

Volunteer Report Cité-Unis

Abstract

This report analyzes survey data for four different cohorts of Cité-Unis volunteers who did their service civique (2020-2024).

Introduction

This report analyzes survey data for four different cohorts of Cité-Unis volunteers who did their service civique in France between 2020 and 2024.

Section provides analyses as to who are the volunteers. In Section , we look at how the service civique has changed the volunteers' attitudes and views? We then look at several outcomes of interest in detail, namely whether volunteers end their contract early (Section), how satisfied they are (Section), and how confident they are about their future? (Section). For these outcomes, we analyze whether there are trends across the different cohorts, and which demographic variables predict them. Finally, in Section we investigate differences between different programs offered by Cité Unis.

For these analyses, we rely on questionnaires collected by Cité-Unis for four different cohorts of volunteers who did their service civique for a year (2020-2021; 2021-2022; 2022-2023; 2023-2024). These questionnaires are very extensive. For the present analyses, we selected a subset of key questions (a full list can be found in the [codebook](#))¹.

Before diving into the results, a note on caution in interpreting the results presented in this report: Whenever we speak of “predictions”, that simply means statistical associations—mere observations of differences between groups. This report does **not** provide any evidence that would warrant causal conclusions—answers as to **why** we observe these differences.

Who are the volunteers ?

In this section, we review some demographic variables in detail. An extensive summary table with sample demographics across the different cohorts can be found in [Tables](#).

Geographic location

Volunteers came from 80 different departments (see Figure 1). On average, across the different cohorts, most volunteers came from Bouches-du-Rhône ($n = 404$), followed by Nord ($n = 350$) and Seine-Saint-Denis ($n = 316$).

Overall, there has been a steady increase in volunteers, from 6386 in 20-21 to 7848 in 23-24, and an average increase of 490.4 per year. Since the 20-21 cohort, each department has on average increased by 26.7. There were 51 departments who saw an increase, and 14 who saw a decrease (see Figure 2). For details on the trend of each department, see [Tables](#).

¹Note that, in the process of writing this report, this selection of variables was based only on the questionnaire of the first cohort (2020/21). As a result, potentially interesting variables that only appear in later questionnaires will not appear here.

Figure 1

Répartition des volontaires en France à travers le temps.

Répartition des volontaires en France

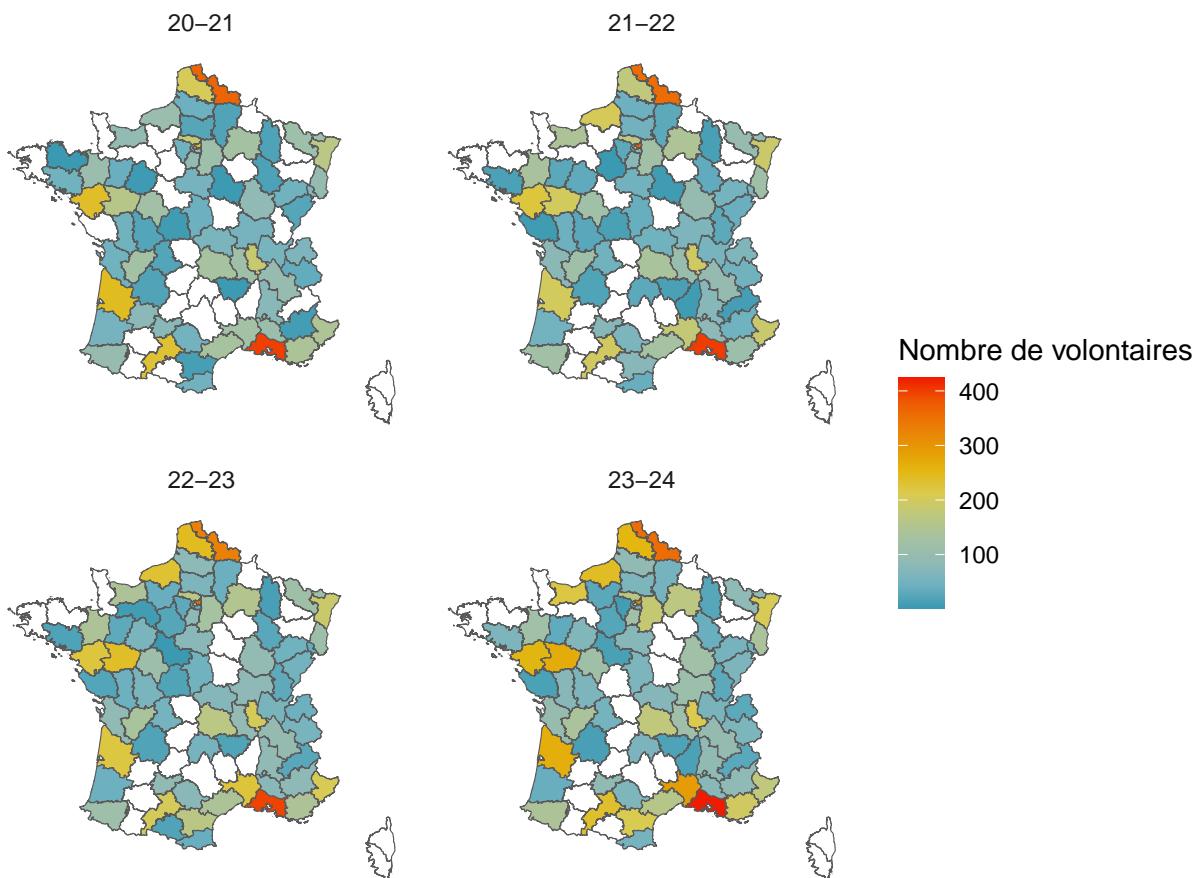
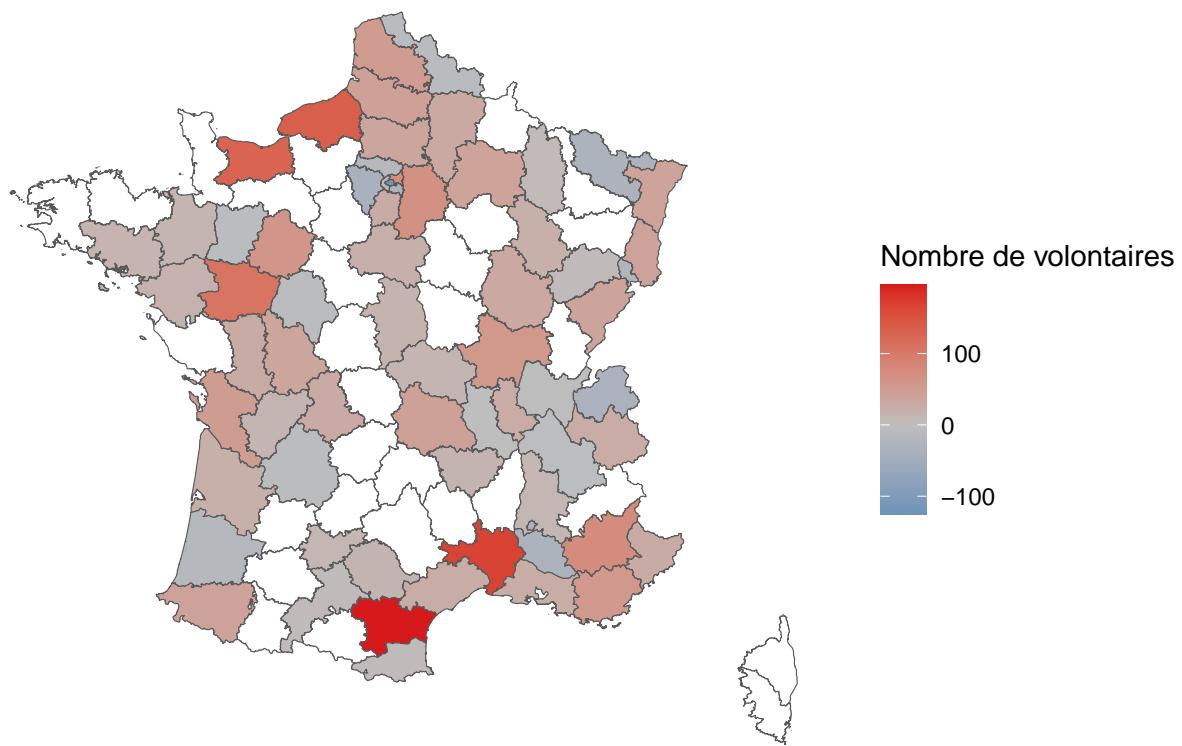


Figure 2

Evolution de recrutement pour la promo de 2023-24 par rapport à 2020-21.

Difference Récrutement entre 2023 et 2020



Age

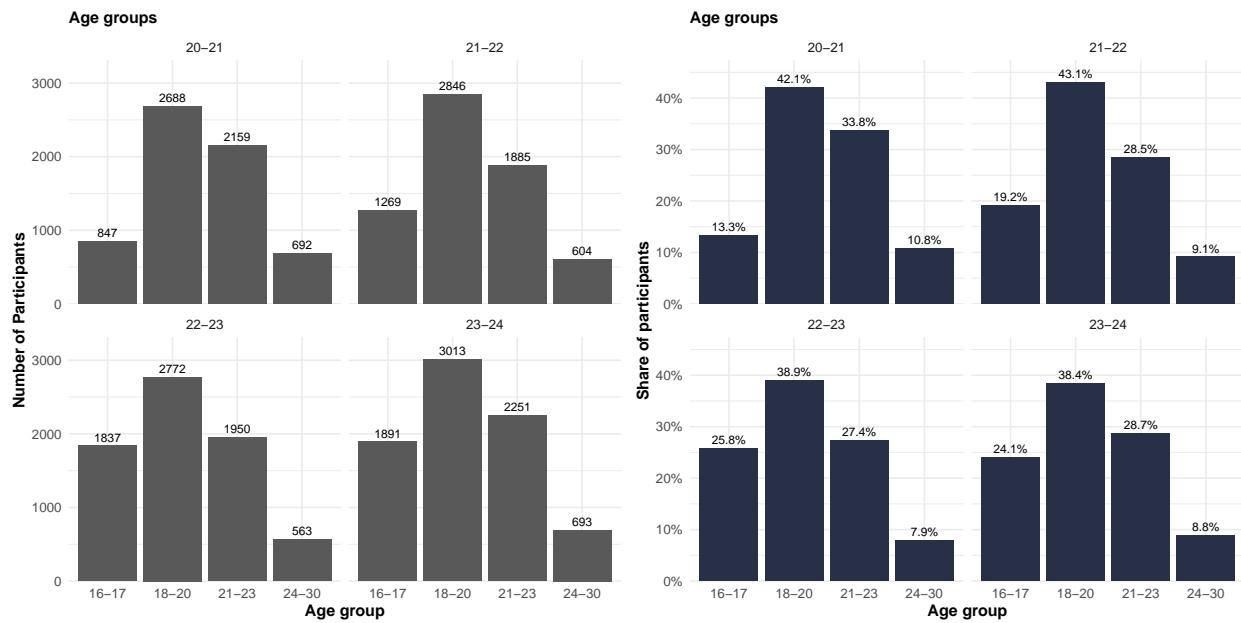
As shown in Figure 3, across all promos, the majority of volunteers is between 18 and 20 years old. The share of the age group of 16-17 has been increasing rapidly, doubling the percentage points from 13% in 2020 to 24% in 2024.

Figure 3

Number of volunteers per age group, within the different promos. Note that, in the percentage plot, the percentages are relative to all volunteers from the respective promo.

(A) (absolute numbers)

(B) (percentages)



Education

Figure 4 shows that volunteers with a “Bac + 3 et plus” are relatively rare. The share of volunteers with a “Bac à Bac + 2” has been constantly decreasing, from 48% in 2020-21 to 40% in 2023-24. By contrast, volunteers “Infra-bac”, have been increasing from 32% in 2020-21 to 43% in 2023-24.

Sex

There is a stable difference regarding sex, with more women (~60%) being volunteers than men (Figure 5).

How have volunteers changed their attitudes?

In the selection of variables made for this report, there are only two questions that volunteers of the same promo have been asked at different time points:

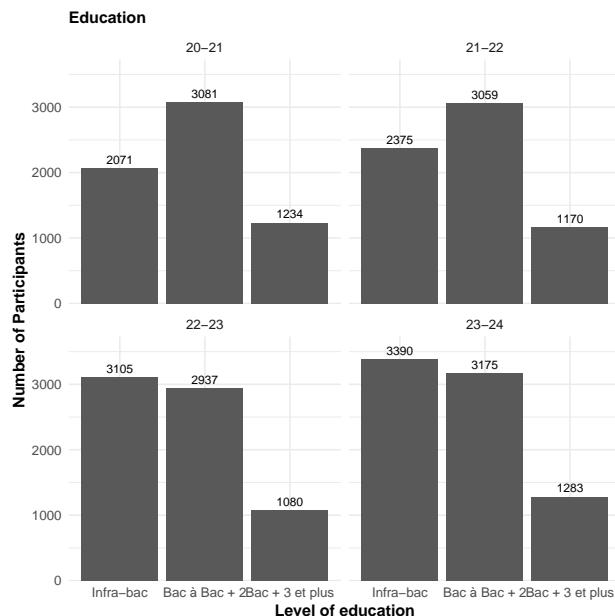
1. “Avez-vous voté lors des dernières élections (locales ou nationales) ?” (Section)
2. “En général, pensez-vous que votre action individuelle peut contribuer à changer la société ?” (Section).

Before we turn to these two questions, we will look at attrition.

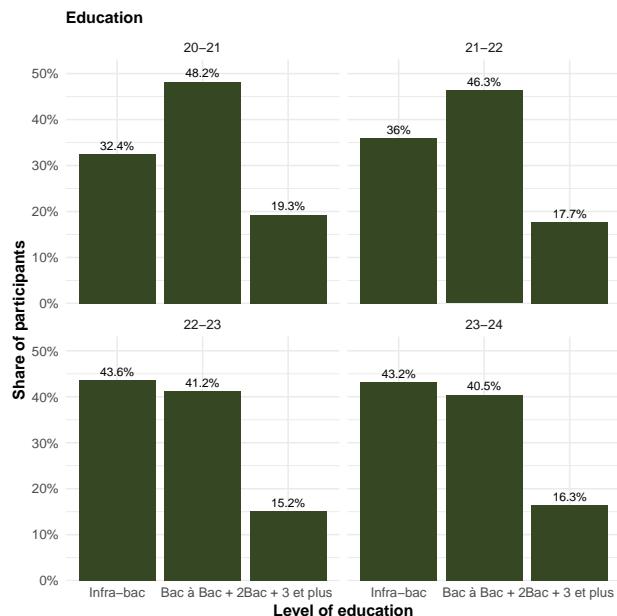
Figure 4

Number of volunteers per education level, within the different promos. Note that in the percentage plot, the percentages are relative to all volunteers from the respective promo.

(A) (absolute numbers)

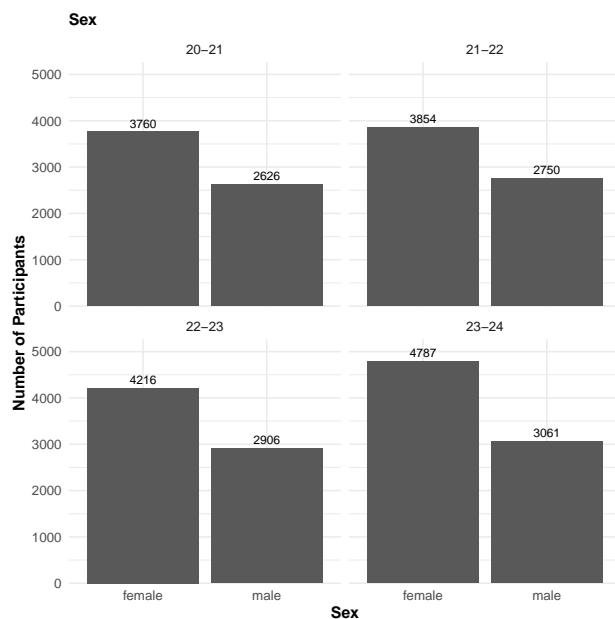


(B) (percentages)

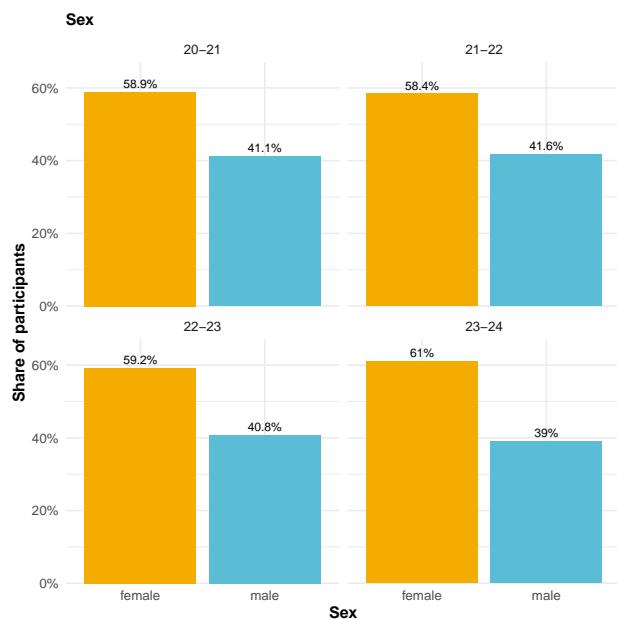
**Figure 5**

Number of male and female volunteers, within the different promos. Note that in the percentage plot, the percentages are relative to all volunteers from the respective promo.

(A) (absolute numbers)



(B) (percentages)



Attrition

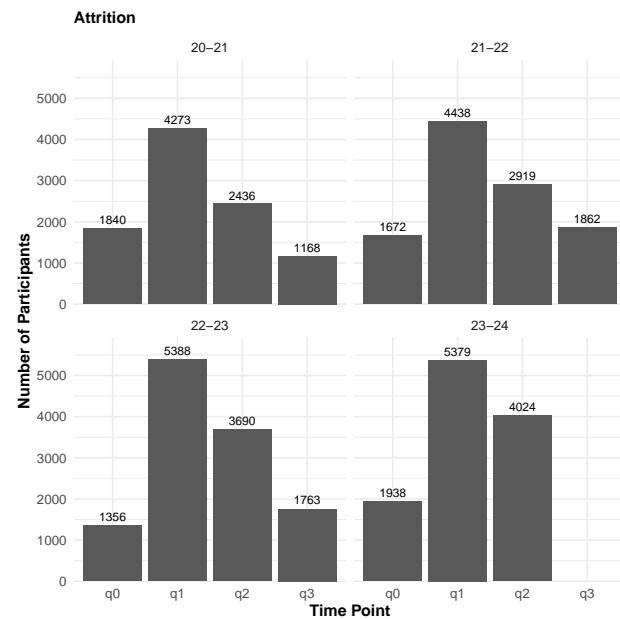
The term attrition refers to volunteers dropping out of the surveys over time. Attrition can have many causes. Here we distinguish between two explanations: ruptures, i.e. volunteers ending their service civique early (Section 5) and survey fatigue, i.e. volunteers who continue their service civique but do not fill out the questionnaires (Figure 7).

Figure 6 shows attrition generally, while Figure 7 excludes ruptures, thereby giving an estimate of survey fatigue. This latter figure shows that survey fatigue is an issue, but also suggests that there is a slightly positive trend towards reduced survey fatigue: more and more volunteers seem to answer the questionnaires at least for the first two questionnaires (q1 and q2), but less so for the third questionnaire (q3).

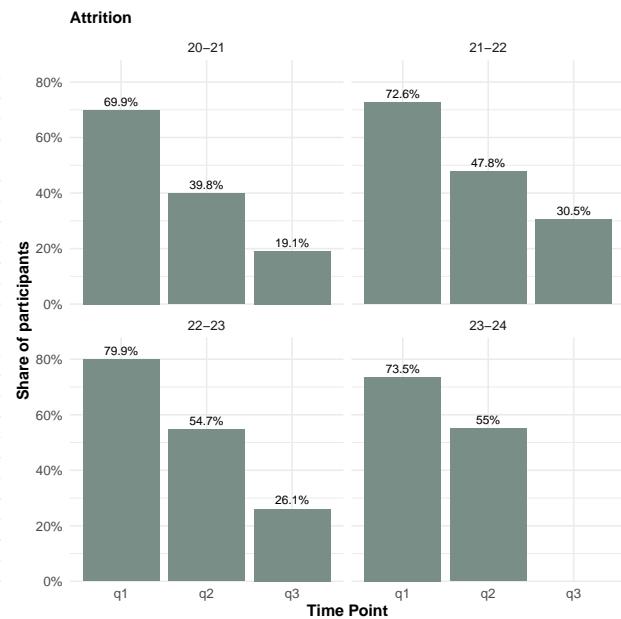
Figure 6

Number of volunteers per survey time point. Volunteers who appear under ‘q0’ have participated in the program but have not even filled out the first questionnaire (q1). Note that in the percentage plot, the percentages are relative to all volunteers from the respective promo. This plot includes ruptures.

(A) (absolute numbers)



(B) (percentages)



Voting

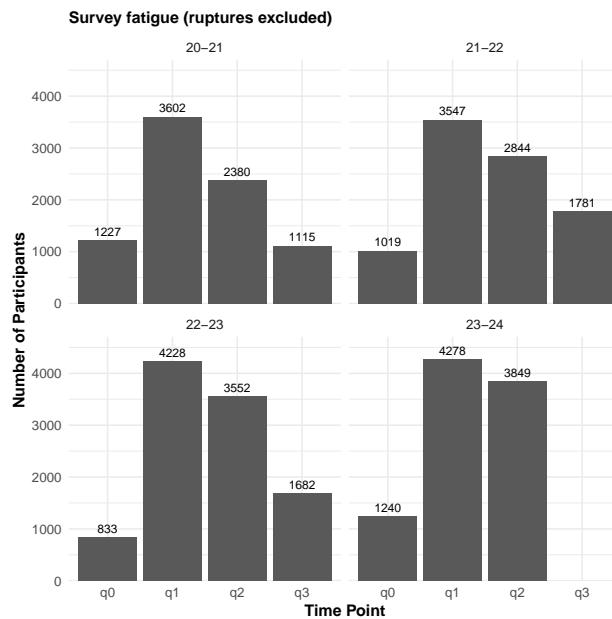
In this section, we look at how volunteers have changed regarding their voting behavior. Voting behavior was measured with the question: “Avez-vous voté lors des dernières élections (locales ou nationales) ?”, which has been asked at time points q1 and q2. Figure 8 shows that, averaged across all cohorts and time points, the majority of volunteers report having voted.

In the following sections, we investigate how volunteers have changed in answering this question, throughout their service civique. For these analyses, we only consider those volunteers who have answered the question at both time points, q1 and q2. Changes towards “Yes” or “No” can have happened either from the respective other option, or from the third answer option: “Vous n’avez pas l’âge de voter ou vous n’étiez pas inscrit.e sur les listes électorales”, which is abbreviated in the plots below as “Pas sur les listes”. We look at the different cohorts separately (promo 2020-21, Figure 9; promo 2021-22, Figure 10; 2022-23, Figure 11; 2023-24, Figure 12).

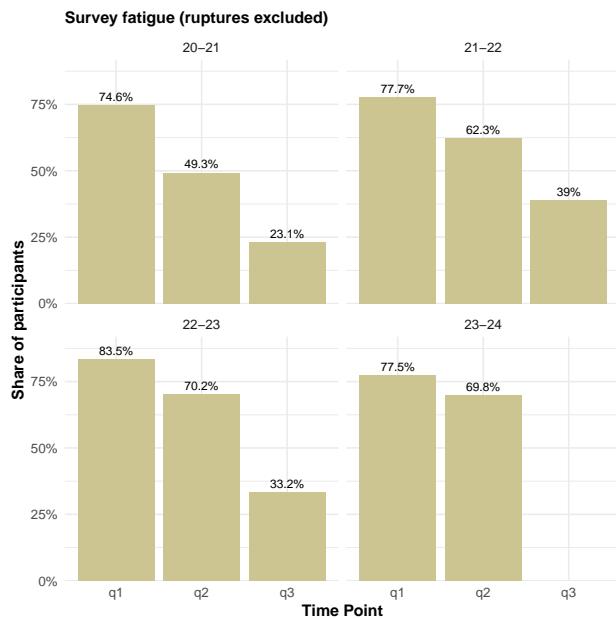
Figure 7

Number of volunteers per survey time point, excluding ruptures. Volunteers who appear under ‘q0’ have participated in the program but have not even filled out the first questionnaire (q1). Note that in the percentage plot, the percentages are relative to all volunteers from the respective promo.

(A) (absolute numbers)

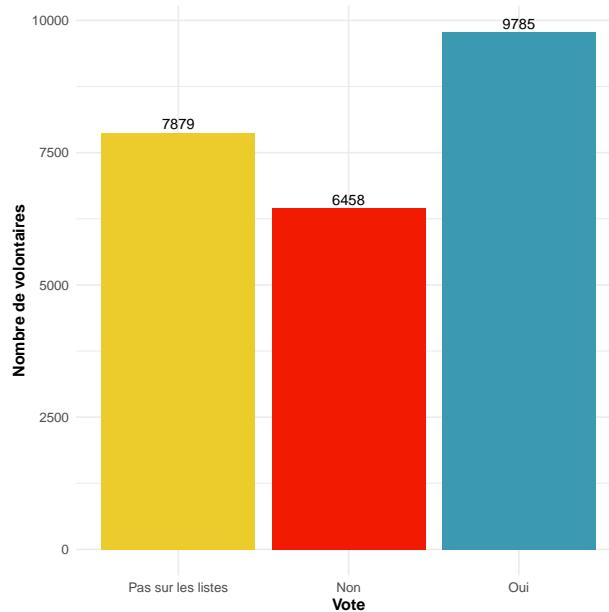


(B) (percentages)

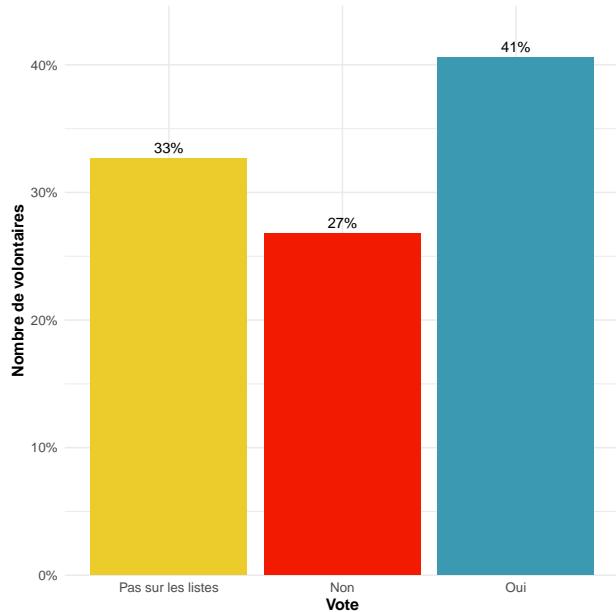
**Figure 8**

Distribution of whether volunteers reported having voted or not during the last elections, averaged across time points and cohorts.

(A) (absolute numbers)



(B) (percentages)



The following sections reveal considerable differences between the cohorts. For example, in 2020-21 and 2021-22, many volunteers reported changes in voting behavior, but in opposite directions: In 2020-21, 24% of volunteers changed towards “No”, outweighing those who changed to “Yes” (6%) by far. Inversely, in 2021-22, 35% of volunteers changed towards “Yes”, while only 8% changed towards “No”.

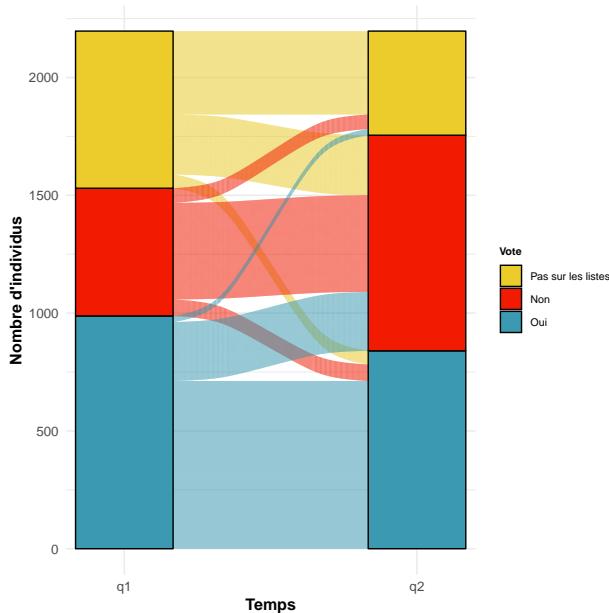
It is not clear why we observe these differences. One explanation might be that volunteers care more about national elections than local ones (or vice versa). If that is the case, we would expect changes in voting behavior to be dependent on whether there were national or local elections happening during the year of a cohort’s service civique.

Promo 2020-21

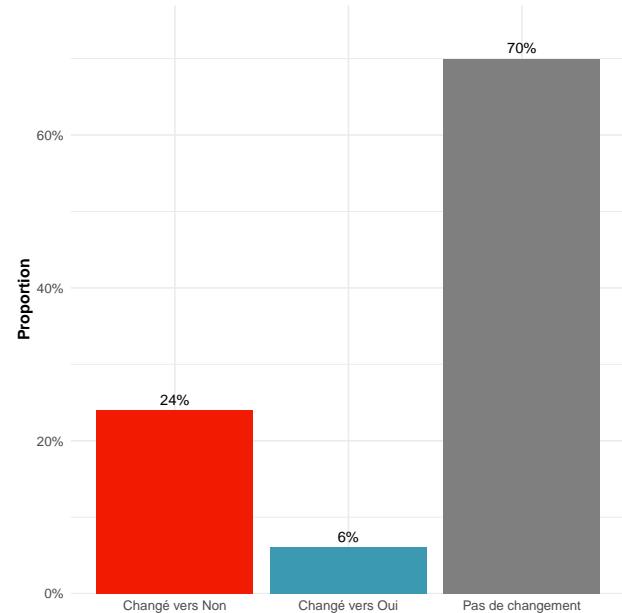
Figure 9

Promo 2020-21. Change in volunteers reporting whether they voted or not during the last elections, between Q1 and Q2. Note that this analysis considers only answers of volunteers who answered either yes or no at both time points.

(A) Alluvial plot



(B) Percentages



Promo 2021-22

Promo 2022-23

Promo 2023-24

Which demographic factors are associated with change of voting intentions?

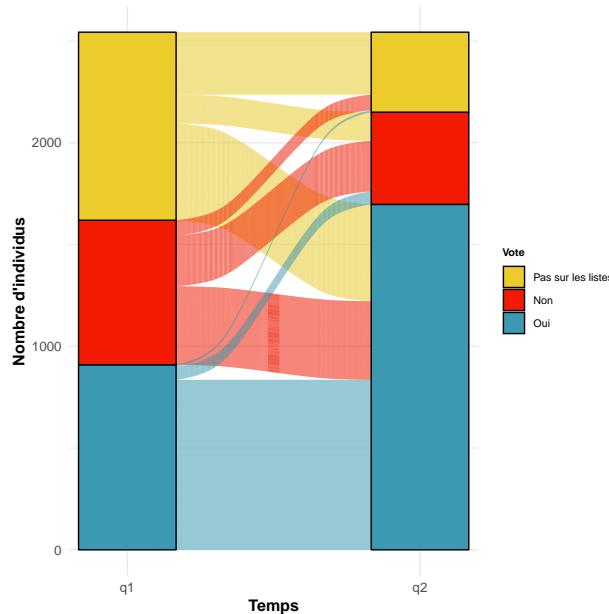
Figure 13 shows how different demographic variables predict changes in voting behavior. For this analysis, we look at all cohorts together. The outcome, changes in voting behavior, is binary (changed to no vs. changed to yes)².

²I.e. ignoring all volunteers who did not change

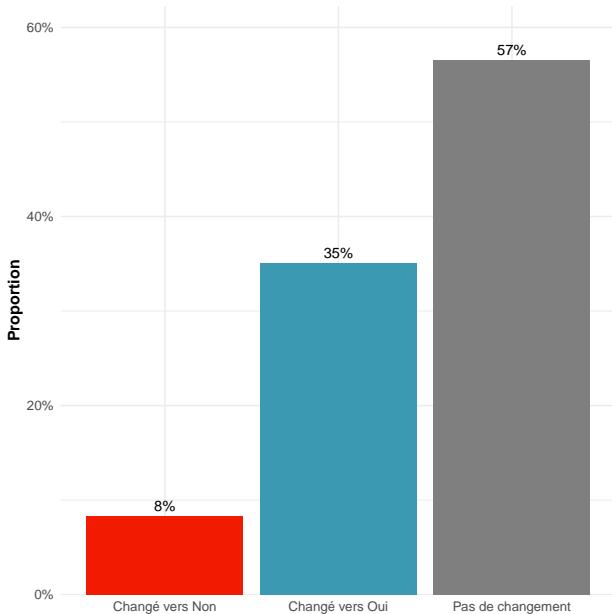
Figure 10

Promo 2021-22. Change in volunteers reporting whether they voted or not during the last elections, between Q1 and Q2. Note that this analysis considers only answers of volunteers who answered either yes or no at both time points.

(A) Alluvial plot

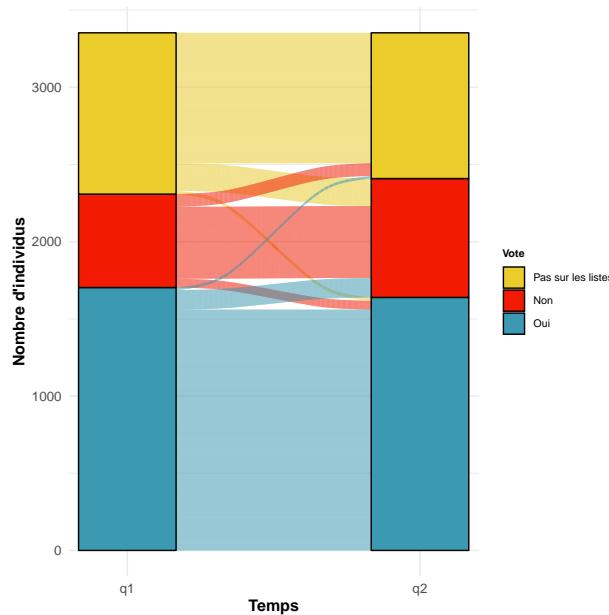


(B) Percentages

**Figure 11**

Promo 2022-23. Change in volunteers reporting whether they voted or not during the last elections, between Q1 and Q2. Note that this analysis considers only answers of volunteers who answered either yes or no at both time points.

(A) Alluvial plot



(B) Percentages

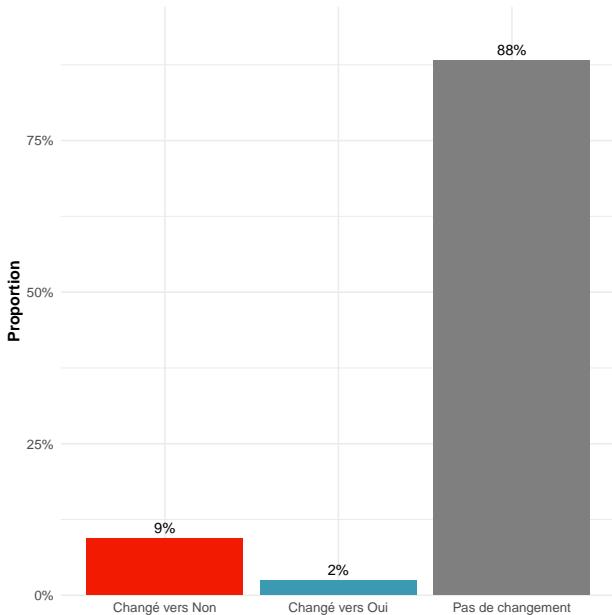
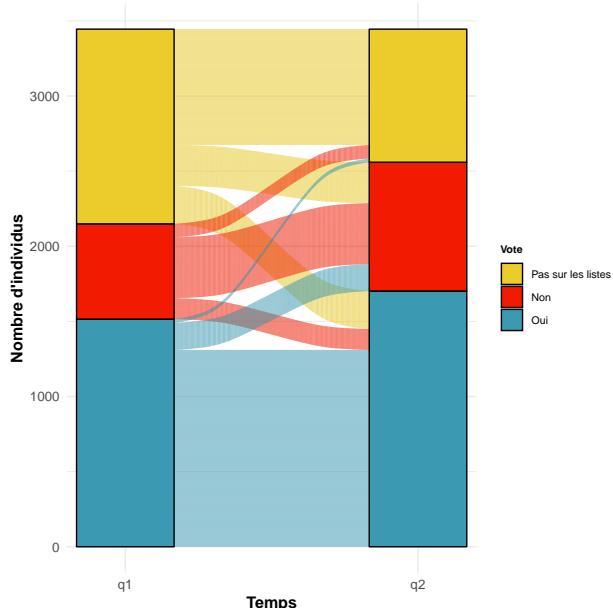


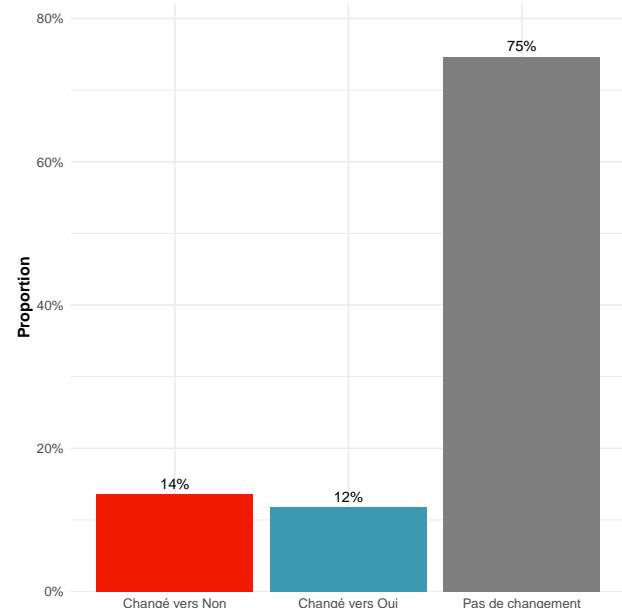
Figure 12

Promo 2023-24. Change in volunteers reporting whether they voted or not during the last elections, between Q1 and Q2. Note that this analysis considers only answers of volunteers who answered either yes or no at both time points.

(A) Alluvial plot



(B) Percentages



Plotted on the y-axis are the demographic variables, taken to predict change in voting behavior. For each categorical demographic variable, different levels are shown. For example, for the variable `age_category`, the plot shows three levels: `age_category18-20`, `age_category21-23`, `age_category24-30`. Each of these categories has an estimate (x-axis). These estimates are the results logistic regressions³. They indicate how being part of a certain category (e.g. being between 18 and 20 years old) predicts the chances of changing one's voting behavior. The estimates are “odds ratios”, which can be conceived of as probabilities: An odds ratio of 1 means that this group has the same chance changing to “no” as changing to “yes”. More than 1 means that this group is more likely to change to “yes”. For example, an odds ratio of 2.0 means twice as likely. Less than 1 means that this group is more likely to change to “no”. An odds ratio of 0.5 means half as likely.

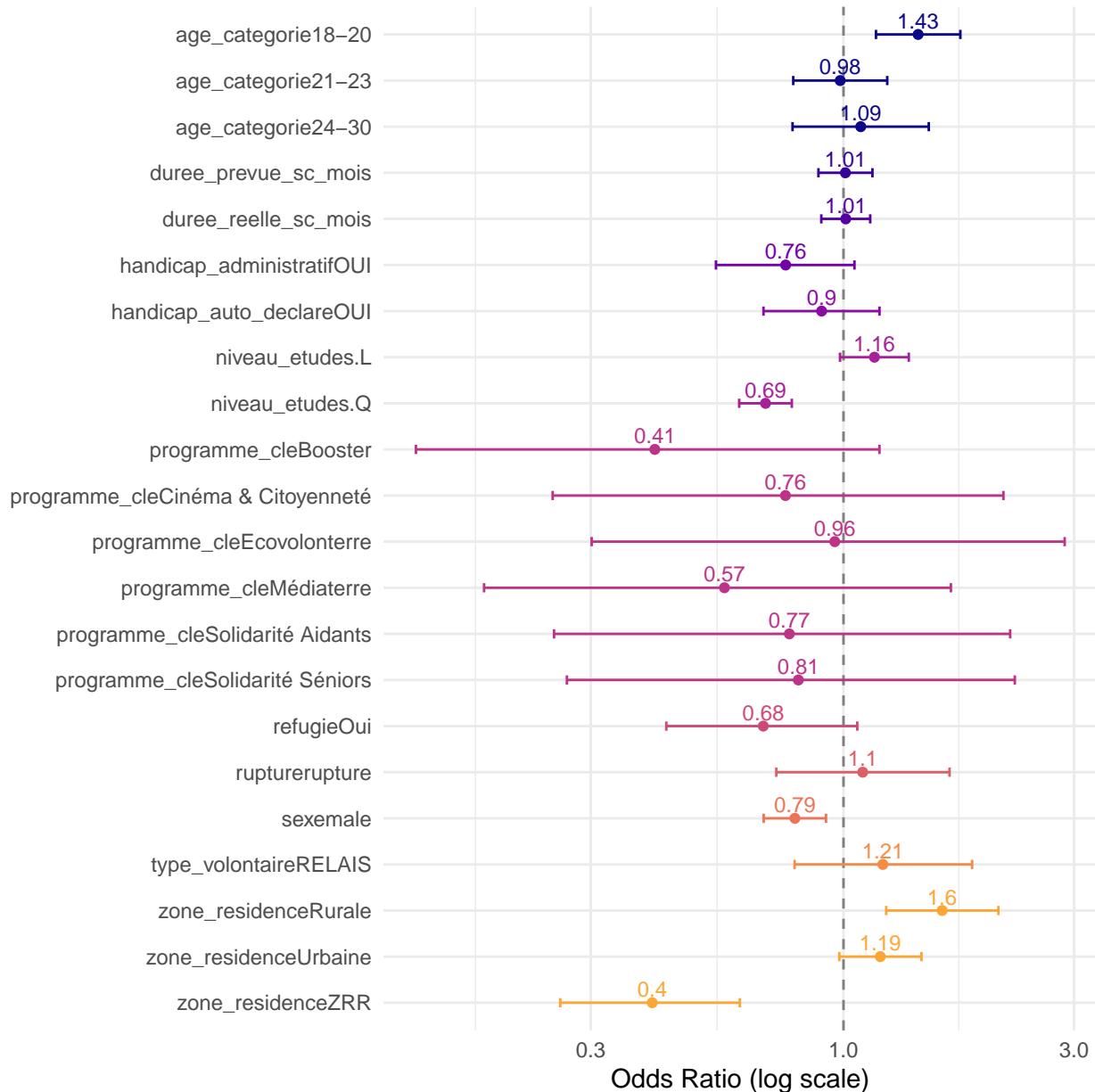
For each categorical variable, one category is chosen as the baseline (or reference) category. The odds ratios of all other categories are relative to that baseline. For example, for the variable `age_category`, the category “16-17” is not appearing in the graph. That is because this category is the (invisible) baseline category. If the odds ratio for `age_category18-20` is 0.12, this means that 18 to 20 year-olds are considerably less likely to change their vote towards “Yes”, compared to 16 to 17 year-olds. More specifically, the odds of changing towards “Yes” among 18–20-year-olds are only about 12% of those among 16–17-year-olds.

To understand this odds ratio, take Figure 14: it shows that among the 16 to 17 year-olds, 285 have changed towards “No”, while only 238 have changed towards “Yes”. That makes the odds of changing towards yes for the youngest age group, chosen as the baseline category in the model, $238:285 = \sim 0.84$. By contrast, among the 18 to 20 year-olds, the odds were $784:658 = \sim 1.19$. The odds ratio for the 18

³For each variable, a separate logistic regression has been run. The estimates from the logistic regression are exponentiated, so that the reported estimates can be interpreted as odds ratios (ORs).

Figure 13

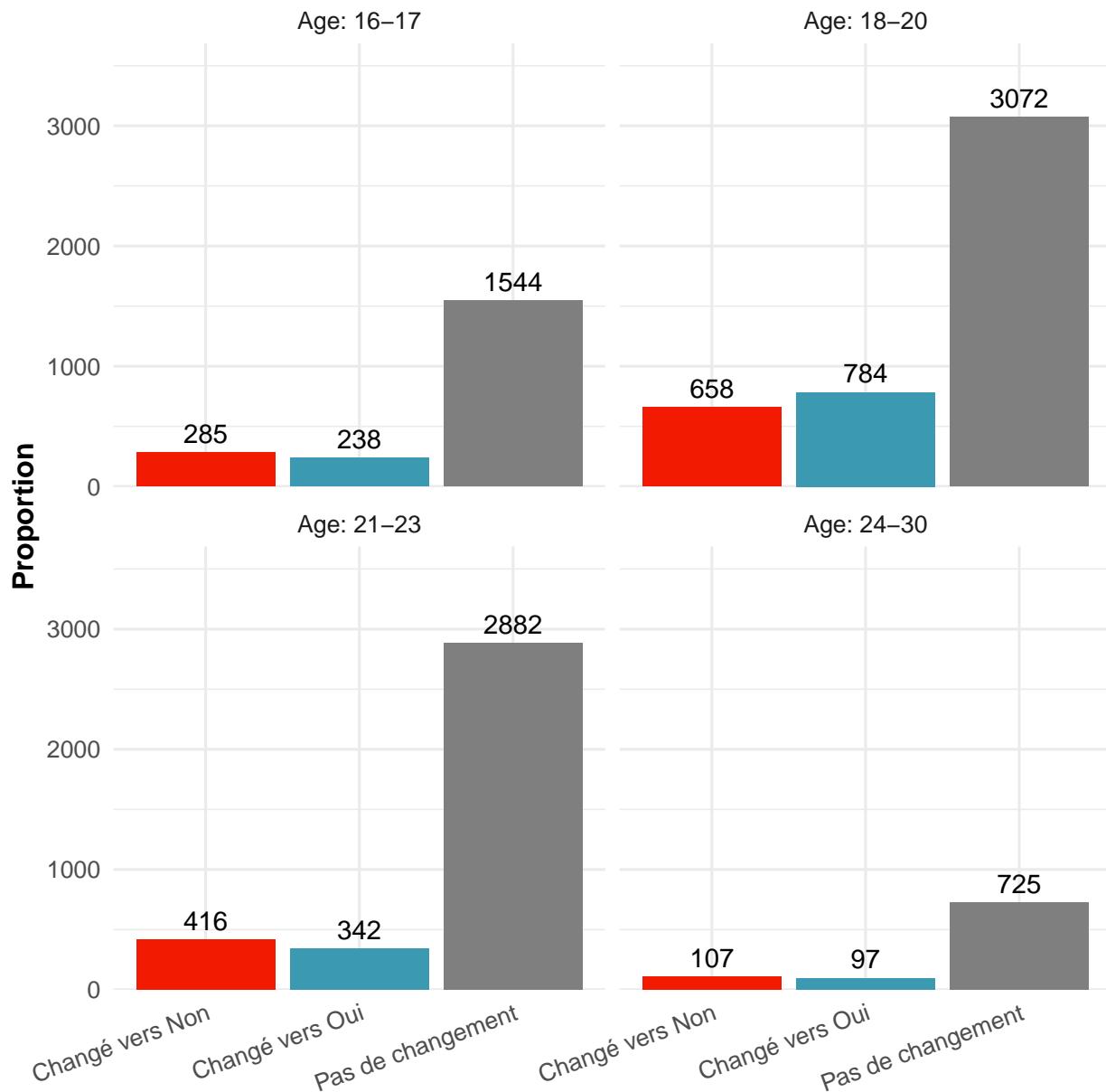
Effects of demographic factors on change in voting behavior. The outcome is binary (changed to no vs. changed to yes). The dots and their labels are the estimates of separate logistic regressions for each variable. The lines around the dots represent uncertainty in the estimates (95% confidence intervals). If these confidence intervals cross 1 (the dotted vertical line), the differences are not statistically significant, meaning we might observe them just by chance. The logarithmic scale (on the x-axis) is used so that in the visualization for the positive and negative odds ratio's to be symmetric (i.e. that 2 is as far away from 1 as is 0.5).



to 20 year-olds compares their odds to those of the 16 to 17 year-olds odds ratio = 1.19:0.84 = 1.4. Figure 15 allows to compare the odds ratios to the percentages for the different age groups.

Figure 14

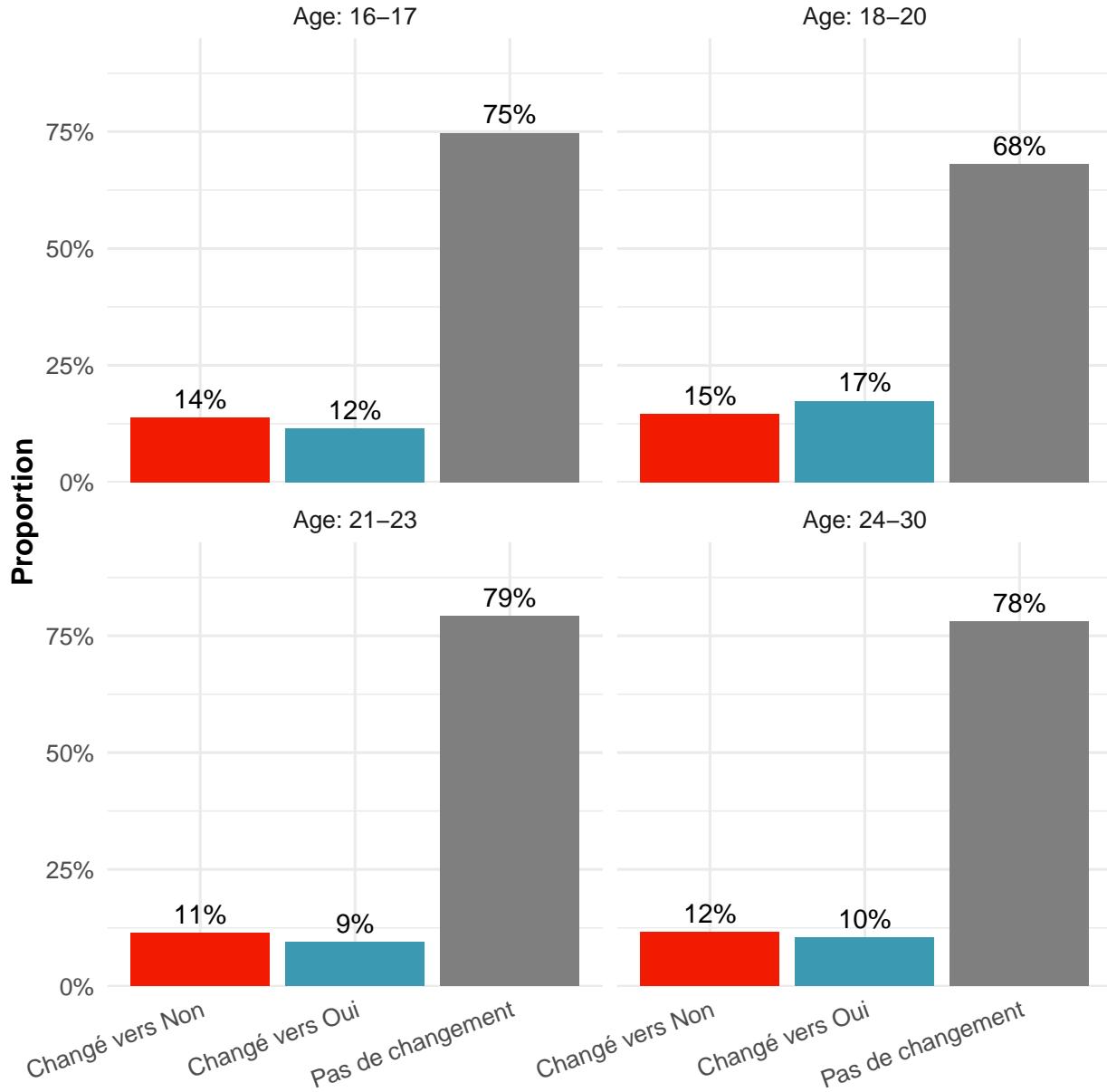
Absolute numbers. Change in volunteers reporting whether they voted or not during the last elections, between Q1 and Q2, for the different age groups. Note that this analysis considers only answers of volunteers who answered either yes or no at both time points.



On a side note, looking at the 16 to 17 age groups shows that some answers were erroneous. In France, the legal voting age is 18. Therefore, the 16 to 17 year olds, at least at the beginning of their service civique (q0/q1), have never possibly voted legally before. However, as shown in Figure 16 there are 443 volunteers who answered “no” at q0/q1 (which technically is true, but not the most specific answer option), and 20 who answered “yes” (probably not reading the question carefully or accidentally clicking on the wrong

Figure 15

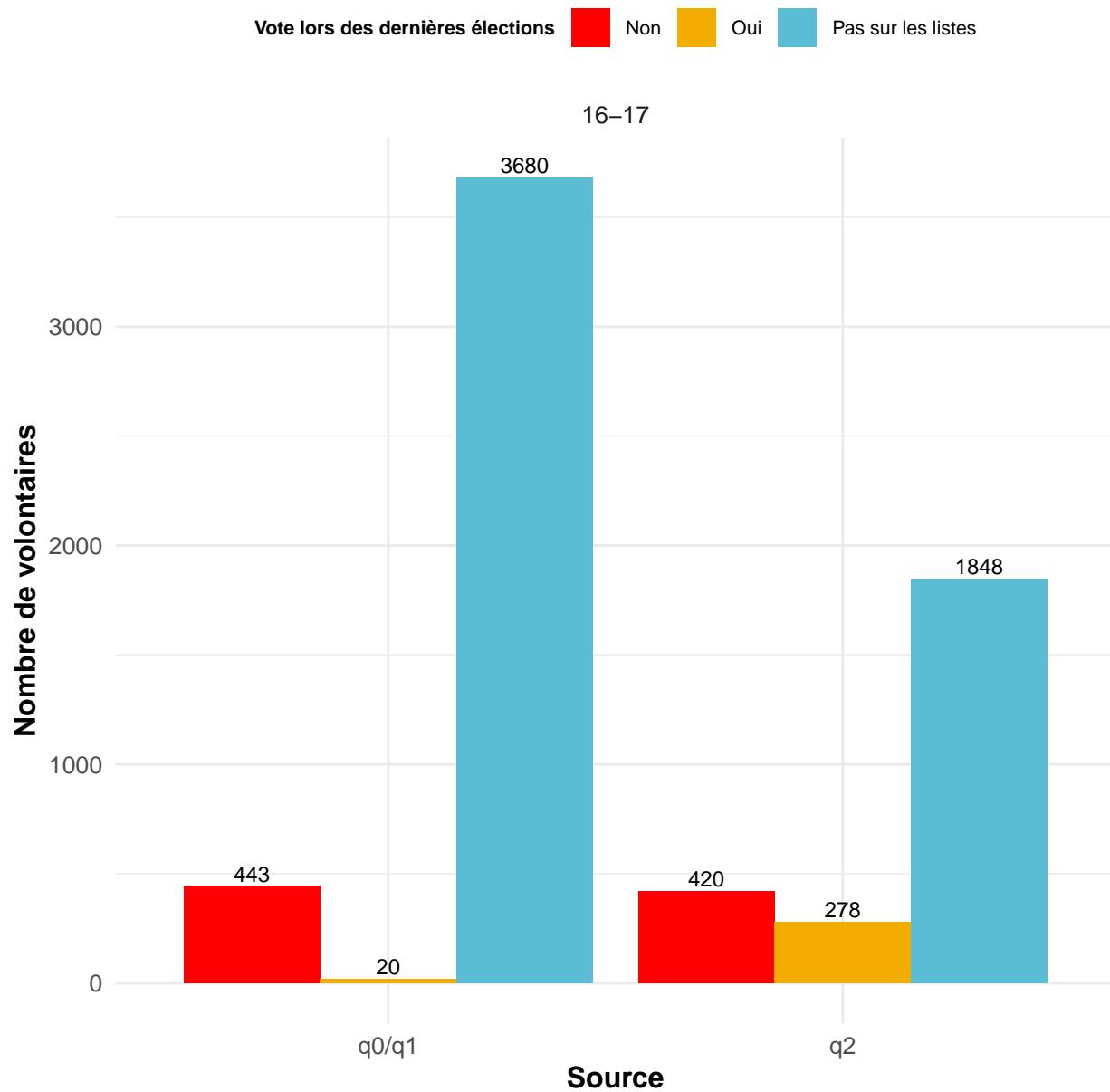
Percentages. Change in volunteers reporting whether they voted or not during the last elections, between Q1 and Q2, for the different age groups. Note that this analysis considers only answers of volunteers who answered either yes or no at both time points.



response). It is unclear whether or how this could have affected our findings on changes in voting behavior.

Figure 16

Distribution of whether volunteers reported having voted or not during the last elections, at different time points, for the youngest age group (16–17 years old). All answers at q0/q1 that are not “Pas sur les listes” are not exactly correct.



Individual action for society

In this section, we look at how volunteers have changed regarding their perception on whether their individual action can contribute to changing society. This was measured with the question: “En général, pensez-vous que votre action individuelle peut contribuer à changer la société ?”, which has been asked

at time points q1 and q23 We look at the different cohorts separately (promo 2020-21, Figure 17; promo 2021-22, Figure 10; 2022-23, Figure 11; 2023-24, Figure 12)⁴.

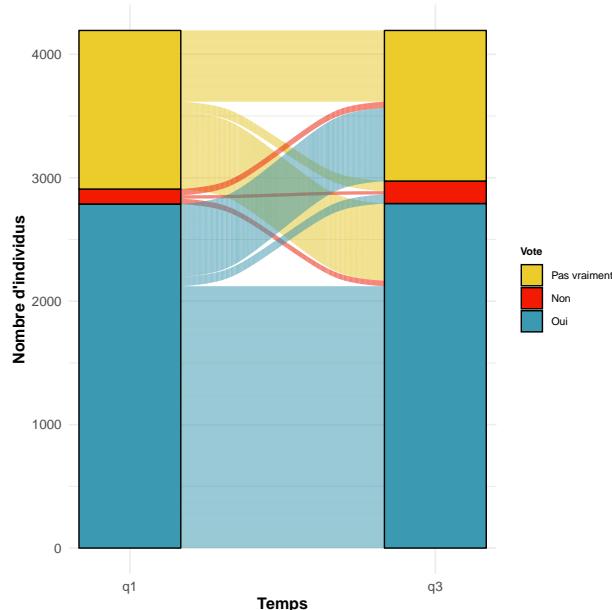
Descriptively, there is no clear positive or negative trend either. On average, across all cohorts, slightly more people are changing towards “No” or “Not really”, compared to “Yes”.

Promo 2020-21

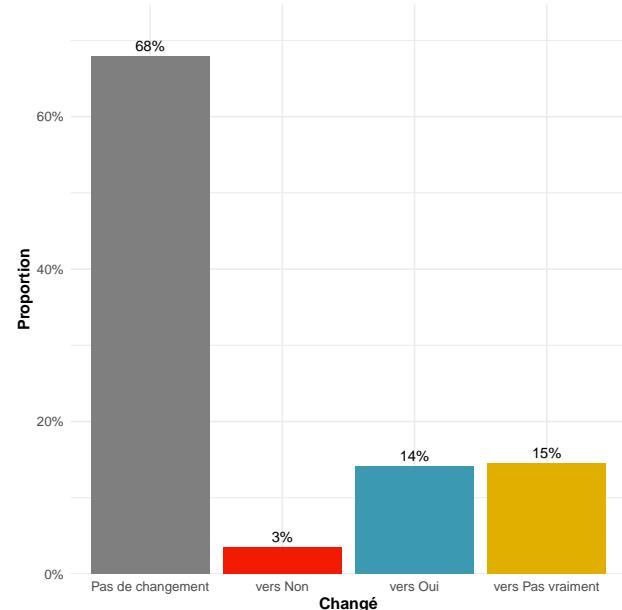
Figure 17

Promo 2020-21. Change in volunteers reporting whether they think their individual action can contribute to changing society, between Q1 and Q3. Note that this analysis considers only answers of volunteers who answered at both time points.

(A) Alluvial plot



(B) Percentages



Promo 2021-22

Promo 2022-23

Which demographic factors are associated with change in perceptions of one's individual contribution to society?

Figure 20 shows how different demographic variables predict changes in perceptions of one's individual contribution to society. For this analysis, we look at all cohorts together. The outcome, changes in perceptions of one's individual contribution to society, collapsed into a binary measure (“vers Non/Pas vraiment” vs. “vers Oui”). The plots can be interpreted as described above in the section on voting behavior (Section). An odds ratio of 1 means that a certain group has the same chance of changing to “Non/Pas vraiment” as changing to “Oui”, compared to the baseline group. More than 1 means that this group is more likely to change to “Oui”. Less than 1 means that this group is more likely to change to “Non/Pas vraiment”.

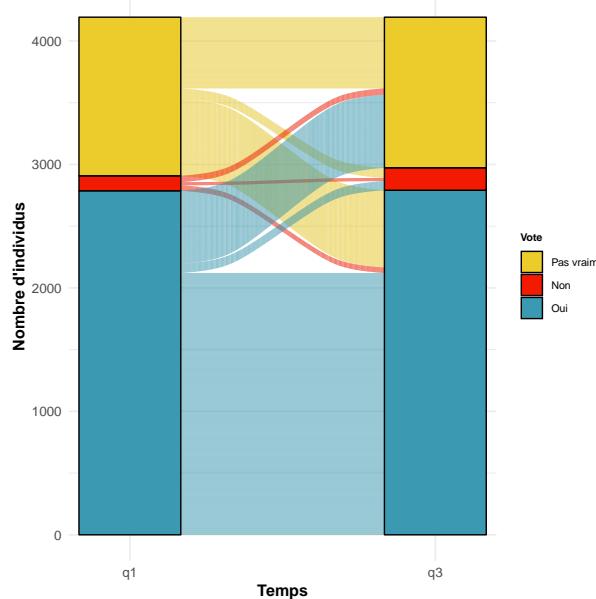
The results suggests that volunteers from the “Relais” program are more likely to change towards “Yes”, than volunteers from the “CŒUR” program. Figure 21 zooms in on those findings.

⁴Note that for the promo 2023-24, q3 is not yet available, and therefore the promo cannot be included here

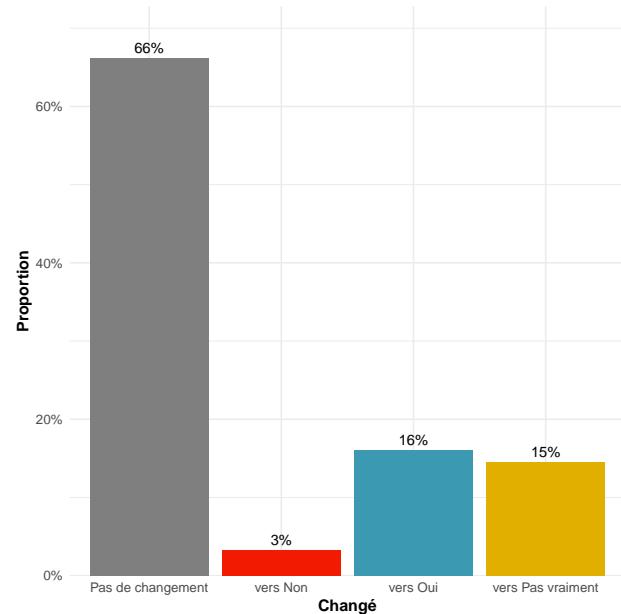
Figure 18

Promo 2021-22. Change in volunteers reporting whether they think their individual action can contribute to changing society, between Q1 and Q3. Note that this analysis considers only answers of volunteers who answered at both time points.

(A) Alluvial plot

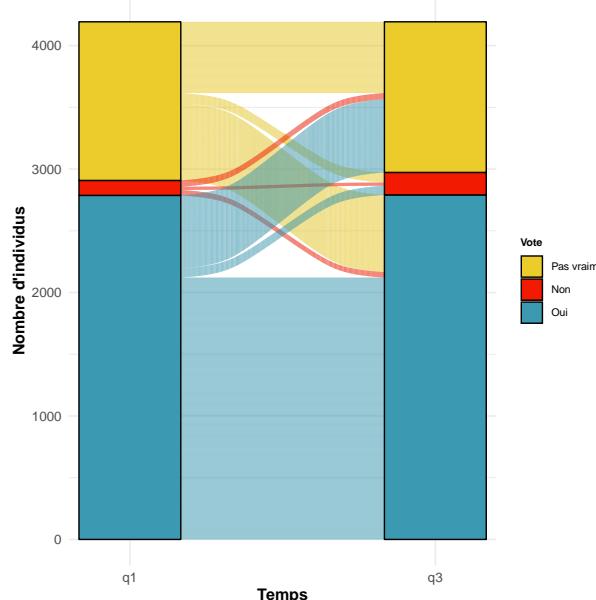


(B) Percentages

**Figure 19**

Promo 2022-23. Change in volunteers reporting whether they think their individual action can contribute to changing society, between Q1 and Q3. Note that this analysis considers only answers of volunteers who answered at both time points.

(A) Alluvial plot



(B) Percentages

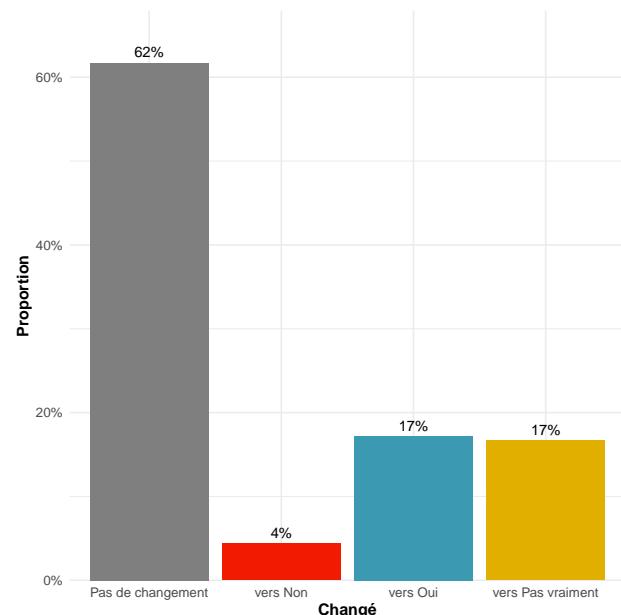


Figure 20

Effects of demographic factors on change in perceptions of how one's individual actions can contribute to society. The outcome is binary ("vers Non/Pas vraiment" vs. "vers Oui"). The dots and their labels are the estimates of separate logistic regressions for each variable. The lines around the dots represent uncertainty in the estimates (95% confidence intervals). If these confidence intervals cross 1 (the dotted vertical line), the differences are not statistically significant, meaning we might observe them just by chance. The logarithmic scale (on the x-axis) is used so that in the visualization for the positive and negative odds ratio's to be symmetric (i.e. that 2 is as far away from 1 as is 0.5).

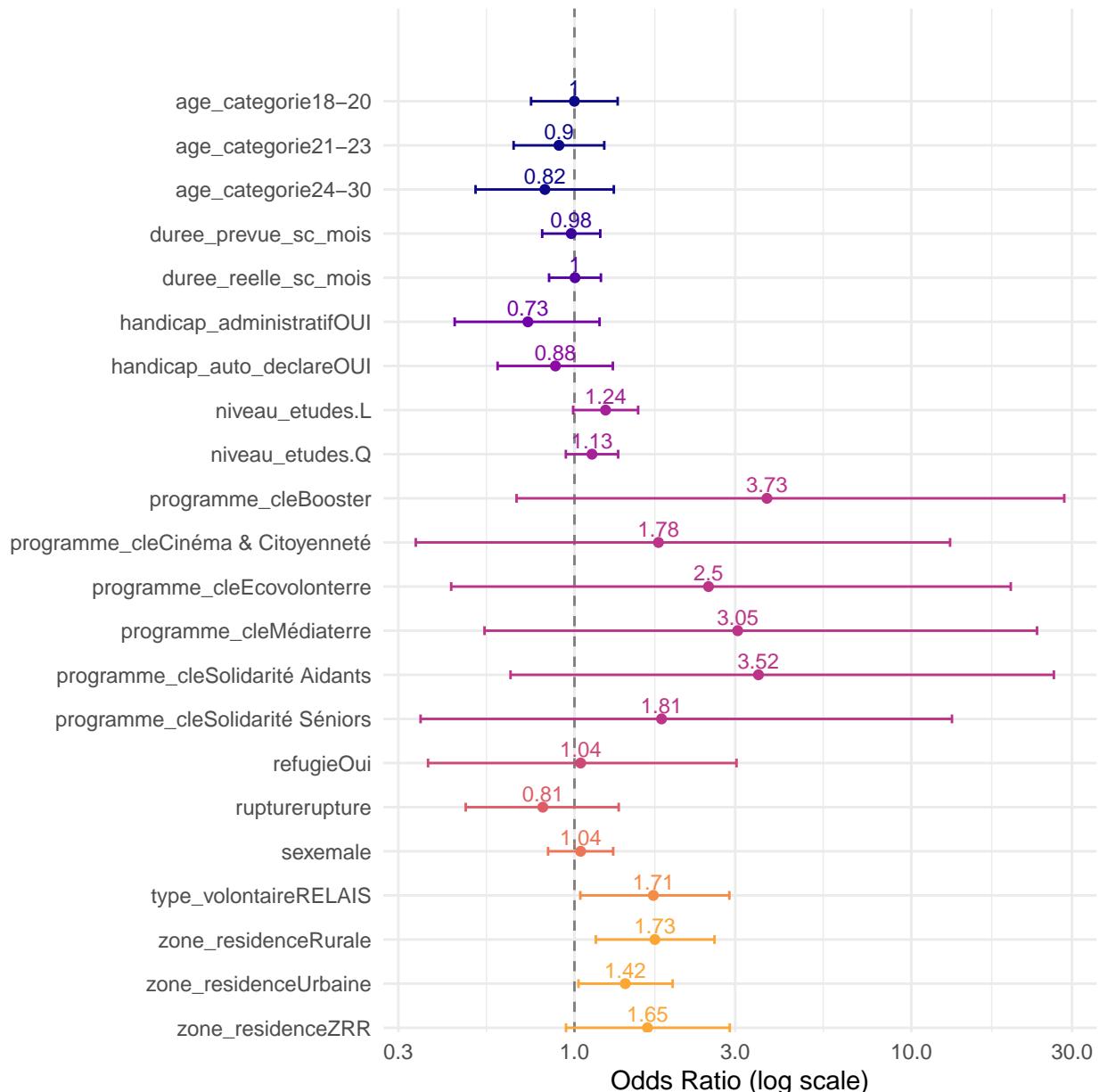
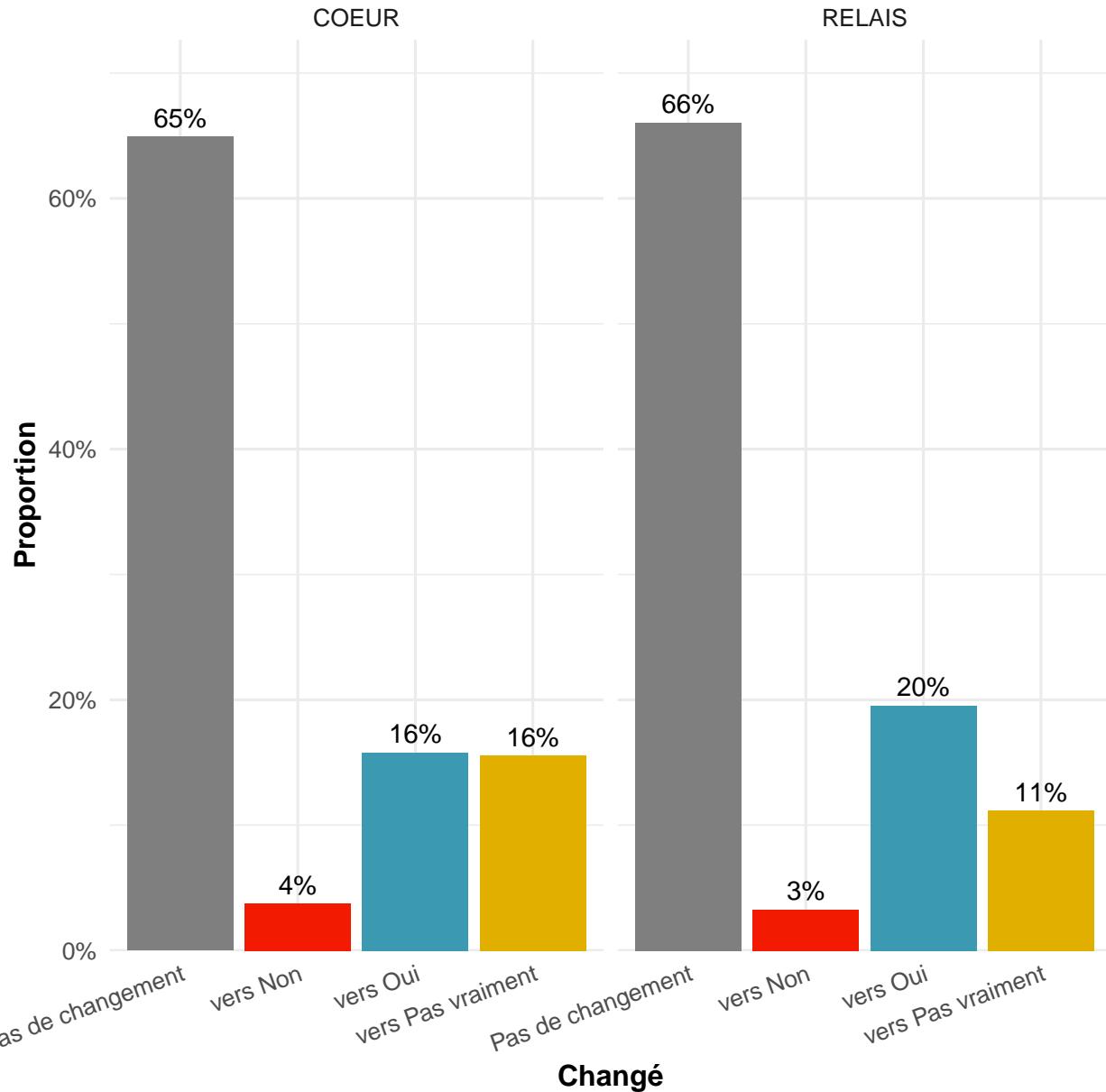


Figure 21

Change in volunteers reporting whether they think their individual action can contribute to changing society, between Q1 and Q3, depending on whether they were part of the ‘CŒUR’ or the ‘Relais’ program. Note that this analysis considers only answers of volunteers who answered at both time points.



Rupture

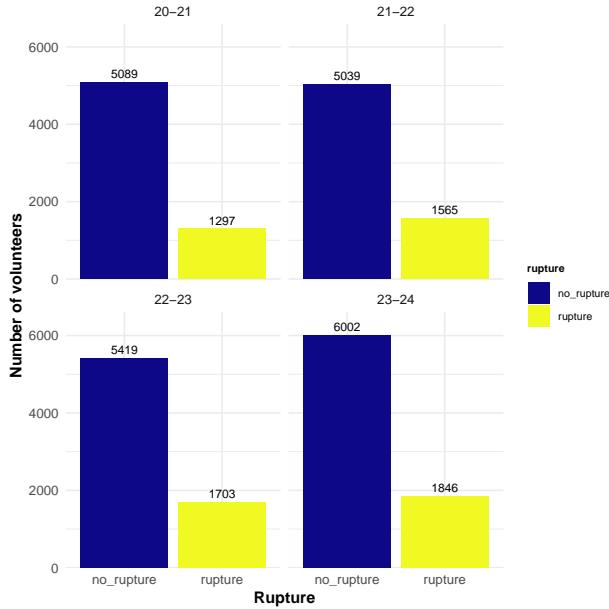
Not all volunteers work until the end of their contract. In fact, 22.9% of volunteers have a “rupture”, i.e. terminate the contract early. There are various motives for ending one’s contract early (see [?@tbl-rupture](#)). Not all of them are necessarily bad, e.g. “Embauche en CDD d’au moins 6 mois ou CDI”, and some are outside of the influence of the volunteers, e.g. “Fin de validité du Titre de Séjour”. For our analyses, we focus only on volunteers who ended their contract early for apparently negative reasons.

Figure 22 shows how many volunteers have ended their contract early (rupture), for the different promos. Figure 23 provides an overview of the different reasons, pooling all promos.

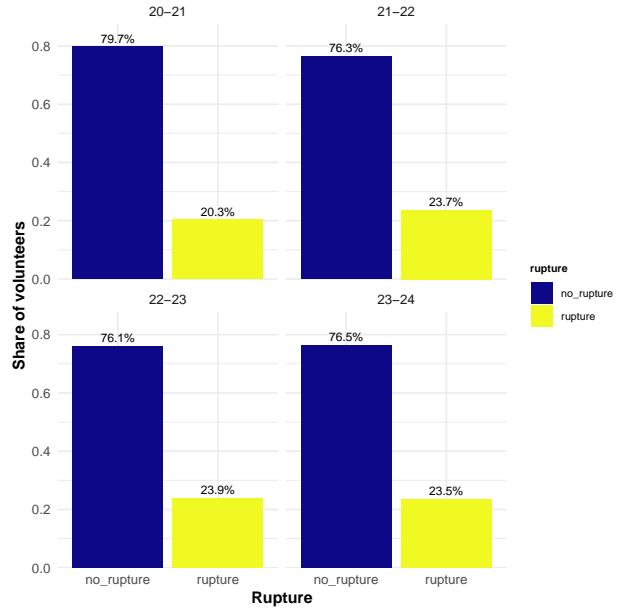
Figure 22

Number of volunteers with a rupture (for various possible reasons, including positive ones, such as obtaining a work contract).

(A) (absolute numbers)



(B) (percentages)



Change in rupture

[tbd]

What predicts whether volunteers end their contract early (rupture)?

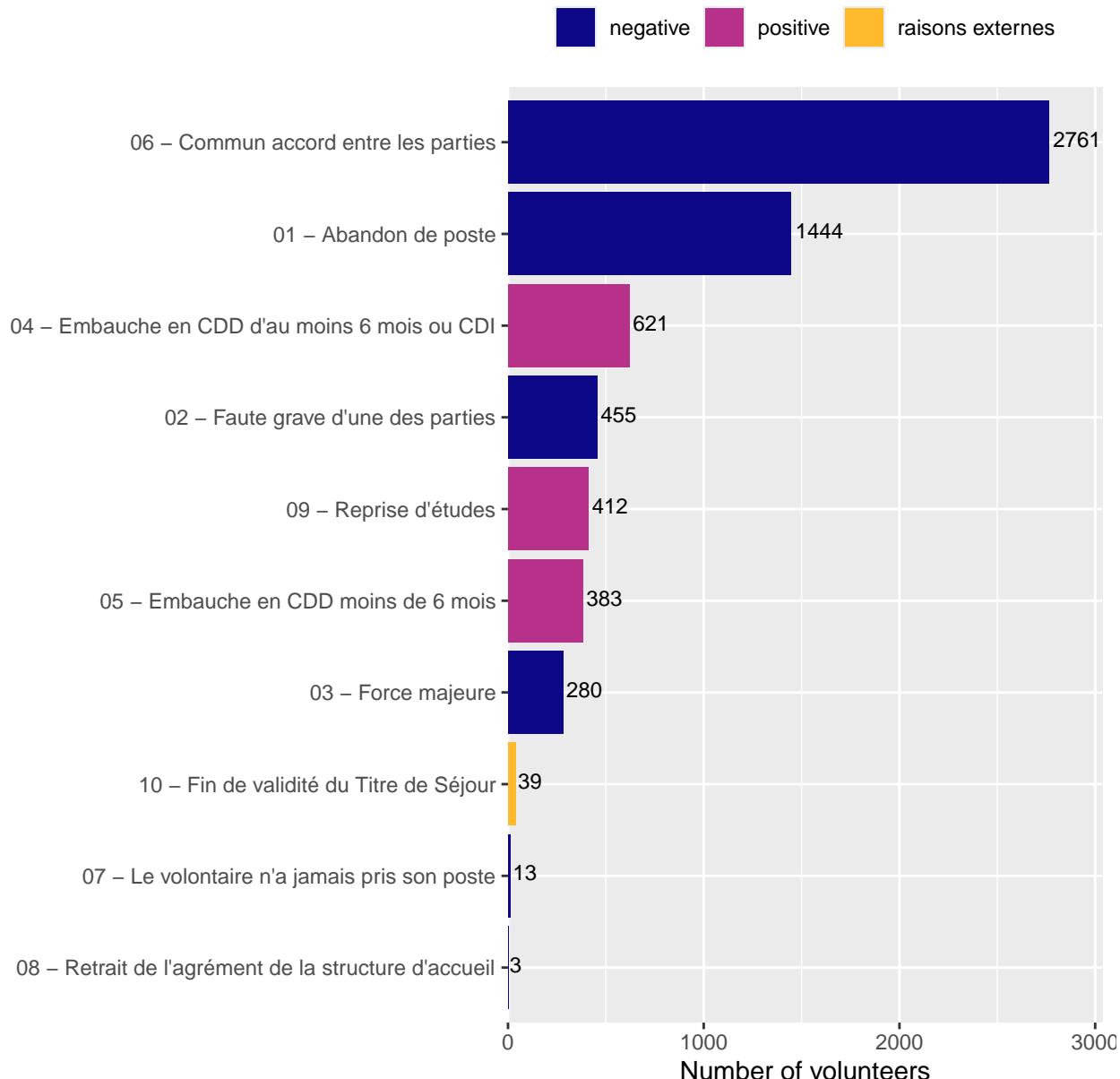
To see whether there are differences in different groups, we ran separate logistic regressions for a selection of variables. The results are shown in Figure 24. Because the magnitude of the odds ratios (OR) are not straightforward to interpret, Figure 25 shows descriptive differences in contract terminations for some groups.

Demographic factors

How to make sense of the odds ratios? Take the example of the type of volunteers (`type_volontaire`). Table 1 shows the count, odds and share for rupture vs. no rupture for a negative motive.

Figure 23

Prevalence of different rupture motives

**Table 1**

Count, odds and share for rupture vs. no rupture for a negative motive, according to which type of volunteer.

type_volontaire	pas de rupture negative	rupture negative	odds	share
CŒUR	19863	945	21.019	0.045
RELAIS	6642	510	13.024	0.071

Figure 24

Effects of demographic factors on negative rupture. Coefficients are the results of separate logistic regressions for each variable. For categorical variables, a baseline has been chosen in the model (refer to the codebook to see the omitted baseline category). Each bar or dot in the chart shows how a factor (like age, gender, or education) relates to the chance of a rupture. An odds ratio of 1 means that this group has the same chance of a rupture as the baseline group. More than 1 means that this group is more likely to have a rupture. For example, an odds ratio of 2.0 means twice as likely. Less than 1 means that this group is less likely to have a rupture. An odds ratio of 0.5 means half as likely. The lines show uncertainty (confidence intervals). If they cross 1, the difference might not be meaningful (in this case, the result is not statistically significant). The logarithmic scale is used so that in the visualization for the positive and negative odds ratio's to be symmetric (i.e. that 2 is as far away from 1 as is 0.5).

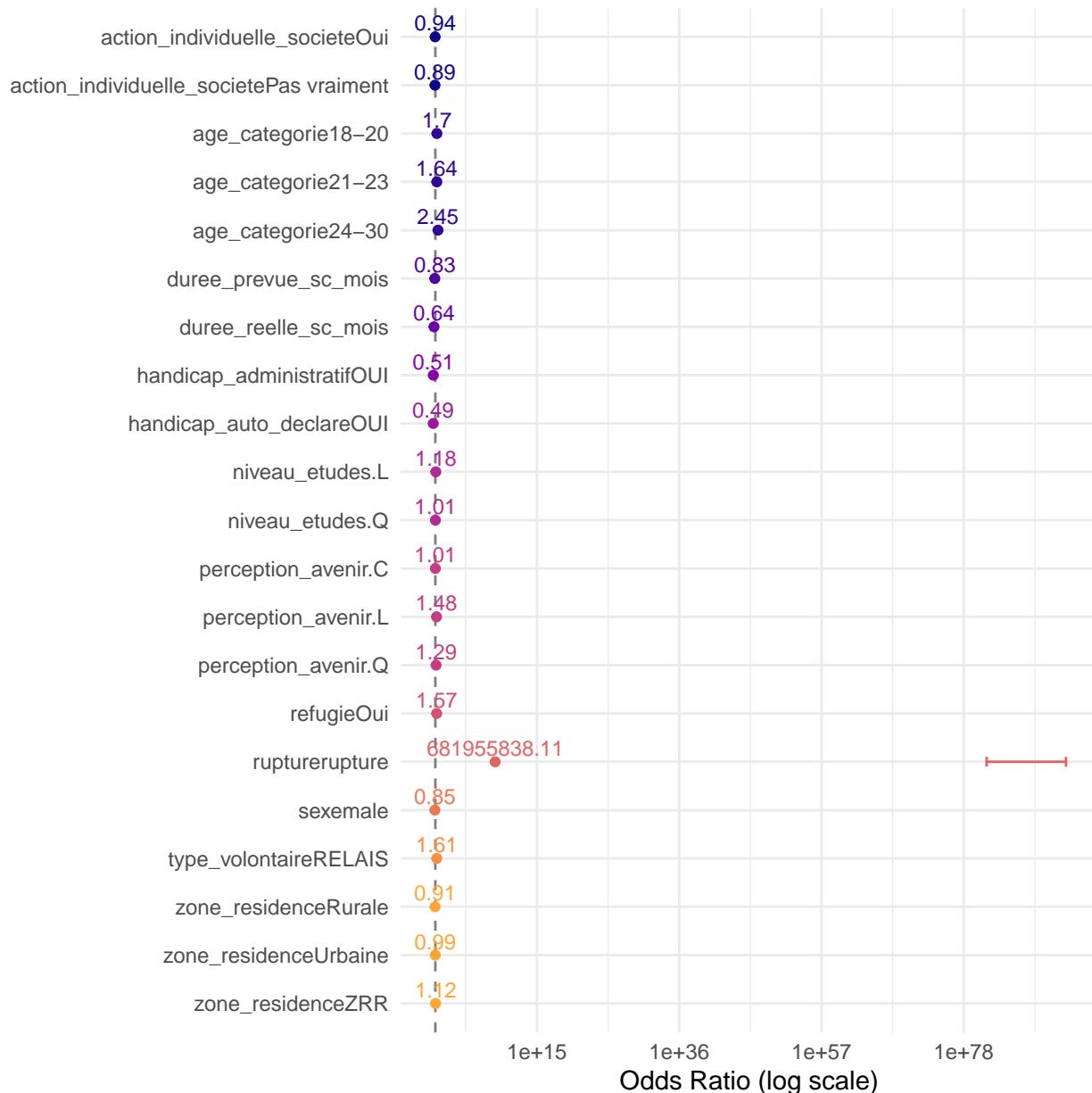


Figure 25

Percentages of rupture for (allegedly) negative reasons for different groups, for different variables.

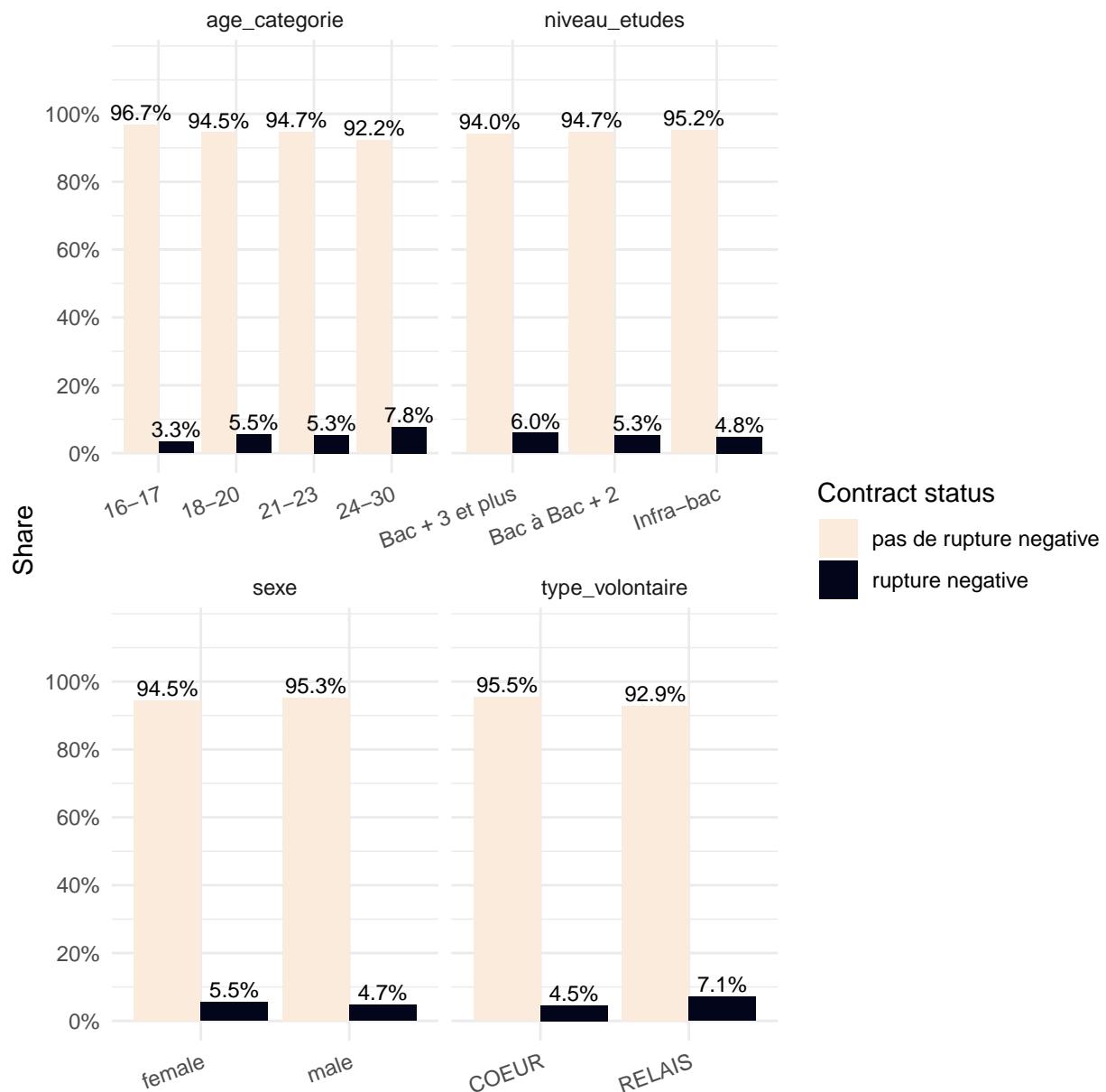


Table 2

Candidate variables to evaluating their association with rupture.

variable	source
perception_avenir	q1
action_individuelle_societe	q1
projet_avenir_concret	q2
comparaison_utilite_autres	q2
fierté	q2
confiance_en_soi	q2
confiance_avenir_personnel	q2
action_individuelle_societe	q3
impact_situation_actuelle	q3
integration	q2

In this case the OR is odds of “CŒUR” divided by odds of “RELAIS” (OR = 1.6138667).

Other factors

For non-demographic variables, investigating their relationship with rupture is not possible—simply because, by definition, for questions that have been only asked at “q2” and “q3”, volunteers who had ended their contract early were not available anymore (see Table 2). Only for the two variables that have been asked at “q1” (perception_avenir and action_individuelle_societe) we can look at their relationship with rupture (Figure 24).

Satisfaction

Intro (how is it measured, what's the distribution)

In this section, we look at satisfaction (“D'une manière générale, diriez-vous que votre Service Civique s'est déroulé de façon...” with levels 1, “pas du tout satisfaisante”, to 4, “très satisfaisante”)⁵. As shown in Figure 26, taking all cohorts together, the majority of volunteers thinks their experience is “très satisfaisant”.

Change in Satisfaction

Figure 27 shows how satisfaction with the service civique has changed over time, between the different cohorts.

What predicts whether volunteers are more satisfied ?

Confidence in personal future

In this section, we look at confidence in one's future (“Concernant votre avenir, êtes-vous...?” with levels 1, “Pas du tout confiant.e”, to 4, “Très confiant.e”)⁶. As shown in Figure 30, taking all cohorts together, the majority of volunteers are “assez confiant.e”.

⁵In all analyses we treat this as a continuous variable

⁶In all analyses we treat this as a continuous variable

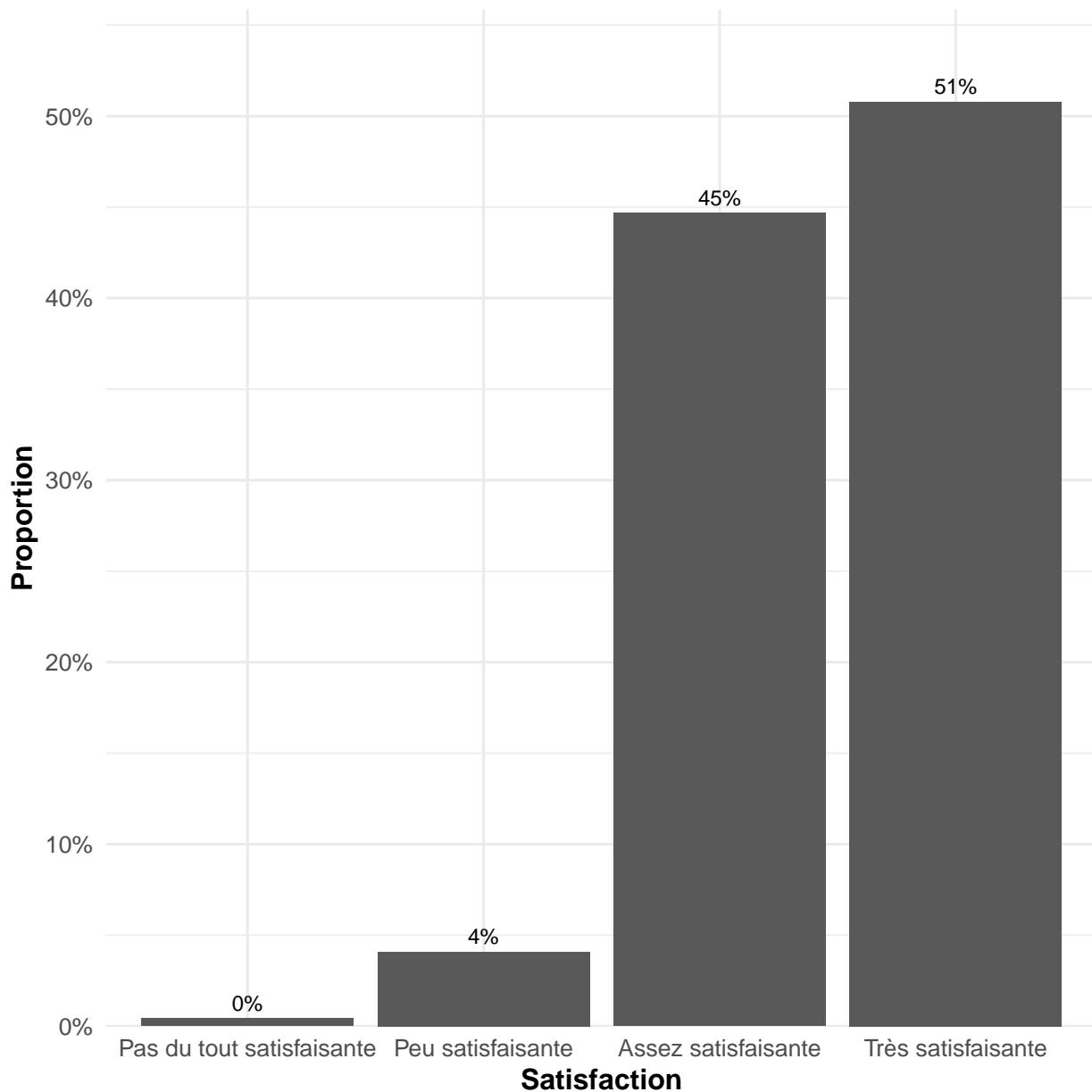
Figure 26*Répartition des niveaux de satisfaction*

Figure 27

Satisfaction between cohorts.

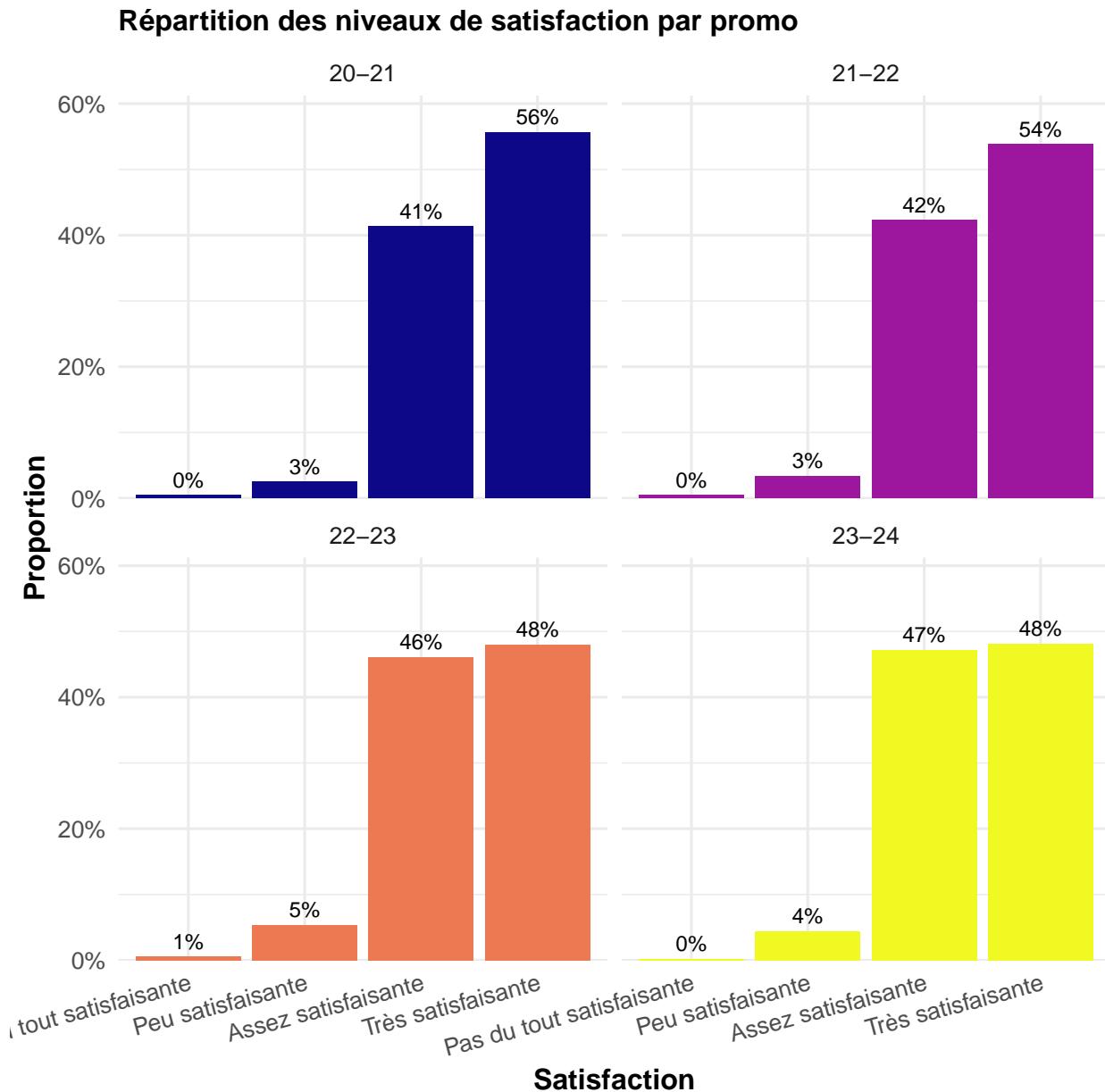


Figure 28

Effects of demographic factors on satisfaction.

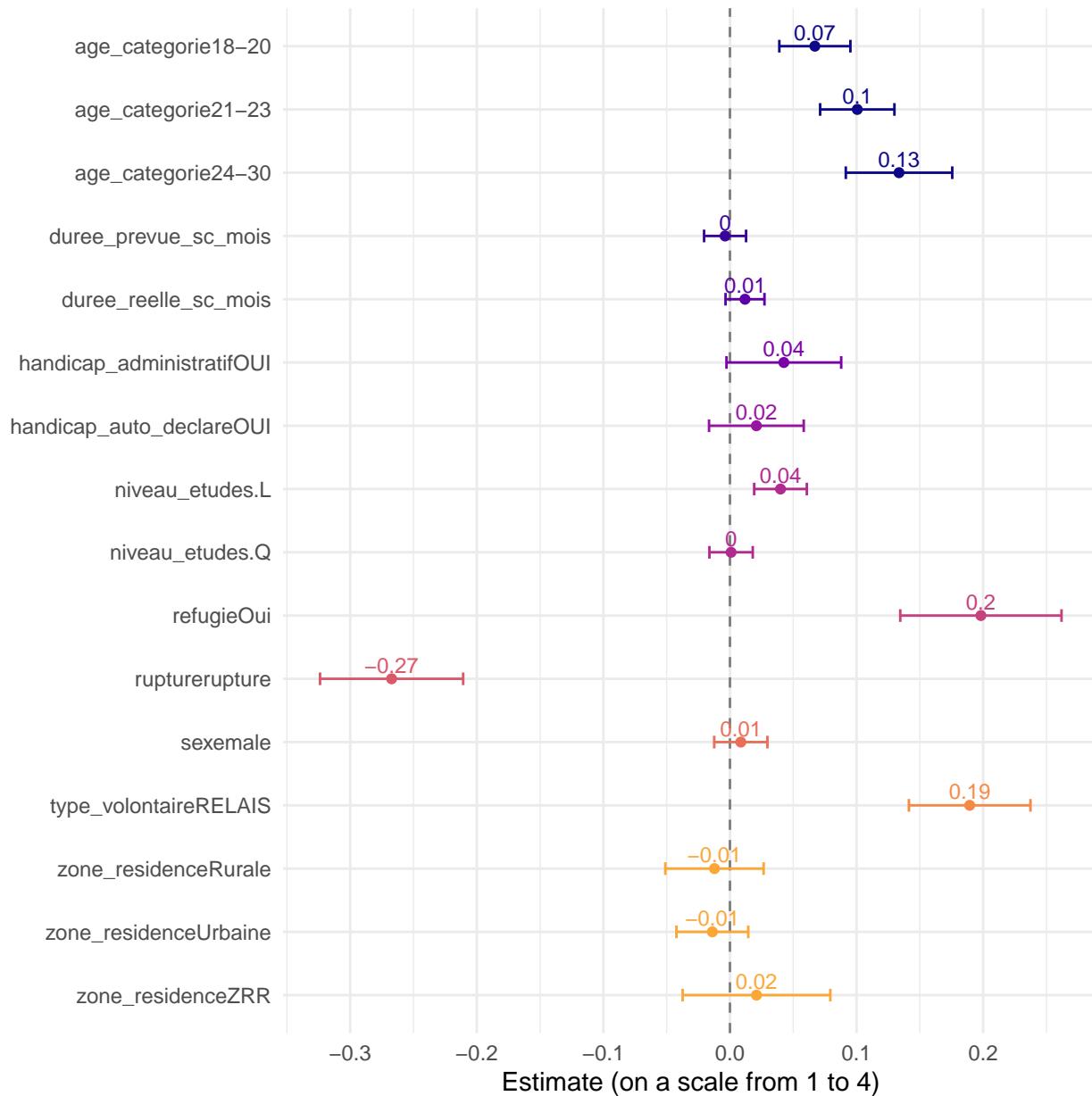


Figure 29

Effects of other, non-demographic factors on satisfaction.

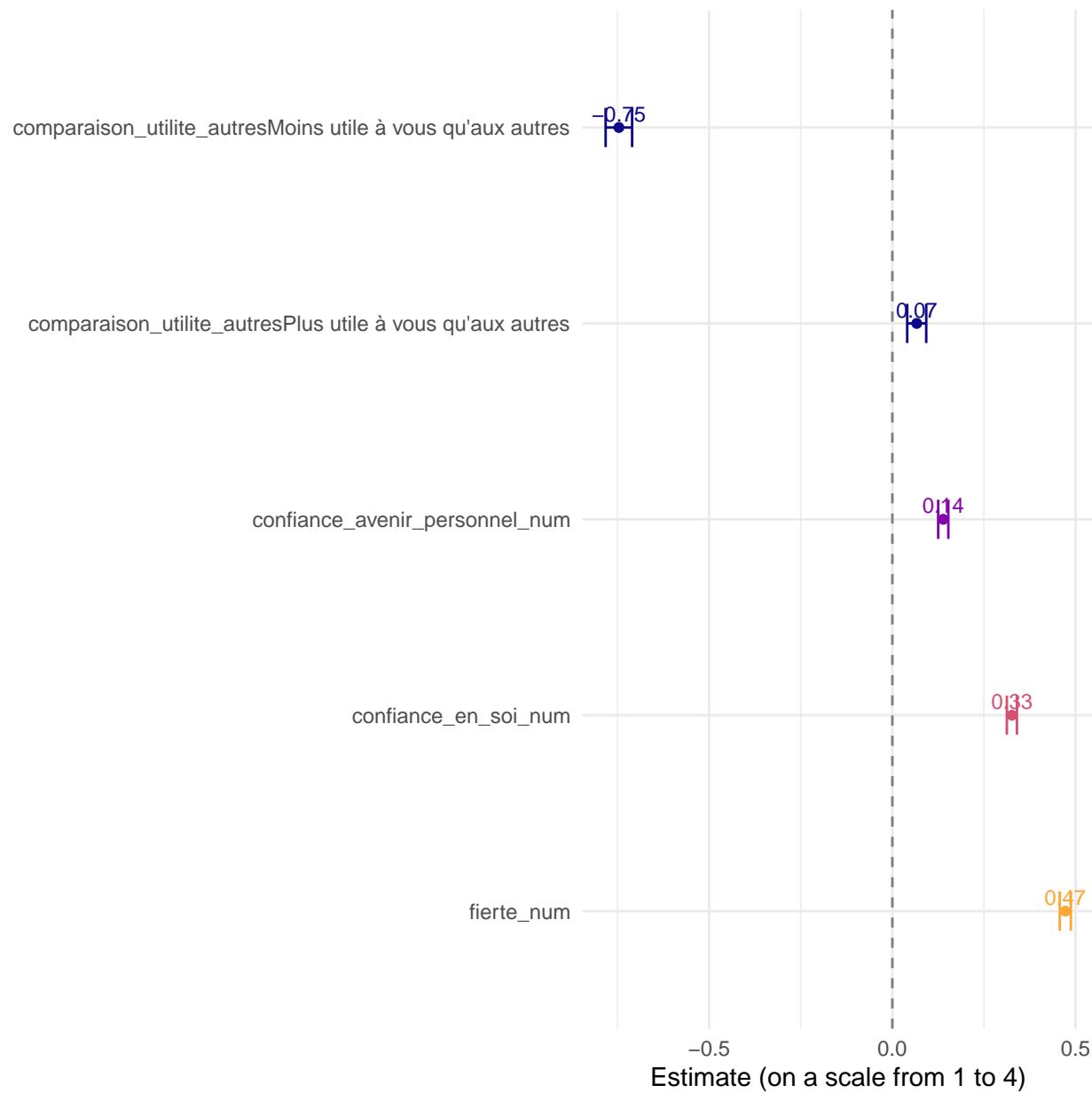
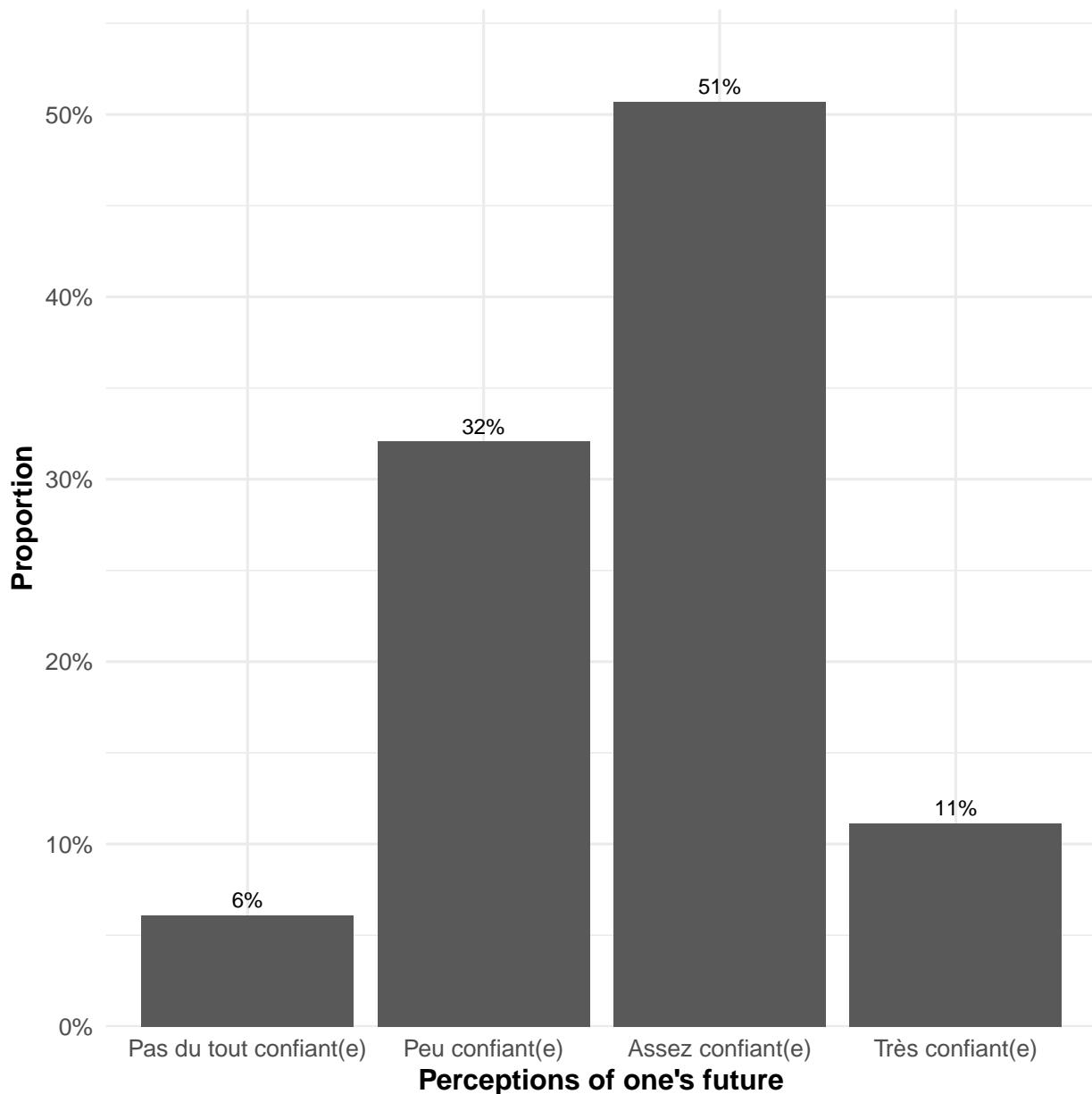


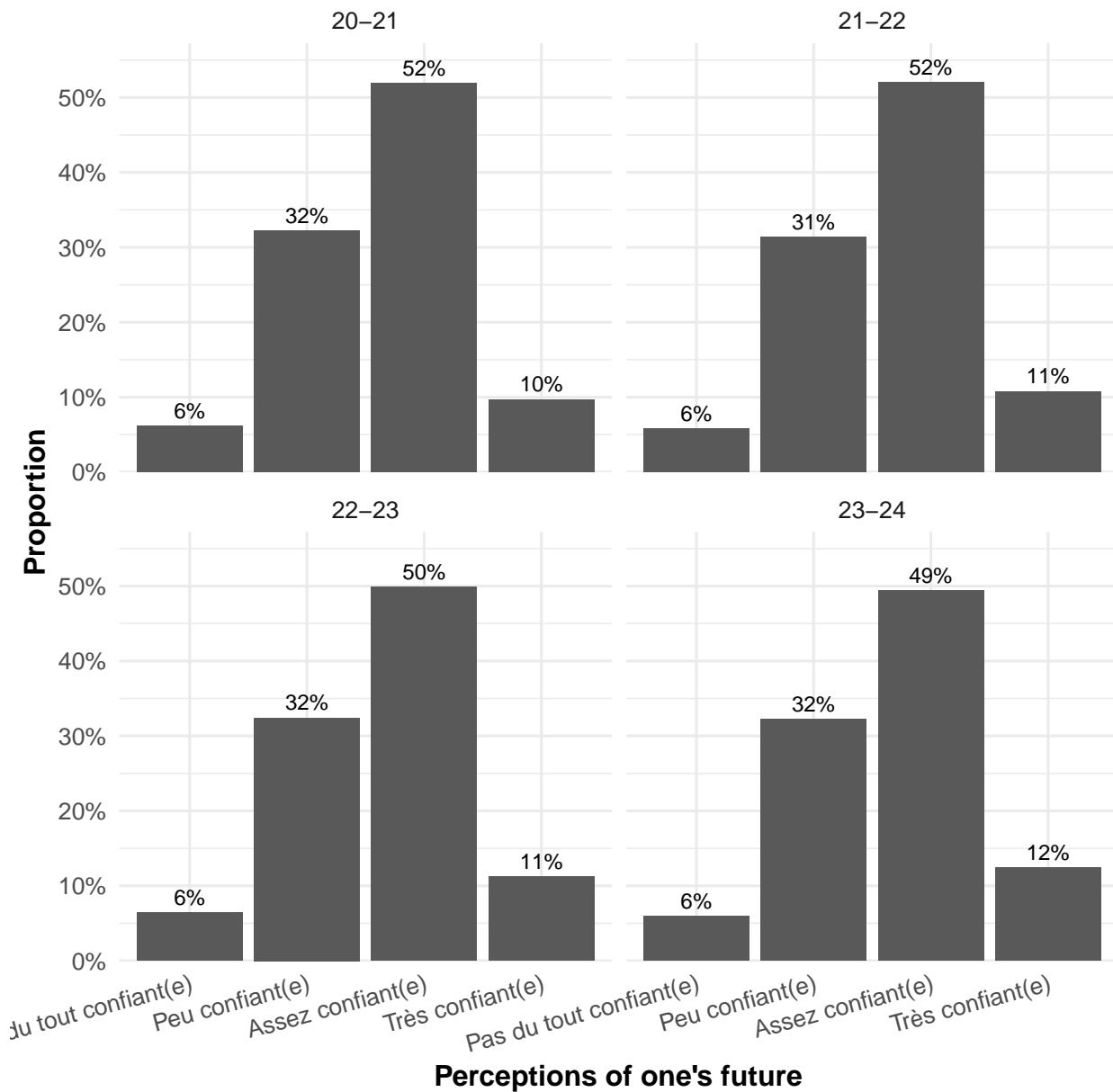
Figure 30*Répartition des niveaux de satisfaction*

Change in confidence in personal future

Figure 31 shows how confident different cohorts were regarding their future⁷.

Figure 31

Confidence in personal future.



What predicts whether volunteers are more confident in their future ?

To see whether there are statistical differences between different categories of volunteers, we ran separate regression models for a selection of variables. The results are shown in Figure 28, for demographic

⁷“Concernant votre avenir, êtes-vous...?” De 1, “Pas du tout confiant.e”, à 4, “Très confiant.e”

variables, and Figure 29, for other variables. The estimates in these figures are the results of separate linear regressions for each variable. All likert scale type responses (such as satisfaction) have been coded as numeric (from 1 to 4). How to interpret the coefficients? For categorical variables, a baseline has been chosen in the model (refer to the codebook to see the omitted baseline category). The estimate shown in the graph is how much, compared to this baseline, satisfaction increases or decreases (on a scale from 1 to 4). For numeric variables, estimates represent how much satisfaction increases or decreases after increasing the variable by one unit.

Figure 32

Effects of demographic factors on confidence in one's future.

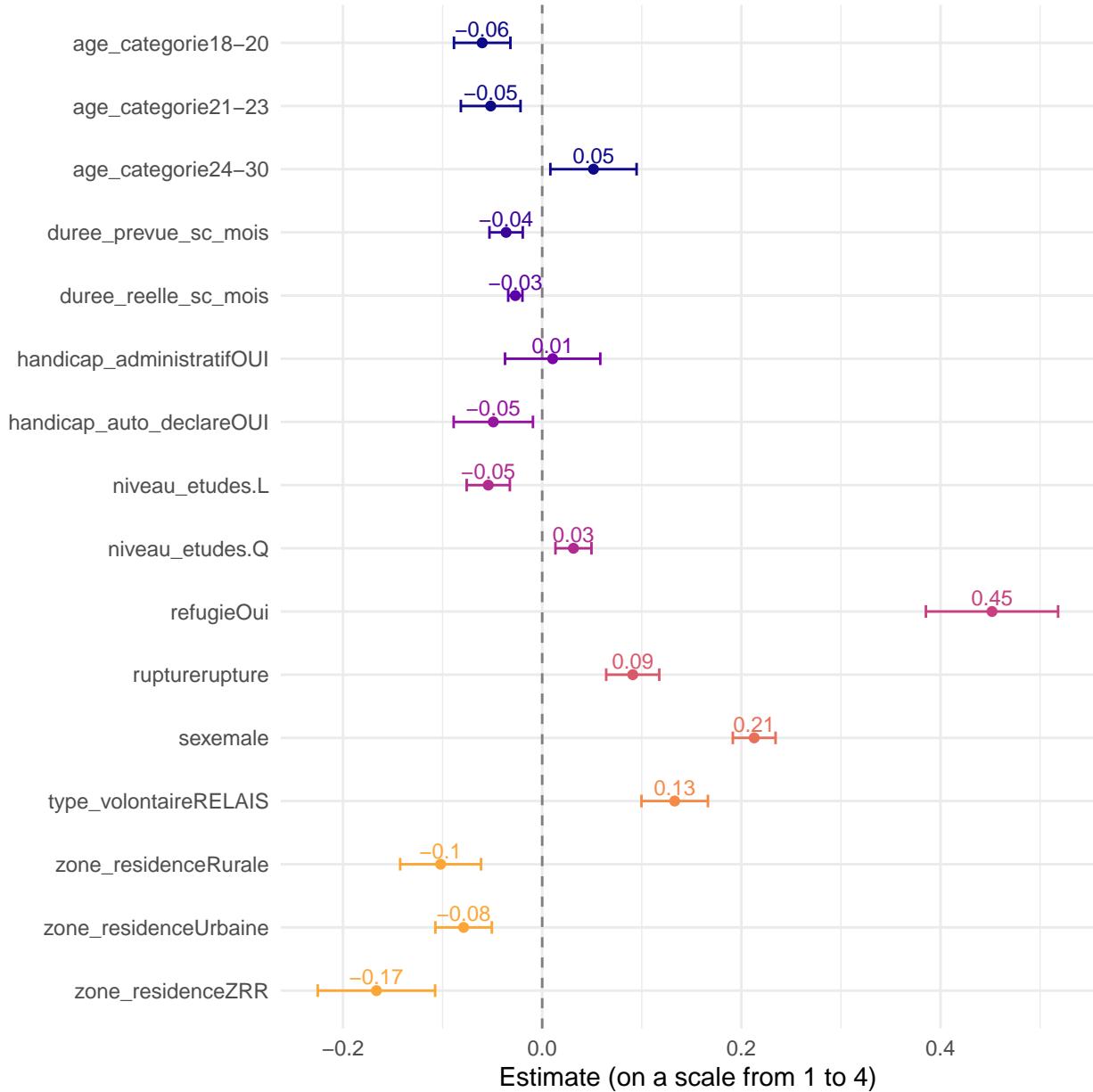
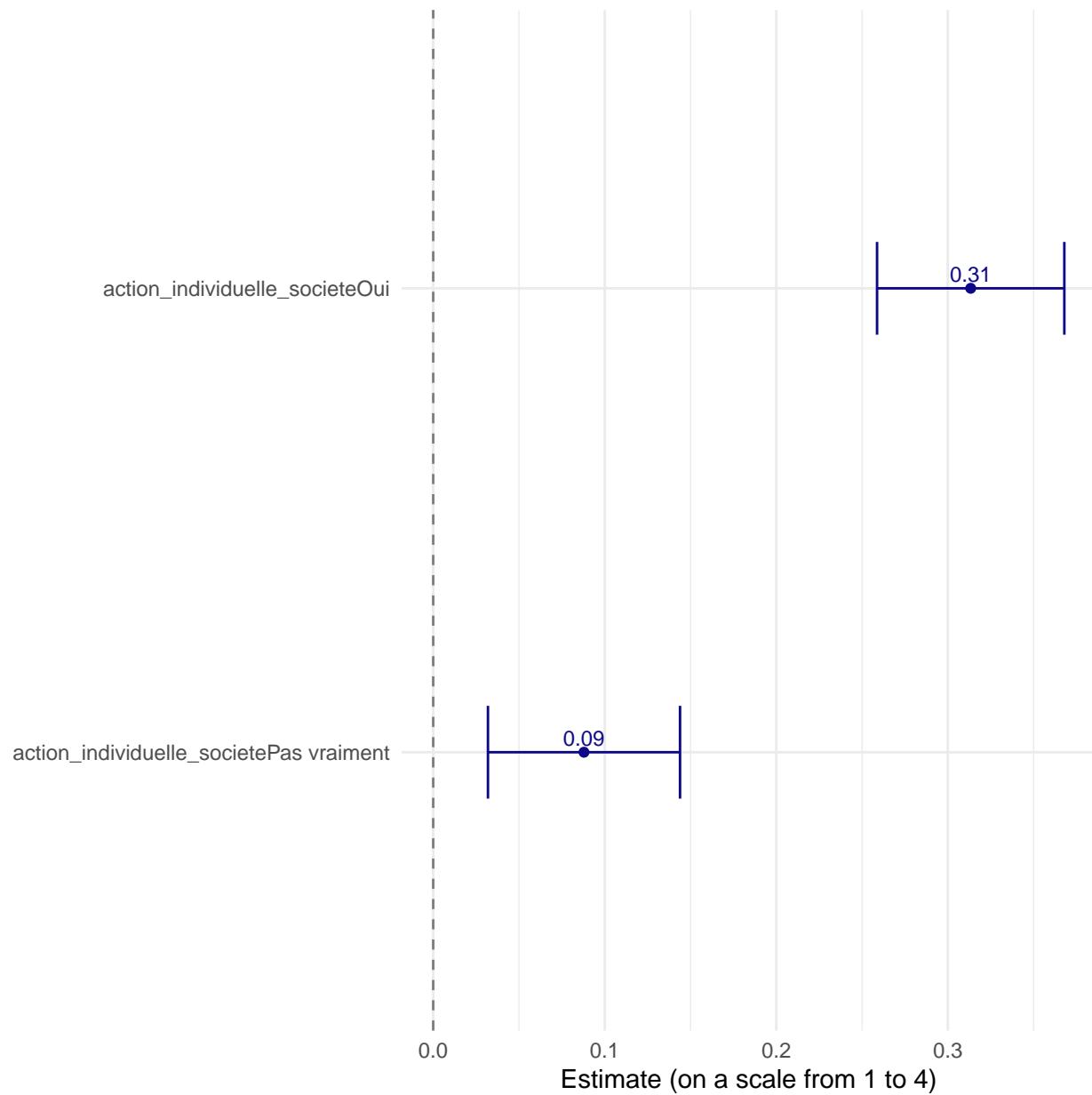


Figure 33

Effects of other, non-demographic factors on confidence in one's future.



Differences between programs

There are 14 different programs, which can be sorted into 6 different categories (see [Tables](#)). Here, we only distinguish between 7 key program categories, namely: Solidarité Séniors; Médiaterre; Cinéma & Citoyenneté; Solidarité Aidants; Booster; Ecovolonterre; ASM.

The following sections show for each key program category how the volunteers of that program differ compared to all the other key program categories combined. The comparisons include both demographic factors and other variables (e.g. satisfaction).

Solidarité Aidants

Cinéma & Citoyenneté

Volunteers who work in cine-related projects tend to be older and more educated. Refugees are less likely to be cine volunteers. If there is a preliminary end to the contract, cine volunteers are more likely to do so because they were offered a CDD of less than 6 months. Refugees are less likely to be cine volunteers, and women, as well as people from urban areas are more likely.

Booster

Ecovolonterre

Ecovolonterres tend to be older (mostly in the 21 to 23 agegroup) and more educated than other volunteers. They tend to plan for longer volunteer programs. Ecovolonterres tend to be from more rural but also urban ares (compared to QVP).

Médiaterre

ASM

Solidarité Séniors

Figure 34

Differences in Solidarité Aidants vs. other programs along demographic factors.

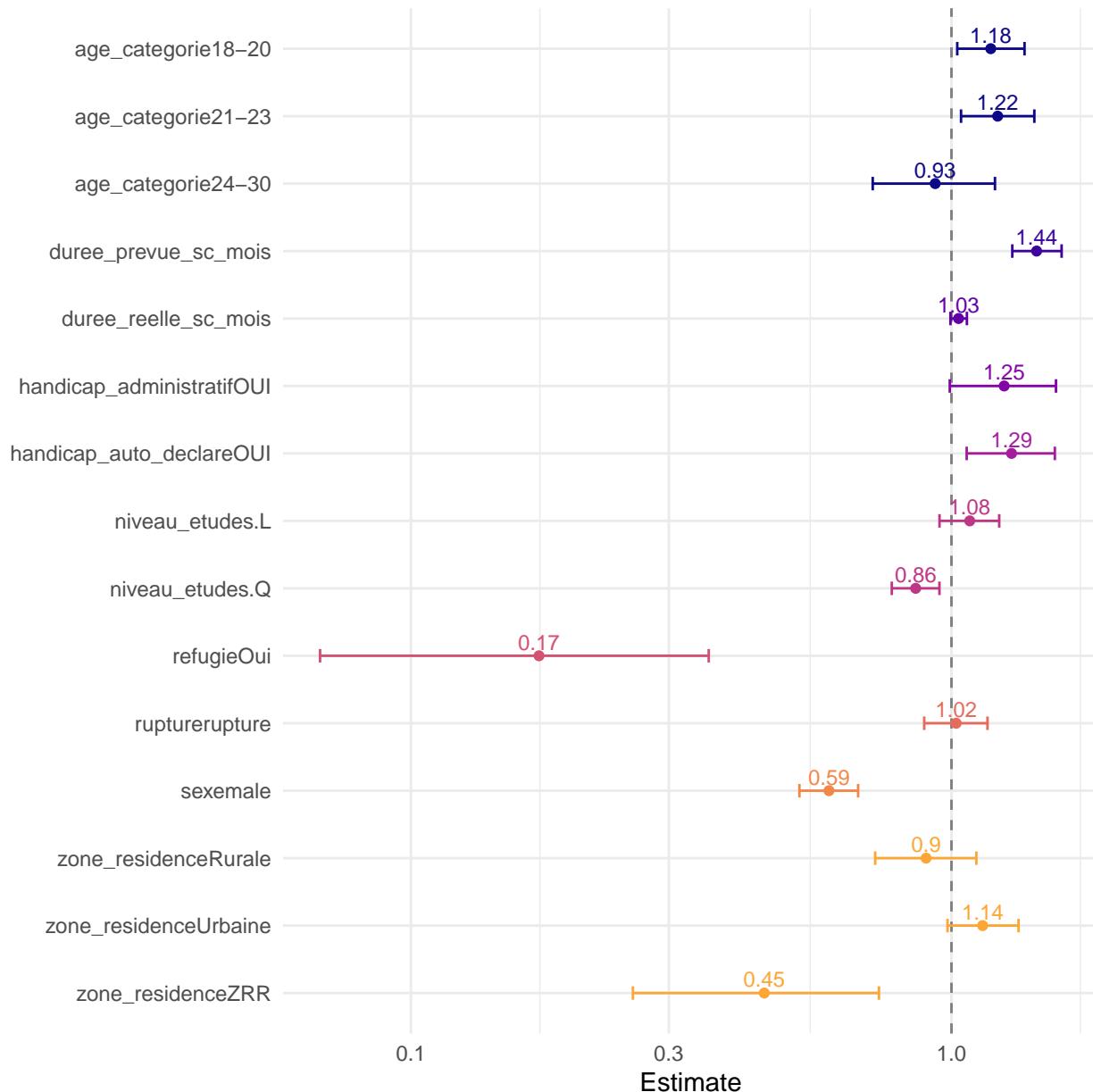


Figure 35

Differences in Cinéma & Citoyenneté vs. other programs along demographic factors

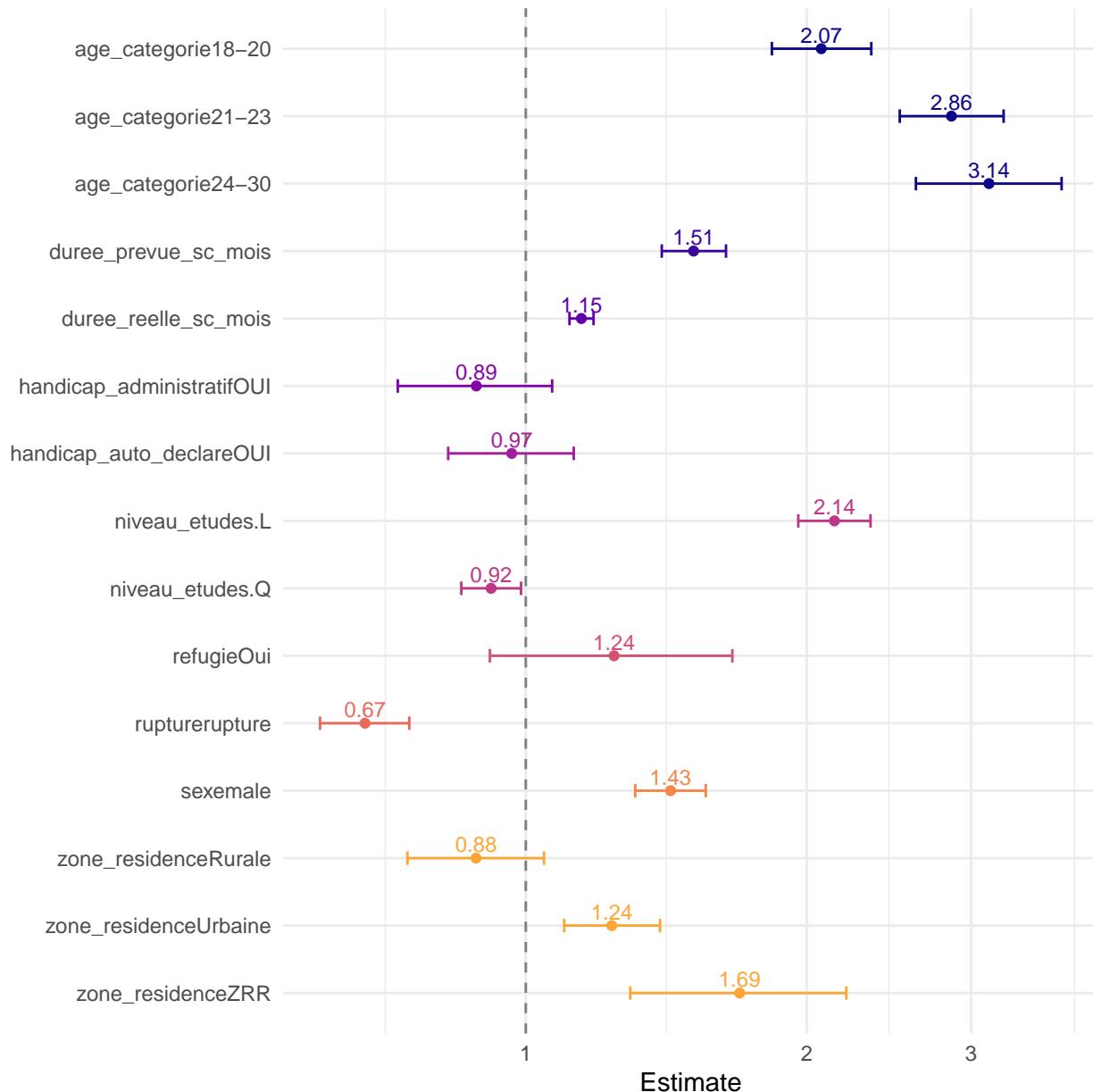


Figure 36

Differences in Ciné-related vs. other programs along non-demographic factors

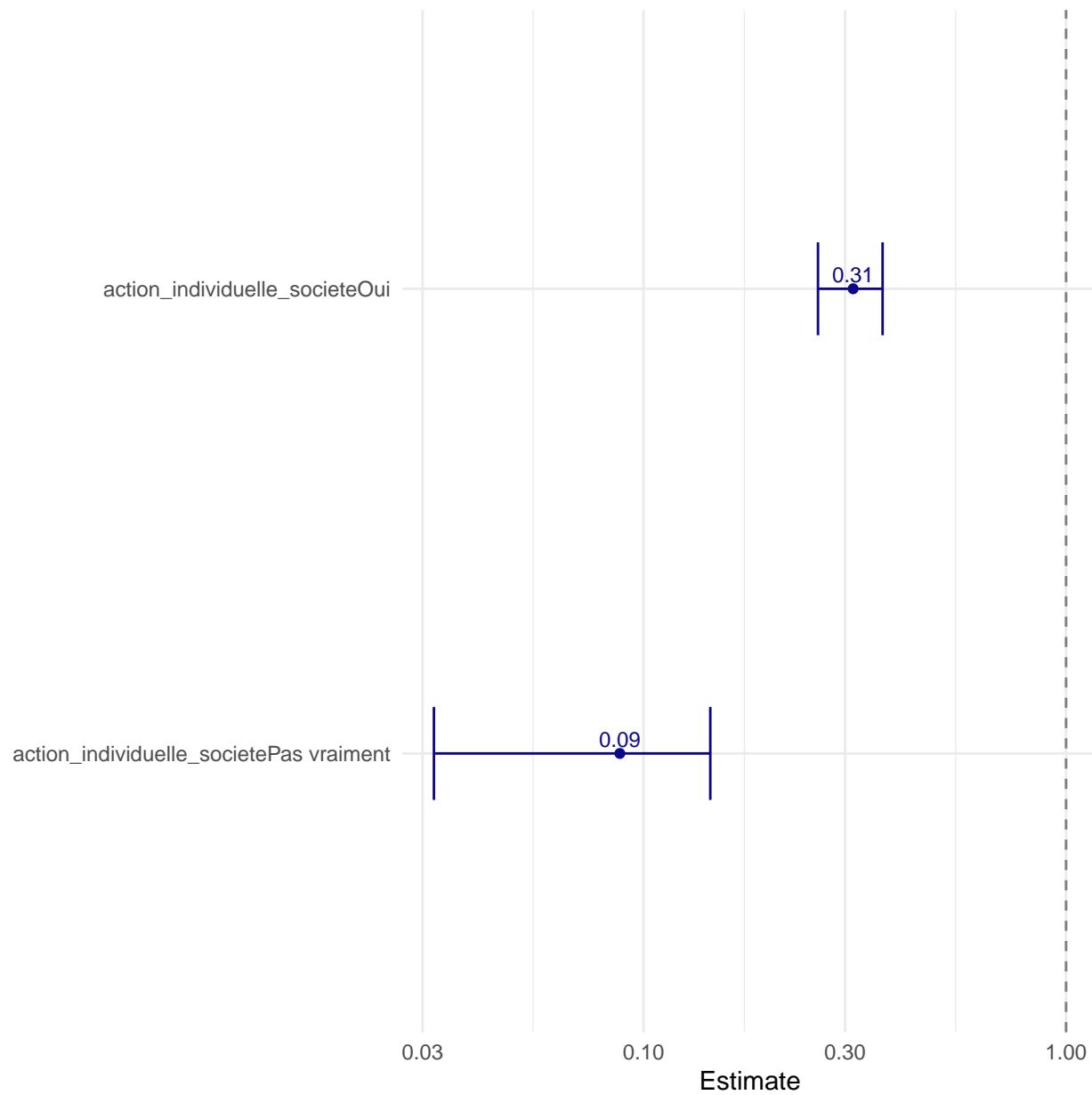


Figure 37

Differences in Booster vs. other programs along demographic factors.

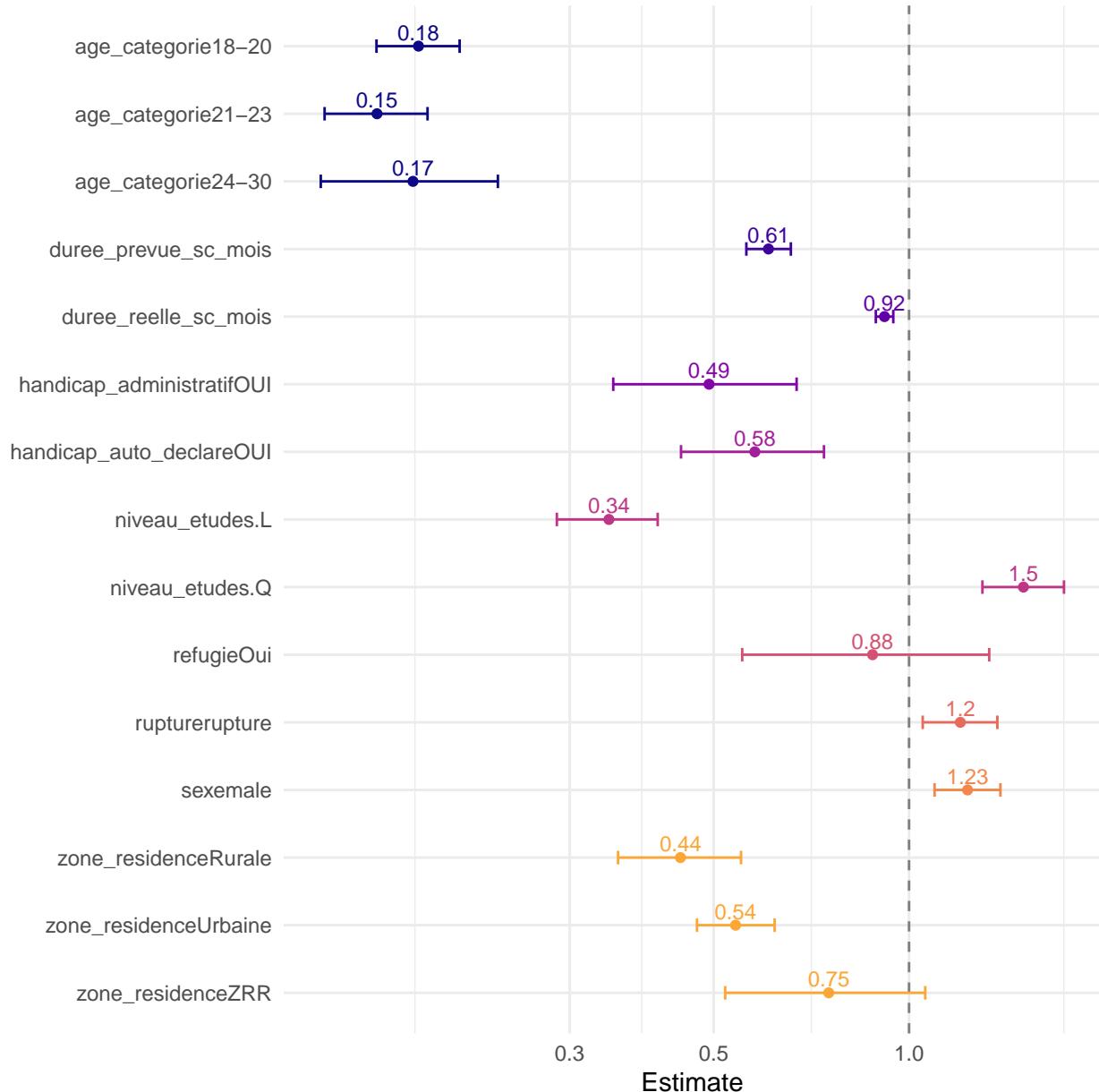


Figure 38

Differences in Ecovolonterre vs. other programs along demographic factors.

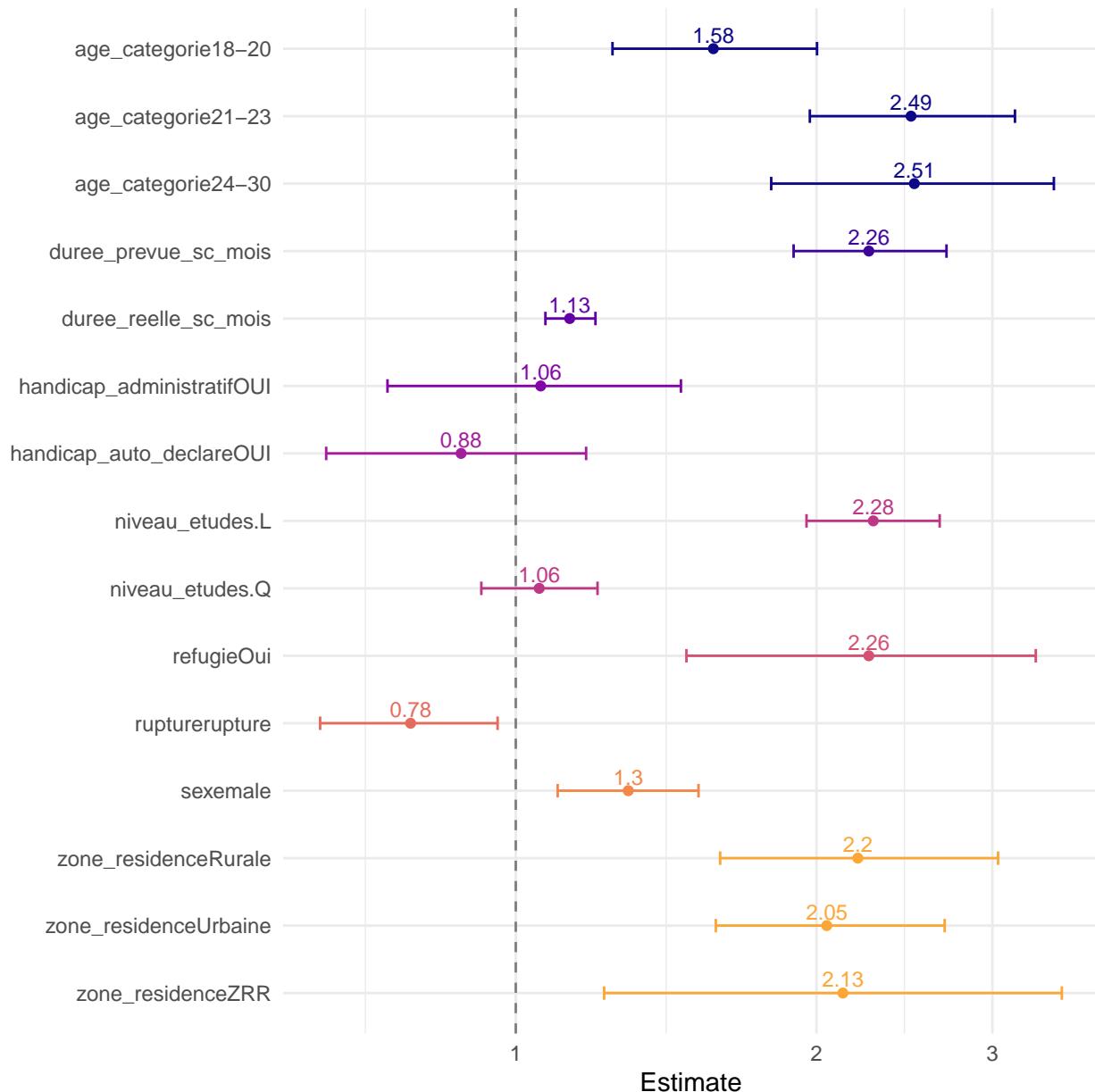


Figure 39

Differences in MédiaTerre vs. other programs along demographic factors.

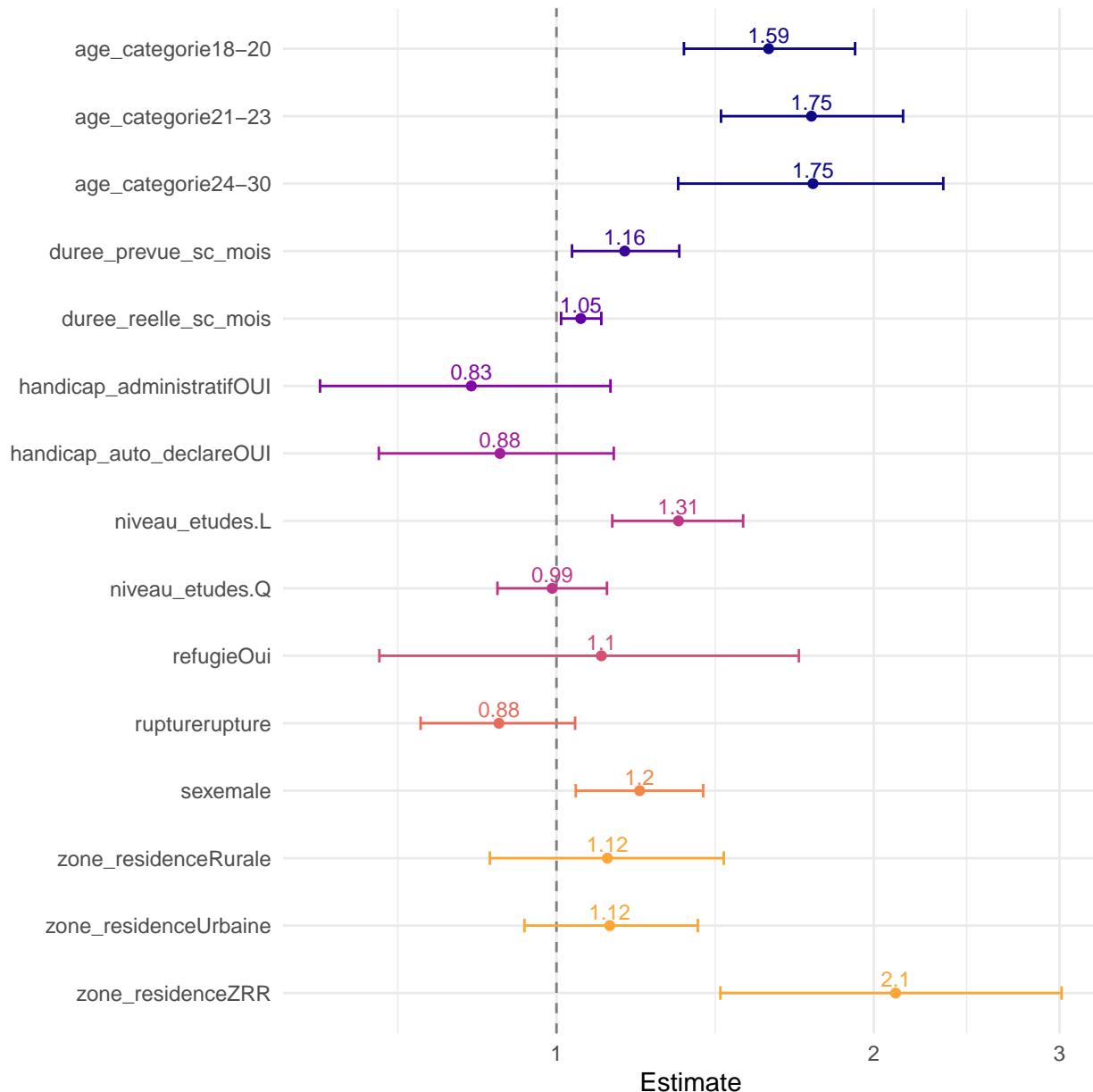


Figure 40

Differences in ASM vs. other programs along demographic factors.

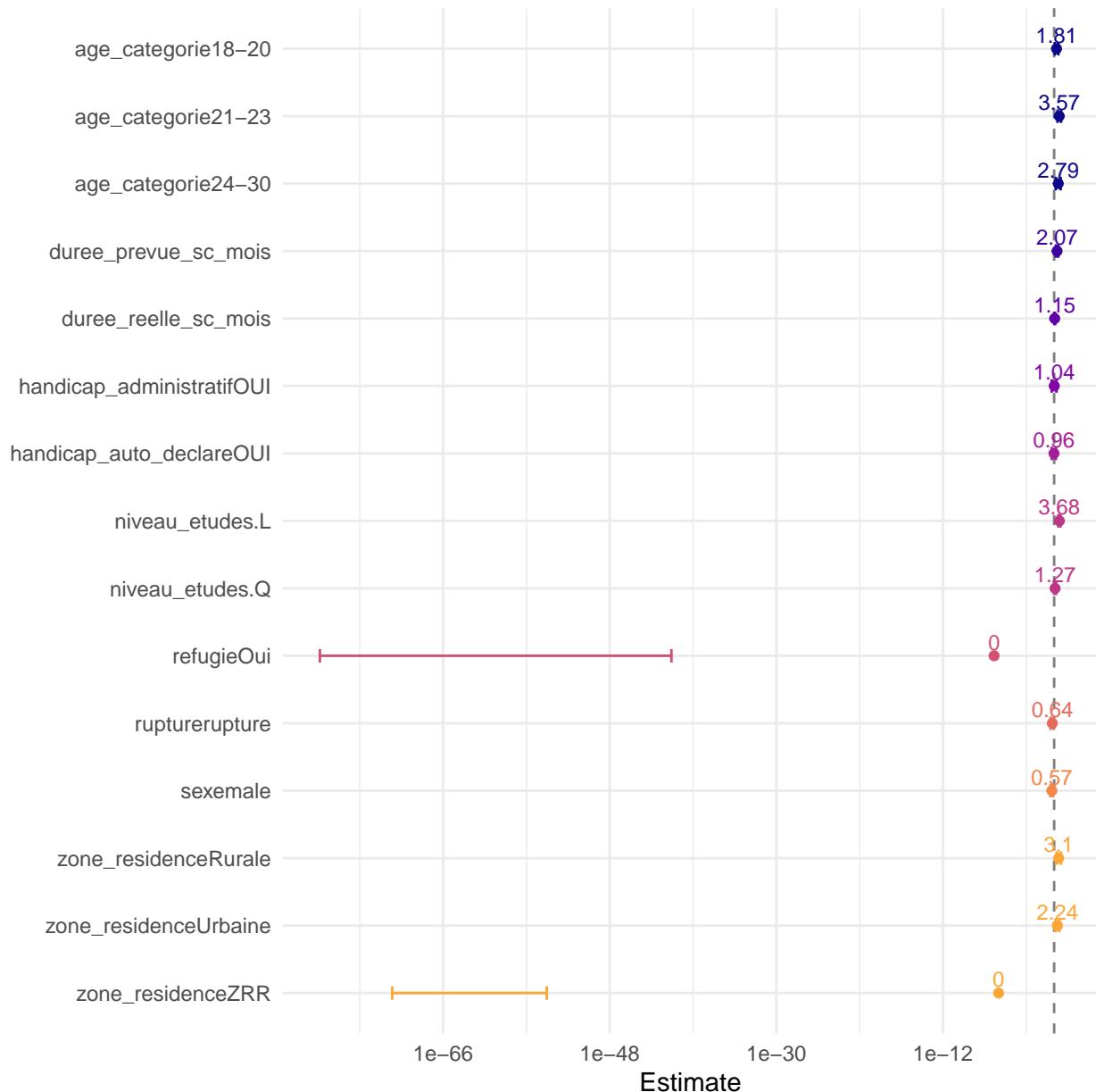


Figure 41

Differences in Solidarité Séniors vs. other programs along demographic factors.

