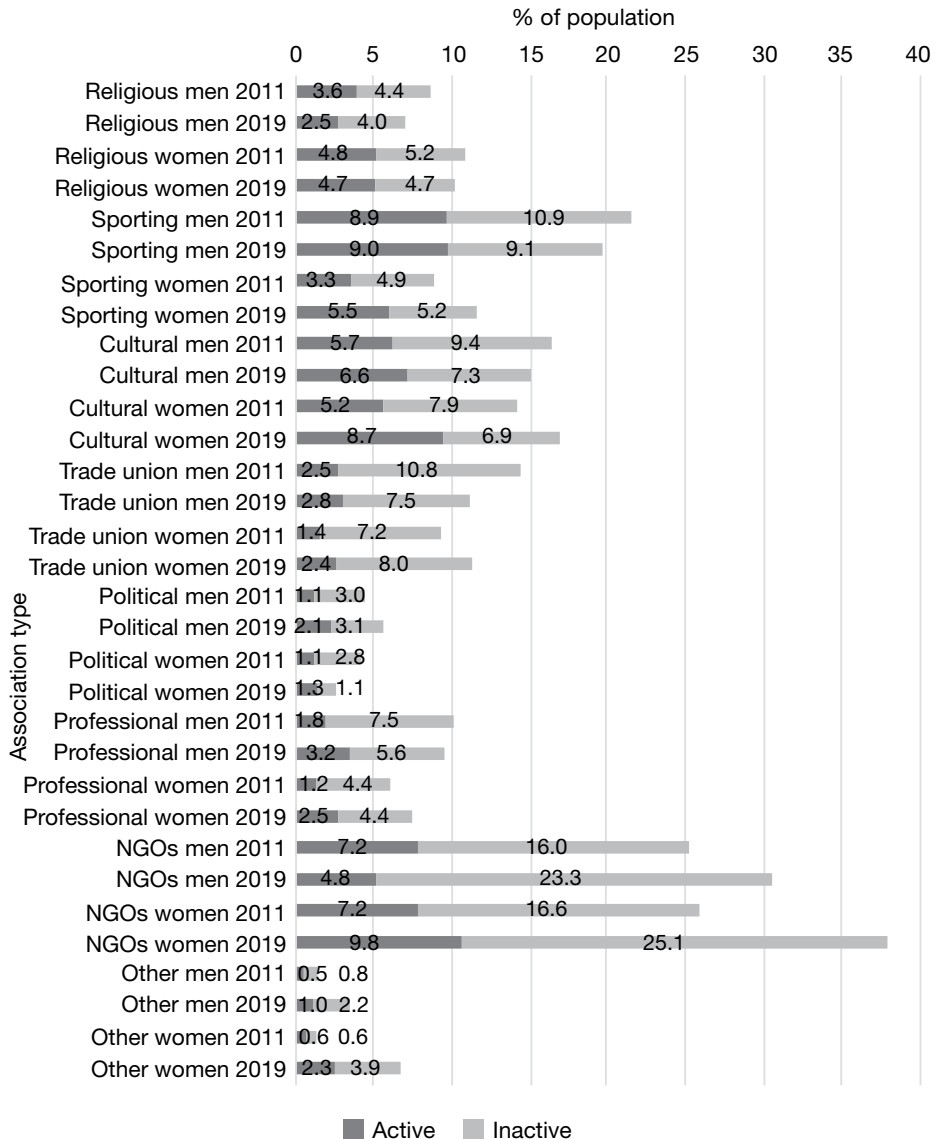


Source: Author's own creation based on the Survey on Social Capital in Spain of 2011 and 2019.

If we go on to analyze the evolution within each typology, as reflected in Graph 2, in 2011, there was a sustained trend, that of the ongoing decline of traditional organizations: religious, trade union and political ones, in favor of organizations linked to specific actions that can be considered part of expressive associationism:

cultural, sports, and specifically, the growth of associationism of NGOs and the “others” subgroup which may be situated within that of NGOs since these are similar volunteer organizations of which 80 % exist within the NGO setting (for example, the Red Cross, animal protection or civil protection) and volunteer work in associations.

GRAPH 2. Evolution of associative participation in 2011-2019 by gender and association type



Source: Author's own creation based on the Survey on Social Capital in Spain of 2011 and 2019.

However, the high level of participation in the so-called NGOs should be qualified. This is the form of associative expression demonstrating the most participation and growth, but in terms of active participation, it is comparable to that of other organizational forms, such as cultural or sporting ones. In other words, the growth experienced is strongly reflected in inactive membership or participation, oftentimes a mere economic contribution resulting from a growth strategy used by many NGOs in which they promote membership in the form of paying fees.

At a descriptive level and focusing our attention on the last wave (2019), we observe the pattern predicted by the theory of gender specialization of associations, as well as the existence of an equalizing trend. Thus, significant divergences only exist in sporting, political and professional associations, in which there is a relative predominance of men, while, in NGOs, cultural and religious ones, there is a female predominance. This corroborates the trend found in previous studies which was mentioned in the theoretical section, while simultaneously revealing an equalizing trend in associations having a greater presence of men, with the sole exception of political parties. On the other hand, the latter have the lowest participation levels.

Regarding active or inactive associative participation, a distinction should be made

which requires certain changes upon the first reading of the data. For instance, simply paying a registration fee is considered inactive participation. Active participation implies participation in any of the organization's activities. As seen in Graph 2, organizational participation levels are quite variable, with religious, sporting and cultural organizations having a similar percentage of active and inactive members, approaching 50 %; while, in the case of political parties, trade unions and, especially, NGOs, larger differences exist, with the number of inactive members clearly greater than the number of active ones.

When considering the gender variable, the differences in active participation are consistent with this, and are especially significant. Men are more actively involved in sporting organizations, political parties and professional associations, while women are more active in religious, cultural (educational, artistic, musical, etc.), and NGOs and volunteer organizations. Thus, when proposing a ratio of gender by participation, it is remarkable to note that active female participation doubles that of men in NGOs, it is 88 % higher than that of men in religious ones and 32 % higher in cultural ones (see Table 1).

In an initial analysis, this result supports the second hypothesis sustained in the theoretical section. Female participation is

TABLE 1. *Participation by gender and association type*

	Participation			Active participation		
	Men (%)	Women (%)	Ratio	Men (%)	Women (%)	Ratio
Religious	6.5	9.4	1.45	2.5	4.7	1.88
Sporting	18.1	10.7	0.59	9.0	5.5	0.61
Cultural	13.8	15.6	1.13	6.6	8.7	1.32
Trade Union	10.3	10.4	1.01	2.8	2.4	0.86
Political	5.2	2.5	0.48	2.1	1.3	0.62
Professional	8.8	6.9	0.78	3.2	2.5	0.78
NGOs	28.1	34.9	1.24	4.8	9.8	2.04
Others	3.2	6.3	1.97	1.0	2.3	2.30

Source: Author's own creation based on the 2019 Survey on Social Capital in Spain.

significantly greater in associations related to gender-assigned roles: functions related to the home, family or caregiving, which may be classified as the “expressive” field. However, it is necessary to delve deeper into this issue.

Determinants of membership to each associative typology

The study of the determinants of membership to each of the forms of associationism helps us to analyze how gender, controlled by a wide range of socioeconomic variables, is an explanatory variable of associative participation. In this case, we consider the response to the associative participation question that we have been analyzing. Here, there is a scale of three possibilities: “doesn’t participate”, “participates” and “actively participates”. An ordered logit was used. As explanatory variables, sociodemographic, socioeconomic and status variables (such as class or income) as well as individual social capital or network size and structure variables have been considered along with the gender variable. Specifically, indicators derived from a generator of positions, that is, interviewee access to or knowledge of individuals in certain distinct social levels (Pena-López, Rungo and Sánchez-Santos, 2021) have been considered. This variable offers us a *proxy* of the extent of the social network of an individual. We also introduced indicators of general social capital, such as general trust level.

The set of models included in Table 2 shows that gender is a relevant explanatory variable for any type of organization, with the exception of trade unions. Women are found to have a clearly significant presence in religious, cultural and NGO organizations while men predominate in political and sporting ones. Trade union and professional organizations, however, appear to have lost their traditional gender orientation.

Considering the characterization of these associationism types, once again, evidence supports the second hypothesis. Despite the

equalizing trend, women continue to clearly predominate in organizations traditionally associated with the gender which have been linked to predominantly expressive classification (Ariño, 2004, 2007). Men, on the other hand, display a clear predominance in political and professional (instrumental) and sporting (expressive) associationism. These differences in associationism forms follow the traditional gender roles mentioned in the theoretical section. When controlling for potentially influential socioeconomic variables, women are found to opt for organizations forming part of individual and community life and wellbeing (religious organizations, NGOs).

However, certain nuances should be discussed. While the weight of men is significant in political and sporting organizations where traditional gender roles persist, this weight is no longer significant in professional and trade union organizations where a major equalizing process has taken place. The relevant weight of certain control variables should also be considered in order to understand the associative profiles. For example, in the case of religious associations, only age and being Spanish citizens are found to be clearly significant variables. In both cultural organizations and NGOs, the influencing variables are very closely related to stratification: education level, social class and relationship network (having an extensive personal network). In the case of political and sporting associations, where the weight of males is heavier, the former is strongly influenced by contact networks with the upper class. In sporting associations, however, this predominance is related to having more personal networks with individuals from all classes.

Finally, professional and union associations, where gender is not significant, have clearly distinct profiles. The professional one is more closely linked to status variables, as compared to the union association, which is more linked to the development of networks in the lower class.

TABLE 2. Determinants of associative membership by association type. Ordered logit (n=3000)

	Religious orgs.	Sporting orgs.	Cultural orgs.	Trade union orgs.	Political orgs.	Professional orgs.	NGOs	Others
Gender	0.405475***	-0.379793***	0.512352***	0.255675*	-0.713995***	0.00433679	0.648061***	1.08800***
Urban-rural setting	-0.0202707	0.0140554	0.0730037	-0.0196550	-2.31025e-05	-0.198903**	0.000792958	-0.0425990
Age	0.444674***	0.0915505	0.387724***	-0.0803276	0.249988*	0.105273	0.500053***	0.0618538
Civil status	0.00157156	-0.156370	-0.338287**	0.192855	0.0483987	0.0378023	0.0315824	-0.0395741
Span. Nationality	0.408873***	0.0607342	-0.746771	-0.304755	0.153687	-0.620528	-0.479258**	-13.4250
Time at current residence	0.00181218	0.00136373	-0.00250457*	0.00347601	-0.00525229	-0.00770511	-0.00603321**	-0.00450245
Education level	0.168030**	0.104744*	0.265905***	0.126282*	0.141783	0.630647***	0.193375***	-0.0909057
Household income	-0.0688293	0.0744862	-0.0961475	0.145755**	0.188648*	0.148696**	0.153830***	0.139576
Social class of interviewee	0.0996528	0.0526189	0.161650***	0.110539*	0.0158544	0.175831	0.0731006*	0.161679*
Knows the upper class	0.227810	0.610295***	0.519221***	0.206833	0.656582**	0.318886	0.330597**	0.139474
Knows the lower class	0.0852529	0.496863***	0.263768	0.351334**	0.0817213	0.386759*	0.237082**	-0.0242715
Overall trust	0.0164897	-0.0662884	-0.0118574	-0.00103090	0.256726*	0.0703187	-0.0311271	-0.0134021
Cut1	5.59523***	2.83123***	3.40406***	2.33195***	4.64300***	5.62764***	4.06872***	-8.72942
Cut2	6.32349***	3.53094***	4.06620***	3.89659***	5.39982***	6.82104***	6.02584***	-7.85732
Predicted cases (%)	91.8	85.6	85.4	87.6	96.1	91.6	65.1	95.9
Log-likelihood	-601.3882	-904.9787	-899.3885	-808.0844	-345.0037	-585.9174	-1437.409	-378.5769
McFadden's pseudo R ²	0.1444	0.1704	0.1422	0.0802	0.1279	0.1882	0.1580	0.1255

* significant at 0.1, ** significant at 0.05, *** significant at 0.01.

Source: Author's own creation based on the 2019 Survey on social capital in Spain.

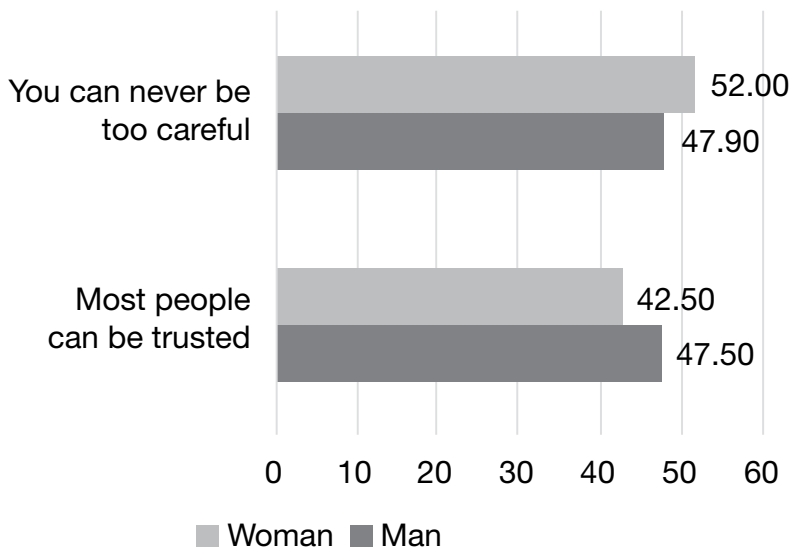
Associationism, general social capital and gender

A key point underlying all social capital theory is the quasi-causal link between associationism and general trust, that is, the remarkably endogenous dual link between the various forms of associationism and general trust (Herreros, 2003). According to Muñoz-Goy (2013a), when there are high levels of trust, participation is favored, since this trust acts as a “key motivational source of social capital” (Muñoz-Goy, 2013a: 87 paraphrasing Adler and Kwon, 2002: 26). Similarly, in

associationism, the networks created, and the evaluative convergence derived from the associative framework favors general trust.

The most common proxy variable used to measure interpersonal trust is the response to the question: “In general, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can never be too careful when dealing with others?”. The results, when crossed with the gender variable, are found to be statistically significant (chi-squared = 0.018), with males being more trusting than women (see Graph 3).

GRAPH 3. Overall trust and gender (%)



Source: Author's own creation based on the 2019 Survey on Social Capital in Spain.

It is also necessary to define to what extent it is actually linked to gender and its relationship with associationism in its various expressions. The results of the logistic regression show that when controlled by the potential set of explanatory variables, gender is significant.

Regarding the set of potential determinants, the very limited influence of associationism is notable. Specifically, only membership in NGOs reveals a relation-

ship with trust and is linked to gender. In the case of women, only membership in cultural associations is found to be significant. The remaining expressions are irrelevant. In fact, the most influential determinants are the sociodemographic and status variables. In simpler terms, those with more education, higher incomes, perceiving greater security in the surroundings where they live, display greater levels of trust in society.

TABLE 3. *Determinants of generalized trust. Binomial logit. (n=3000)*

	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)
Gender	-0.363***	0.695	-0.247**	0.781
Age	0.170***	1.185	0.139***	1.149
Urban-rural environment	-0.076	0.927		
Perceived safety of environment	0.113**	1.120	0.110**	1.116
Nationality	0.139	1.149		
Level of education	0.097**	1.102	0.091**	1.095
Household income	0.092**	1.096	0.097**	1.102
Social class	0.063*	0.939	0.064**	0.938
Knows the upper class	0.505***	1.658	0.492***	1.635
Knows the lower class	0.176	1.192		
Religious orgs.	-0.119	0.888		
Sporting orgs.	0.025	1.025		
Cultural orgs.	-0.194	0.823		
Labor union orgs.	0.115	1.122		
Political orgs.	0.244	1.276		
Professional orgs.	-0.145	0.865		
NGO	0.168*	1.183	0.261***	1.298
Other organizations	0.121	1.129		
Gender · sporting	-0.041	0.960		
Gender · cultural	0.910***	2.485	0.640***	1.896
Gender · trade unions	-0.188	0.829		
Gender · political	0.059	1.061		
Gender · professional	0.355	1.427		
Gender · NGOs	0.209	1.233		
Gender · others	0.210	1.233		
Constant	-1.690***	0.184	-1.661***	0.190
Cox and Snell's R ²	0.086		0.078	
Nagelkerke's R ²	0.116		0.106	

* significant at 0.1; ** significant at 0.05; *** significant at 0.01.

Source: Author's own creation based on the 2019 Survey on Social Capital in Spain.

CONCLUSIONS

Associative participation is one of the basic components of general social capital, so much so that this theory is based on the relationship between associationism and generalized trust. The introduction of the gender variable in the analysis is key to analyzing the potential existence of a differential in the presence of women in social functioning and the channeling of collective action.

The social capital concept is problematic in feminist theory given that, under the

scope of participation, the analysis of inequality and power relations underlying the networks may be ignored. Although there has been an exponential increase in studies on social capital, gender studies on associative participation are notably scarce. Past works have highlighted the existence of two types of inequality: those in general participation levels (vertical) and those in type of association, based on the functions carried out at a social level (horizontal). Research has revealed a process of reduction of participatory divergences and, consequently, a

decreased divergence in social capital, as a result of the incorporation of women in the workforce as well as increased female education levels. However, this approximation may be burdened by the gender issue (Molyneux, 2008) since the increase in social capital is biased towards associative forms that reproduce gender roles. This associative specialization may have relevant effects, for example, on political, trade union and professional associationism. Using classical terminology, women tend to specialize in expressive associationism while men predominate in the instrumental type.

Our work contrasts two hypotheses: the advance of vertical equity or equality in the general levels of associative participation, and the persistence of horizontal inequality, that is, the inequality of gender participation related to the associative typology.

The contrast carried out, based on the 2019 Survey on social capital in Spain, highlights that inequality in associative participation has been reduced to the point where the general volume of participation does not reveal any significant differences. However, vertical inequality continues to exist. Gender differences are significant in many associative typologies. Women continue to predominate in the majority of the so-called expressive organizations, and especially in those related to the home or caregiving circles. Regarding the analysis of associative profiles, these divergences are evident in the NGO and volunteer groups, the cultural and educational ones and, in line with the traditional associative scheme, in religious ones, where gender is clearly a determining factor. In the case of men, their weight in the *instrumental* associations continues to be higher. This is especially evident in the case of political associations; however, divergences in the trade union and professional areas have been reduced to almost the point of insignificance. Also following typical gender roles, differences are also significant in the expressive sports associations.

Finally, it is interesting to note that a weak relationship exists between associationism and general trust in Spanish society. In terms of the generation of social capital, participation does not generate trust and vice versa.

In short, the process to ensure gender equality is also relevant to associationism, given that a certain degree of equalization has taken place in both the vertical and horizontal spheres (although nuances should be noted). There continues to be a clear predominance of women in expressive organizations, although this is also the case in associations where the expressive is mixed with the instrumental (NGOs). And despite the decline in differences in instrumental organizations, men continue to clearly dominate in political associations and the traditional associative stereotypes persist. Finally, these results should be qualified in two regards since this equalization has taken place within the context of a progressive decrease in the influence of associationism and a limited relationship between this and other social capital indicators (Vázquez-García, 2010).

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